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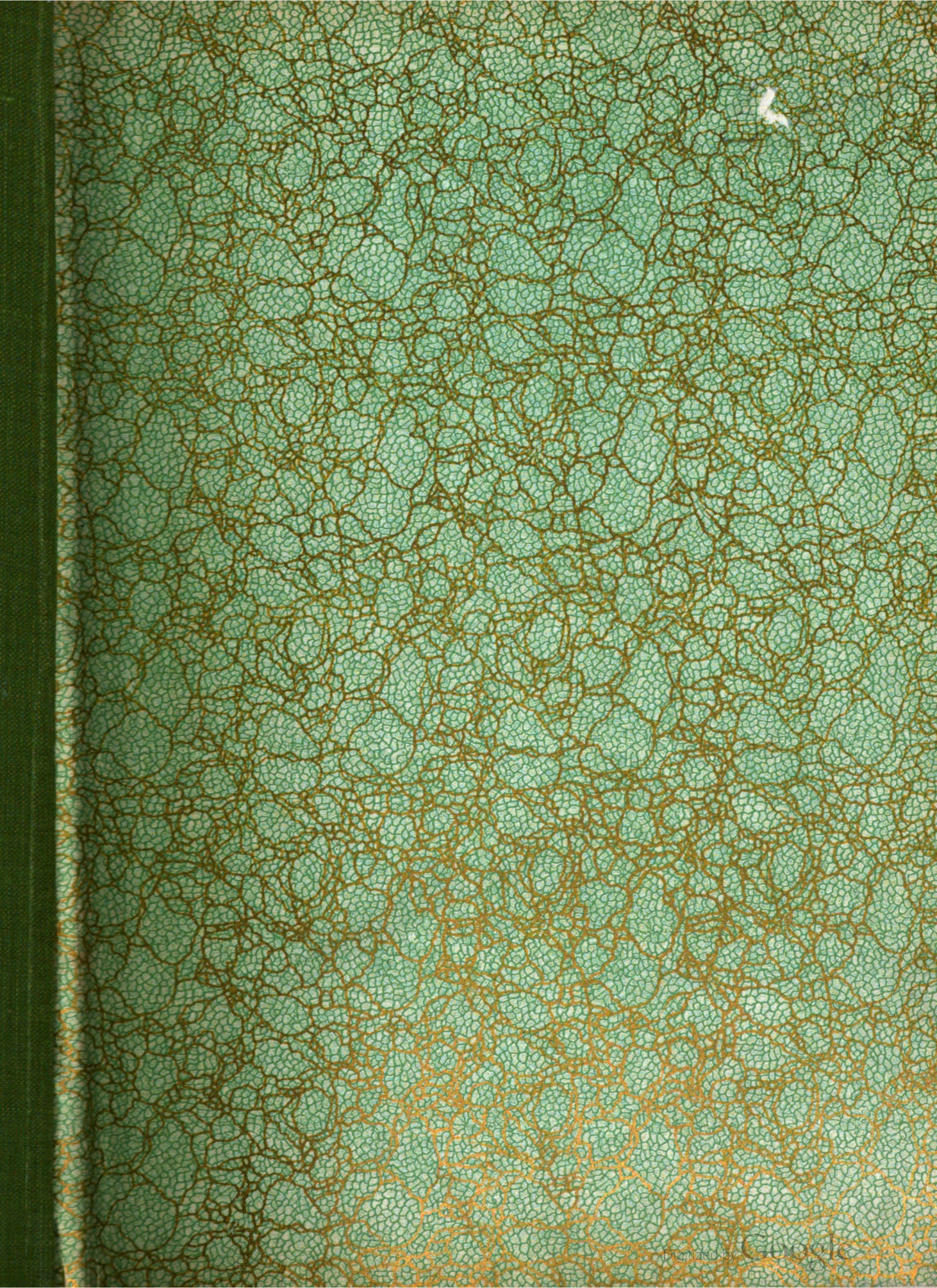
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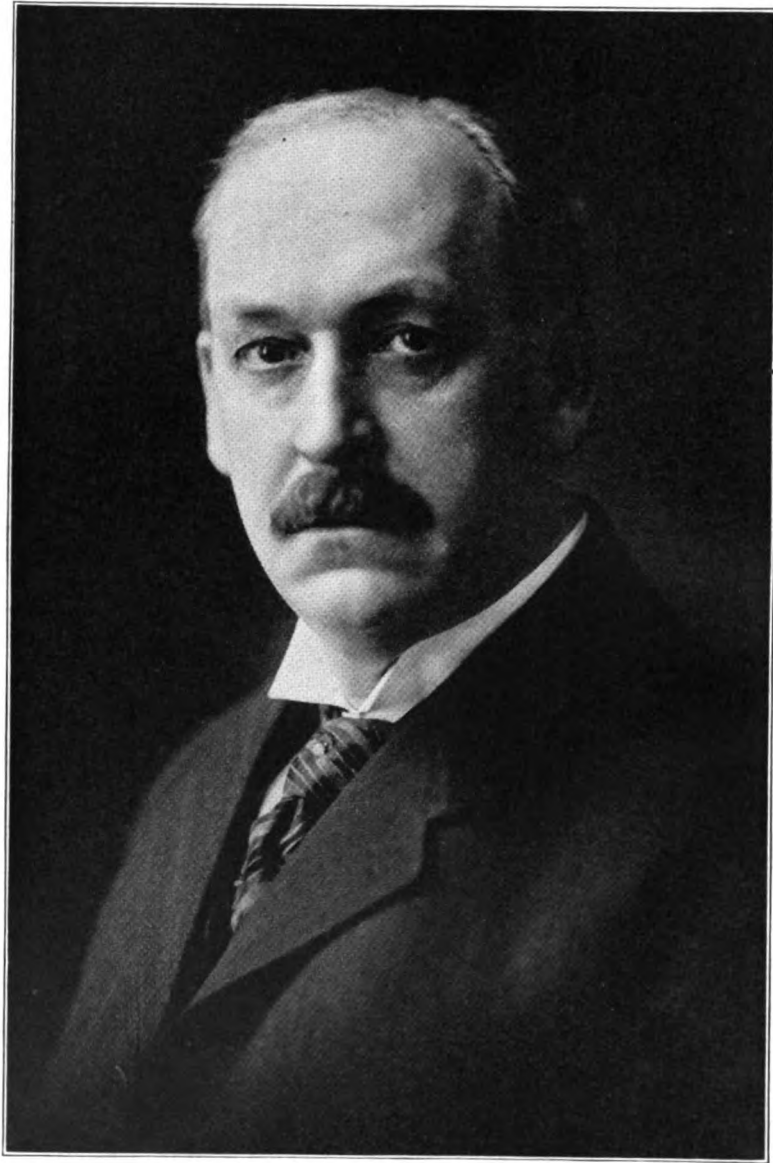
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The City of Detroit

PART I INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

DETROIT AND WAYNE COUNTY

A GENERAL VIEW—LOCATION AND BOUNDARIES—LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE—TOPOGRAPHY—THE DETROIT RIVER—ISLANDS OF THE RIVER—DRAINAGE—EXTINCT STREAMS—GEOLOGY—LIMESTONES—IRON ORE—CLAY, PEAT AND MARL—THE GLACIAL EPOCH—SOILS—CLIMATE—THE NAME "DETROIT."

Wayne County, of which Detroit is the county seat, is situated in the southeastern part of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan. It is bounded on the north by the counties of Oakland and Macomb; on the east by the Detroit River, which separates it from the Dominion of Canada; on the south by the County of Monroe, and on the west by the County of Washtenaw. According to Rand-McNally's Atlas of the United States, the area of the county is 626 square miles. (For changes in area and boundary lines see Chapter LVII.) Observations made by the United States Geological Survey show Detroit to be located in latitude $43^{\circ} 19' 50''$ north and in longitude $83^{\circ} 2' 5''$ west of Greenwich.

TOPOGRAPHY

In January, 1839, Bela Hubbard, then assistant state geologist, submitted to Governor Mason the first official report concerning the topography of the county. This report says: "Nearly the whole of Wayne County is included in that portion of the peninsula constituting the eastern border, in which no considerable prominences occur, and the descent to the coast is gradual and uniform. In this county, consequently, if we except the township in the northwest corner, the general level is varied only by gentle undulations or isolated sand ridges, forming no continuous ranges and seldom exceeding the relative height of twenty feet. Along the whole eastern border of the county the altitude at a distance of six miles from the coast varies but little from thirty-three to thirty-six feet. At a single point only, in the vicinity of Detroit, it attains to forty-five feet above the river."

Below the River Rouge, beginning about two or three miles from the Detroit River, was in early days a chain or network of wet prairies, the ground gradually rising until at the west line of the county it was about one hundred and forty feet higher than at the river. The streams in the southwestern part of the county therefore have a swifter current and are available for water power. Mr. Hubbard reported sixty-three square miles of marsh land, distributed over the county as follows: Eleven sections in Brownstown Township:

eighteen sections in Ecorse; four sections in Greenfield and Redford, which he describes as "good cranberry land;" ten sections in Hamtramck; ten sections in Huron and ten in Romulus.

About the little lakes and ponds in these wet prairies and marshes was once a fruitful field for the trapper. Beavers were plentiful here until about the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, when they disappeared. The early settlers cut large quantities of wild hay from these wet lands to provide sustenance for their live stock during the long, cold winters.

In the northwestern part the ground is more rolling and broken into frequent ridges, which often rise sixty or eighty feet above the general surface. The dividing line between the lands of this character and the more level tracts, which constitute the remainder of the county, is marked by a low gravelly ridge, supposed to have been at some remote period in the past the shore of the lake. The course of this ridge is from northeast to southwest, passing through the northwest corner of Livonia Township, entering Plymouth about two miles from the northern boundary, and crossing the west line of the county near the southwest corner of Canton Township.

THE DETROIT RIVER

The Detroit River, which flows along the eastern border, forms the international boundary between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, though the United States exercises jurisdiction over the greater portion of the stream. By act of Congress, approved by President Monroe on December 19, 1819, the river was declared to be a public thoroughfare for the passage of vessels. It receives all the waters of Wayne County except the Huron River. The name, which is of French origin, means "The Strait."

From the point where it leaves Lake St. Clair to the point where it empties into Lake Erie, the distance is a little less than twenty-eight miles. At its narrowest point, in front of the City of Detroit, it is a little over half a mile wide. The greatest width, at the foot of Grosse Ile, is about three miles, and the average width is about one mile. The average depth is about thirty-five feet and it is navigable for the largest vessels on the lakes. There are but few rivers in the world that surpass the Detroit in the volume of water that passes through its channel. It is the outlet of the largest three of the Great Lakes—Huron, Michigan and Superior—and all the streams that empty into them. The area drained by the Detroit is as great as that drained by the Ohio, though the latter is nearly one thousand miles long. Likewise, there are but few rivers that present more attractive scenery. Along its course are numerous islands, which rise like emeralds from the clear, tranquil water, and passengers upon the great steamers never tire of watching the constantly changing panorama.

ISLANDS OF THE RIVER

Beginning at Lake St. Clair, the principal islands in the Detroit River are as follows: La Pêche, or Isle of the Fishes, which is on the Canadian side of the river and was once the summer home of Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawa nation. Belle Isle (formerly called Rattlesnake and later Hog Island) is now the property of the City of Detroit and one of its most beautiful parks. (A history of Belle Isle appears in another chapter.) Turkey Island (also called Fighting Island) a long, narrow island on the Canadian side, takes its

name from the great numbers of wild turkeys found there in early times. This island was the scene of the contest between the Indians under Pontiac and the vessel sent to relieve the fort at Detroit in 1763. The remains of an old Indian earthwork at the upper end were plainly visible in the early years of the Nineteenth Century. Near the foot of this island are Little Turkey and Mammy Judy islands. The latter, containing about thirty acres, was named for an old Indian squaw who used to come there every year during the fishing season, and who finally died on the island. Mud and Grassy islands lie between Turkey Island and the Michigan shore.

Grosse Ile is the largest in the river. An old French document of 1717 says: "It is very fine and fertile and extensive, being as it is estimated from six to seven leagues in circumference. There is an extraordinary quantity of apple trees on this island, and those who have seen the apples on the ground say they are more than half a foot deep; the apple trees are planted as if methodically and the apples are as large as small pippins. Abundance of excellent millstones are found on this island; all around it are very fine prairies. It was a long time doubtful whether Detroit should not be founded there. The cause of the hesitation was the apprehension that the timber might some day fail."

About the foot of Grosse Ile are grouped a number of smaller islands, viz.: Bois Blanc (or Whitewood), Calf, Celeron (or Tawa), Elba, Fox, Hickory, Horse, Humbug and Sugar. Several of the islands in the river were the scenes of stirring events during the early wars.

DRAINAGE

As previously stated, the Detroit River receives the waters of all the streams of Wayne County, except those of the Huron River, which empties into Lake Erie at the southeast corner of the county. The Huron, the largest stream in the county, has its source in the lakes and marshes of Livingston and Washtenaw counties. At first it flows in a southerly direction, but near the City of Dexter it turns eastward and enters Wayne County about nine miles north of the southwest corner. Near the Village of Romulus it turns toward the southeast and follows that direction until it empties into Lake Erie, near the mouth of the Detroit River. During the last eight or ten miles of its course it forms the boundary line between Wayne and Monroe counties.

Next in importance is the River Rouge, which is formed by the north, south, east and west branches. The North Branch is formed near Redford Corners by the Belle River, Powers Creek and some smaller streams. Its general course is southeast until it unites with the West Branch near the center of Dearborn Township.

The South Branch rises near the western boundary of the county and flows east through Canton, Nankin and Dearborn townships, uniting with the main stream near Dearborn Village. It is sometimes called the "Lower Rouge."

The East Branch, formed by Campbell's, Holden and Knagg's creeks, falls into the main stream near the Village of Delray. Knagg's Creek and some of the others contributing to the formation of this branch are now within the city limits and have been filled in and the "made land" converted into city lots.

The West Branch rises in Washtenaw County. It enters Wayne about four miles south of the northwest corner and flows in a northeasterly direction to Northville. There it changes its course to southeast and unites with the North

and South branches near Dearborn. From that point the Rouge follows an easterly course to the Detroit River.

The Belle River, one of the principal tributaries of the North Branch of the River Rouge, is only a few miles in length. It is formed in Livonia Township by Collins and Briggs creeks and a few minor streams, flows in an easterly direction and empties into the North Branch near the center of Redford Township.

The southeastern portion of the county is watered by the Ecorse River, which flows through the township of the same name; Big Brownstown and Huntington creeks, which empty into the Detroit River a short distance below Gibraltar; and Smith's and Silver creeks, which unite and empty into the Huron about a mile above its mouth.

Connor's (also called Trombly's) Creek, in the northeastern part, flows in a southeasterly course and empties into the Detroit River near the upper end of Belle Isle.

In the southwestern townships are a number of small streams, such as Willow Creek, Swan Creek, Tonquist and Woods' creeks and Willow Run, which fall into the Huron River or the West Branch of the Rouge.

Probably one of the oldest maps in existence, showing accurately the courses of the various creeks and rivers of Wayne County, is that prepared under the supervision of Dr. Douglas Houghton to accompany his report as state geologist in 1840. More modern maps show no important changes, except within the city limits of Detroit, where some small streams have been filled in or converted into sewers. Foremost among the creeks that have thus been obliterated were Knagg's Creek, already mentioned, May's, Parent's and Savoyard creeks.

May's Creek, so named for James May, one of the early judges of the Court of Quarter Sessions, was known as Campau's River about the middle of the Eighteenth Century and later as Cabacier's Creek, after Joseph Cabacier, who lived near it. Jacques Peltier built a grist mill on this creek during the old French régime, and the stream furnished water enough to run the mill about one-half of each year. The mill stood just north of Fort Street, not far from the point where that street was afterward crossed by the Michigan Central Railroad.

Parent's Creek was the most historic of all these extinct watercourses. It had its source in Private Claim No. 183, in Grosse Pointe Township, flowed in a southerly direction, passing through Elmwood Cemetery, and emptied into the Detroit River about a mile and a half above the old French fort. The creek was doubtless named for Joseph Parent, a gunsmith, whose name appears in the records of St. Anne's Church as early as May, 1707. It was on the banks of this creek that Captain Dalzell was defeated and killed by the Indians during the Pontiac war, after which the stream was known as "Bloody Run."

The Savoyard Creek had its source in a willow swamp, not far from the present intersection of Congress and Riopelle streets and flowed in a westerly course. It is said to have derived its name from the fact that one of the early settlers near it came from Savoy. Farmer says that the Detroit boys had a favorite fishing hole where the creek crossed Woodward Avenue. An old map shows that it emptied into the river near the foot of Fourth Street. The people living along the creek used it as a receptacle for all sorts of waste matter. After Fort Shelby was abandoned, lumber was taken from the fortification and used to protect the sides from falling in. As population increased and the

quantity of garbage, etc., dumped into the stream grew greater, the stenches that arose from the creek rivaled those mentioned by the poet Coleridge in his description of the City of Cologne. In 1836 the city authorities declared it a nuisance and, at great expense, walled and covered it with stone, converting it into a sewer.

GEOLOGY

According to the report of the state geologist for 1876, the oldest exposed rocks in Wayne County are the limestones of the Helderberg and Water-lime groups. The former is found over an area of limited extent in the southeastern corner of the state, including Monroe County, the southeastern part of Wayne and the eastern part of Lenawee. In Monroe the rock outcrops in nearly all the streams, but in Wayne, where the drift deposits are deeper, the exposures are less frequent. The upper division of the Helderberg group is found at Trenton, where quarries were opened at an early date. Here the upper ledges are covered only by a thin layer of loamy drift. They are limestones of a light color, segregated in beds about six feet in thickness and rich in fossils. The stone from these quarries has been used chiefly for lime, yielding a white, quick-slaking lime of superior quality. Below these beds is found a compact, gray, crystalline limestone in ledges from eight inches to two feet thick, an excellent stone for building purposes.

Gibraltar, on the Detroit River about four miles below Trenton, marks the northern exposure of the Water-lime group. At this point the lower rock series come to the surface in the bed of the creek near its mouth. The stone is described as "a somewhat absorbent, crystalline dolomite, of gray color and laminated structure, in layers, from one to two feet thick." Stone of this quality has also been quarried on the lower end of Grosse Ile.

Near Flatrock the Huron River runs over ledges of the Water-lime formation. Here the stone is a hard, drab-colored dolomite, crystalline in texture, with flinty concretions and containing but few fossils. The deposits here are too far below the surface to be profitably quarried.

During the period of French rule, the inhabitants of Detroit obtained stone from the deposits about Trenton and Gibraltar for chimneys to their log houses. Farmer's "History of Detroit" (p. 367) says that by 1763 limekilns had been established and a few stone buildings had been erected inside the stockade. In 1870 some workmen, engaged in digging a trench for a water main on Jefferson Avenue, unearthed an old stone fireplace with its iron crane for holding kettles still fast in the stone work. It was found about four or five feet below the surface and was supposed to have been the fireplace in a cellar kitchen of a house within the fort.

IRON ORE

Dr. Douglas Houghton, in his first report as state geologist, submitted to Governor Mason in 1838, says: "At a distance of six or seven miles northwest of Detroit, and in the County of Wayne, bog (iron) ore occurs at intervals over an extent of several hundred acres, but I have not been able to examine it with sufficient care to determine its extent; I think, however, there can be little doubt but it exists in sufficient quantities to be turned to practical account."

Subsequent surveys located the richest of these deposits in Greenfield Township and near the southern border of Livonia Township. By analysis the ore

was found to contain nearly seventy-four per cent of peroxide of iron, but it does not appear that any attempt was ever made to give the deposits a commercial value.

CLAY, PEAT AND MARL

Clay suitable for brickmaking has been found at several points in the county. The first brickyards in the county were established in what is now Springwells Township. They were operating on an extensive scale at the time Michigan was admitted into the Union in 1837, and are mentioned in the early reports of the state geologist as obtaining their supply of raw material "from the blue clay beds in the drift."

Doctor Houghton, in his early reports as state geologist, also speaks of two brickyards in operation on the South Branch of the River Rouge near Schwarzburg, where clay of a fine quality was found along the river bank in a stratum ranging from two to four feet in thickness.

Just west of Northville, in Plymouth Township, is a deposit of clay of fine texture that has been utilized for the manufacture of bricks and earthenware. In Section 27 of the same township there is a bed of fine clay covering an area of eighty acres or more.

At Flat Rock, on the Huron River, there is an extensive deposit of blue clay, but it contains so much lime that all attempts to use it for brickmaking have been unsuccessful. Farther up the river both the blue and yellow clays are of a better character. Fifty years ago or more a brickyard was in successful operation near the mouth of Woods' Creek, in the southeast corner of Van Buren Township.

Peat was discovered at a comparatively early date in the marsh lands of what are now Brownstown, Ecorse, Greenfield, Hamtramck and Huron townships, but little or no use has been made of the deposits. The only bed of shell marl mentioned in the Michigan Geological Reports is near the center of Plymouth Township (Section 22). Overlying the marl is a bed of peat, which, like those above mentioned, has never been used. Gravel and sand, suitable for concrete work and building purposes, are found at various places in the county.

THE GLACIAL EPOCH

Far back in the geologic past, about the close of the Tertiary period, came the Pleistocene or "Ice Age," during which all the central part of North America was covered with a vast sheet of ice, which extended westward to the Rocky Mountains. This glacier was formed in the northern part of the continent by successive falls of snow. The weight added by each snowfall aided in compressing the mass below into a solid body of ice. As the temperature rose the entire glacier began to move slowly southward, carrying with it great boulders, clays, soils, etc., to be deposited in regions far distant from the places where they were taken.

As the huge mass of ice moved slowly along, the boulders and other hard substances at the bottom of the glacier left scratches or striæ upon the bed rocks, and from these scorings the geologist has been able to determine the course of the glacier. At various places in the territory once covered by the great central glacier the striæ have been noted upon the rocks, indicating the general direction traveled by the glacier to have been toward the southeast,

into a latitude where the rays of the sun began to melt the ice. With the disappearance of the ice, the solid materials carried by the glacier were deposited upon the bed rocks or preglacial soil in the form of drift.

Where the drift was deposited in a ridge at the edge of the glacier, the slight elevation is called a "lateral moraine." The ridge formed where two glaciers, or two sections of a great glacier moving in slightly different directions, came together is known as a "medial moraine." The ridge which marks the point where the last of the ice was dissolved is called a "terminal moraine." There is no doubt that some of the ridges in Wayne County were formed by glacial action. These ridges are either lateral or medial moraines, the terminal moraines of the great central glacier being found farther southward, in the states of Indiana and Ohio.

How long the glacial epoch lasted, or how long since it occurred, is largely a matter of conjecture. Some geologists estimate the duration of the "Ice Age" as half a million years, and that the last of the ice disappeared more than a thousand centuries ago. At the close of the glacial period the surface of the earth, over which the glacier had passed, was void of either vegetable or animal life. Gradually the frost and rains leveled the surface, the heat of the sun warmed the chilled earth, the winds carried the seeds of plants and deposited them upon the soil and life in its primitive forms made its appearance.

SOILS

Wayne County, in common with all the Lower Peninsula, is covered with glacial drift. Soil formed of drift material, being composed of a great variety of mineral constituents, usually has all the chemical requirements of a fertile soil. Exceptions to this rule are seen in places where the assorting of drift materials, by floods or atmospheric action, is sometimes carried to such a degree as to destroy fertility. A bed of clay, sand or gravel is not a soil, but a mixture of all three constitutes a soil that will produce vegetation.

Originally, about two-thirds of the county were heavily timbered with beech, basswood, black walnut, elm, hickory, oak and a few other varieties of trees, with some chestnut on the sandy ridges in Dearborn and Van Buren townships. The remaining third consisted of small plains called "oak openings," a fine description of which is found in J. Fennimore Cooper's novel of that name.

In the timbered portions the soil is composed chiefly of clay, sand and loams, siliceous forming an important ingredient, and the clay usually contains a large percentage of lime, which adds to the fertility. Soil of this character, throughout the southern portion of the Lower Peninsula, is well adapted to horticulture and many fine orchards and vineyards have been planted in this section of the state. The soil in the oak openings is generally sandy and less productive, but by careful cultivation it can be made to produce fair crops. In recent years, by a liberal application of commercial fertilizers, the farmers of Wayne County have been able to produce an abundance of vegetables of all sorts and of excellent quality.

CLIMATE

Like that of most of the cities in the Great Lake region, the climate of Detroit is modified by the adjacent bodies of water. Records of the United States Weather Bureau show that the average mean temperature for twenty-

five years, for the period from May to September, inclusive, never exceeded 72° Fahrenheit, while the mean winter temperature was 26°, the coldest weather occurring in February. The mean annual temperature therefore varies but little from that of other cities in the same latitude.

Observations have shown that, when the entire year is taken into consideration, the proportion of clear days to cloudy ones is about two to one, though in the summer and autumn months the proportion of clear days to cloudy is approximately five to one. The average yearly rainfall at Detroit is about forty inches. Usually June is the month of greatest precipitation (average nearly four inches) and the least rainfall occurs in the months of December and February.

M. de Bougainville, who visited Detroit in 1757, wrote: "The atmosphere is of great beauty and serenity. It is a magnificent climate, having almost no cold weather and only a little snow. The cattle stay in the fields all winter and find their living there."

No doubt the principal reason why Bougainville and other early travelers noticed so little snow is that the open surface of the Great Lakes has a tendency to increase the temperature and the snow often melts as fast as it falls. The snowfall was probably much heavier than these early visitors realized. The winter of 1779-80 was one of the most severe on record. Snow covered the ground practically all winter, the cold was intense and in the spring the bodies of horses and cattle were found by scores in the woods, where they had perished from exposure and starvation. The winter of 1785-86 was also one of extreme cold and deep snow. As late as March 1, 1786, the snow was four feet in places where it had not been disturbed. In Lake St. Clair the ice was three feet thick a mile from the shore and did not disappear until May. About the middle of April, 1821, eight inches of snow fell, and on May 1, 1824, the snow was a foot deep.

As the great lumbering interests cut off the pine forests, the destruction of the timber wielded an influence upon the climate, which has become more variable than formerly, though heavy snows still occur occasionally. About the middle of January, 1877, a snow storm caused the suspension of railway traffic for several days. At noon on April 6, 1886, a snow storm commenced and by midnight the snow was two feet deep on the level. The high wind blew the snow into drifts and all street cars stopped running until late the next day.

As a rule, the autumns in Detroit are the most delightful and enjoyable seasons of the year. There is but little rainfall and the "Indian Summer" frequently extends into the latter part of November.

THE NAME "DETROIT"

No fewer than six names have been bestowed upon the site of Detroit and the white settlement there established. Early Indian tribes called the place Yon-do-ti-ga, meaning a "Great Village." Other tribes gave it the name of Wa-we-a-tun-ong, which meant "Crooked Way," or "Circuitous Approach," on account of the great bend in the river between Lake St. Clair and Fighting Island. Another Indian name was Tsyeh-sa-ron-dia, which also refers to the bend in the river. In the Colonial Archives of New York State, this name is found spelled in various ways, the most frequent of which is Teuchsa Grondie. The Huron Indians called the place Ka-ron-ta-en, "The Coast of the Straits."

Such were the names conferred by the natives. When Cadillac founded his

settlement here in 1701, it was at first called Fort Pontchartrain, in honor of Count Pontchartrain, then the French minister of marine. Early French explorers and travelers designated all the waters connecting Lake Huron and Lake Erie—the St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair and the Detroit River—as *Détroit*, that is “the strait.” So the settlement at Fort Pontchartrain was christened Detroit, from which is derived its popular sobriquet of the “City of the Straits.”

CHAPTER II

PREHISTORIC DETROIT

THEORIES REGARDING THE FIRST INHABITANTS—THE MOUND BUILDERS—WAYNE COUNTY MOUNDS—WHO WERE THE MOUND BUILDERS—THE INDIANS—TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—THE CHIPPEWA—THE IROQUOIS—THE HURON—THE MASCOUTEN—THE MIAMI—THE OTTAWA—THE POTTAWATOMI—SAC AND FOX CONFEDERACY—THE WINNEBAGO—MINOR TRIBES—REGION INHABITED BY EACH—THEIR IMPORTANCE IN HISTORY—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION—TRADITIONS, ETC.

Before the white man the Indian; before the Indian, who? The question is more easily asked than answered. Owing to various theories advanced, the origin of the aboriginal inhabitants of Central North America is veiled in obscurity. A number of writers—men who made a special study of the subject—among whom were Prescott and Schoolcraft, have asserted their belief that the first occupants of the continent were descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. They support their theory with interesting and ingenious arguments to show that it was not impossible for them to have come from Asia, either by being drifted across the Pacific Ocean or by way of Behring's Strait and thence southward into what are now the United States and Mexico. Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, was an advocate of this theory. An old document found in the French Archives, written by him, sets forth the reasons for his belief that the Indians were of Hebrew origin.

THE MOUND BUILDERS

The first white settlements along the Atlantic coast were made in the early part of the Seventeenth Century. Almost a century and a half elapsed after these settlements were founded, before evidences were discovered to show that the interior had once been peopled by a peculiar race. Says one of the reports of the United States Bureau of Ethnology:

"During a period beginning some time after the close of the Ice Age and ending with the coming of the white man—or only a few generations before—the central part of North America was inhabited by a people who had emerged to some extent from the darkness of savagery, had acquired certain domestic arts, and practiced some well-defined lines of industry. The location and boundaries inhabited by them are fairly well marked by the mounds and earthworks they erected."

The center of this ancient civilization—if such it may be called—appears to have been in the present State of Ohio. From the relics left by these early people archæologists have given them the name of "Mound Builders." Most of the mounds so far discovered are conical in shape and when explored have generally been found to contain skeletons. For this reason they have been desig-

nated as burial mounds. Others are in the form of truncated pyramids—that is, square or rectangular at the base and flattened on the top. The mounds of this class are usually much higher than the burial mounds and are supposed to have been lookouts or signal stations. Here and there are to be seen well-defined lines of earthworks, indicating that they had been used for defensive purposes against invading enemies. In a few instances, the discovery of a large mound, surrounded by an embankment, outside of which are a number of smaller mounds, has given rise to the theory that such places were centers of religious worship or sacrifice.

Cyrus Thomas, of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, has divided the region once inhabited by the Mound Builders into eight districts, in each of which there are certain characteristics not common to the others. The location of these districts can be fairly well determined by their names, to wit: 1. The Dacotah; 2. The Huron-Iroquois; 3. The Illinois; 4. The Ohio; 5. The Appalachian; 6. The Tennessee; 7. The Arkansas; 8. The Gulf District.

The second of these districts—the Huron-Iroquois—embraces the country once inhabited by the Huron and Iroquois Indians. It includes the greater part of the State of New York, a strip across the northern part of Ohio, the Lower Peninsula of Michigan and extends northward into Canada. Throughout this district burial mounds are numerous, a few fortifications have been noted and “hut rings,” or foundations of ancient dwellings, are plentiful.

WAYNE COUNTY MOUNDS

. A few miles down the Detroit River from the City of Detroit, in Springwells Township, was once a group of mounds, circular or oval in form, with two parallel embankments about four feet high leading eastward, toward the Detroit River. Henry Gillman, at one time a curator of the Detroit Scientific Society and later librarian of the Detroit Public Library, wrote a description of these mounds, which was published in the report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1873. He says:

“One of the most interesting works of this region, and which, till a few years ago, formed a member of a numerous series of mounds in the immediate vicinity, is the tumulus which I have named ‘The Great Mound of the River Rouge.’ This, in many respects, remarkable work is situated on the eastern bank of the River Rouge, a tributary of the Detroit, and near the point of junction of the former with the latter river, or about four and a half miles from the City Hall of Detroit.

“The size, shape and well-defined outlines of the monument could hardly fail to attract the attention of even the superficial observer and impress him as to its being the work of man. With a height of 20 feet, it must originally have measured 300 feet in length by 200 in width, but large quantities of sand have been removed from time to time, greatly reducing its proportions and scattering or destroying relics. The smaller mounds, extending from the Great Mound to the eastward, have long since been removed, so has the greater number of smaller mounds which one stood immediately below the southern city limits. Those which remain are rapidly disappearing, being used for building sand.

“The relics exhumed from the Great Mound (which has not even yet been thoroughly explored) consist of stone implements, such as axes, scrapers, chisels, arrow heads and knives; fragments of pottery of a great variety of patterns,

including the favorite cord pattern; and the bones of man, generally much decayed and exhibiting other indications of antiquity.

"About three-fourths of a mile north and eastward of the Great Rouge Mound, and a few hundred feet westward of Fort Wayne, being over one-third of a mile from the Detroit River, occurs the monument which I have named 'The Great Circular Mound.' Eleven skeletons were here exhumed, with a large number of burial vases; stone implements in great variety and superior workmanship, consisting of axes, spears, arrow heads, chisels, drillers and sinkers; pipes, ornaments of shell and stone; also a peculiar implement of unknown use formed from an antler, and two articles made of copper, one the remains of a necklace, consisting of a number of beads, and the other a needle several inches in length."

WHO WERE THEY

Who were the Mound Builders? Various authors have written upon the subject and nearly every one has a theory as to their origin. Some maintain that they first established their civilization in the Ohio Valley, whence they worked their way gradually southward into Mexico and Central America, where the white man found their descendants in the Aztec Indians. Others, with arguments equally logical and plausible, contend that the Mound Builders originated in the South and migrated northward to the country about the Great Lakes, where their further progress was checked by hostile tribes. Practically all the early writers were agreed upon one thing, however, and that was that the Mound Builders were a very ancient race. The principal reasons for this view were that the Indians had no traditions concerning many of the relics, and upon many of the mounds and earthworks, when first discovered, were trees several feet in diameter, indicating that the relics were of great antiquity. Regarding the antiquity of the mounds in Wayne County, Mr. Gillman, in the article already referred to, says:

"Indian tradition says that the mounds were built in ancient times by a people of whom they (the Indians) know nothing, and for whom they have no name; that the mounds were occupied by the Turtle Indians and subsequently by the Wyandottes, but were constructed long before their time. * * * That these people are identical with the race whose monuments of various descriptions are found in such remarkable abundance to the westward and southward, through Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, even to the gulf of Mexico, admits now of no question; a race whose craniological development and evidently advanced civilization apparently separate it from the North American Indian and ally it to the ancient Brazilian type."

Among the earliest writers on the subject of the Mound Builders were Squier and Davis, who about the middle of the Nineteenth Century published a work entitled, "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley." Between the years 1845 and 1848 these two investigators opened over two hundred mounds. Following the lead of Squier and Davis, other investigators supported their theory that the Mound Builders, who once inhabited the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, were of a different race from the Indians found here by the white man.

In more recent years archæologists, who have made extensive research among the mounds, are practically a unit in the conclusion that the Mound Builder was nothing more than the ancestor, more or less remote, of the Indian.

THE INDIANS

When Christopher Columbus made his first voyage to the Western Hemisphere in 1492, he believed that he had reached the goal of his long cherished ambitions and that the country where he landed was the eastern shore of Asia. Early European explorers in America, entertaining a similar belief, thought the country was India and gave to the race of copper colored people they found here the name of "Indians." Later explorations disclosed the fact that Columbus had really discovered a continent hitherto unknown to the civilized nations of the world. The error in geography was corrected, but the name given by the first adventurers to the natives still remains.

Probably more pages have been written relating to the Indian tribes of North America than on any other one subject connected with American history. To the student of history there is a peculiar fascination in the story of these savage tribes—their legends, traditions, wars and customs—that makes the topic always one of surpassing interest, and no history of Detroit and its environs would be complete without some account of the tribes that inhabited the country before the advent of the white man.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION

The North American Indians are divided into several groups or families, each of which is distinguished by certain physical and linguistic characteristics. Each of these groups is subdivided into tribes and each tribe is ruled over by a chief. At the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, when the first Europeans began their explorations in America, they found the various leading Indian families distributed over the continent as follows:

In the far north were the Eskimo, a people that have never played any conspicuous part in history. These Indians still inhabit the country about the Arctic Circle, where some of them have been occasionally employed as guides to polar expeditions, which has been about their only association with the white race.

The Algonquian family, the most powerful and numerous of all the Indian groups, occupied a great triangle, roughly bounded by the Atlantic coast from Labrador to Cape Hatteras and by lines drawn from those two points to the western end of Lake Superior. Within this triangle lived the Delaware, Shawnee, Miami, Pottawatomie, Chippewa, Ottawa, Sac, Fox, Huron, Winnebago and other powerful tribes, which yielded slowly to the advance of the superior race.

Almost in the very heart of the Algonquian triangle—along the upper reaches of the St. Lawrence River and the shores of Lake Ontario—lived the Iroquoian group, the principal tribes of which were the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca.

South of the Algonquian country and extending from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic coast was the domain of the Muskogean family. The leading tribes of this group were the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw and Creek. The Indians of this group were among the most intelligent, as well as the most aggressive and warlike, of all the North American tribes.

Of the groups inhabiting the western part of the present United States, the strongest was the Siouan, whose domain was about the headwaters of the Mississippi and extending westward to the Missouri River. It was composed of

a number of tribes closely resembling each other in physical appearance and dialect, all noted for their warlike tendencies and military prowess.

South and west of the Siouan country lived the "Plains Indians," composed of tribes of mixed stock, including the Arapaho, Cheyenne and Pawnee (or Pani) in the north, and the Apache, Comanche and Kiowa in the south. All these tribes were of bold and vindictive disposition, expert horsemen and skilful hunters. West of the Plains Indians dwelt the Shoshonean family, one of the smallest on the continent, the principal tribes of which were the Bannock and Shoshone, and farther southward, in what are now the states of Arkansas and Louisiana, was the Caddoan family, or "hut builders."

Scattered over other parts of the country were numerous minor tribes, which in all probability had separated from some of the great families, but who, at the time they first came in contact with the white man, claimed kinship with none. These tribes were generally inferior in numbers, often nomadic in their habits, and consequently are of little importance historically.

In a history such as this it is not the design to attempt any extended account of the Indian race as a whole, but to notice only those tribes whose history is more or less intimately connected with the region about Detroit, to wit: The Chippewa, Huron, Iroquois, Mascouten, Miami, Pottawatomi, Sac and Fox, Winnebago and some minor tribes that were really only subdivisions or offshoots of the larger ones.

THE CHIPPEWA

This was one of the largest tribes of the Algonquian family. The Indian name was "Ojibwa," meaning "to roast till puckered up," a name conferred by other tribes on account of the Chippewa method of making moccasins with a puckered seam around the edge. Morgan divides the Chippewa into twenty-four clans or gentes, the principal ones of which were the wolf, bear, beaver, bald eagle and sturgeon.

A Chippewa tradition says that at an early date the tribe was closely allied with the other Algonquian subdivisions, especially the Ottawa and Pottawatomi. During this period they inhabited both shores of the northern part of Lake Michigan and the country about the foot of Lake Superior. The French gave them the name of Sauteaux, from the Sault Ste. Marie. At Mackinaw the Chippewa withdrew from the alliance and moved westward into what is now the State of Minnesota, ultimately extending their domain to the Turtle River in North Dakota.

Although a large tribe numerically, it was not as prominent in history as some of the smaller ones. Some of the Chippewa lived near the site of Detroit before the coming of Cadillac and became the friends of the French. When the post was surrendered to the English in 1760 they transferred their allegiance to the new power. After the United States came into control, the tribe continued to receive presents from the British until 1820, when a treaty of peace was concluded with them by Gov. Lewis Cass.

THE HURON

The Huron nation was composed of four well organized tribes of Iroquoian stock, commonly called the Bear, Cord, Deer and Rock people, and was known as the Wendat (Vendat) Confederacy. The name Huron is derived from the

French "hure," signifying "bristly," and was given to these Indians on account of their coarse, bristly hair.

In 1615 Champlain found the four confederated tribes living about the Georgian Bay and along the eastern coast of Lake Huron. He estimated their number at 30,000 and says they had eighteen populous villages, eight of which were fortified with palisades. About forty years after Champlain's visit, they became involved in a war with the Five Nations and were driven to take refuge with the Erie Indians, whom they persuaded to join them in the war. In 1656 they were again defeated and many of their warriors killed. The survivors fled to Christian Island, in the Georgian Bay, but finding that locality unsafe they retired to Michilimackinac, whither they were pursued by their old enemy. The Iroquois advance was then checked by the Chippewa, the Hurons retiring to the vicinity of Green Bay, where they formed an alliance with some of the Ottawa and Pottawatomi.

According to the Jesuit Relations, a Huron settlement was founded in 1670 on Mantoulin Island, where the next year Father Marquette established the mission of St. Ignace. When Cadillac founded the post at Detroit, he adopted the policy of having as many friendly Indians as possible locate near the fort. On June 28, 1703, thirty Huron families from the St. Ignace mission arrived at Detroit and set up their wigwams. They were soon joined by others of the tribe and an old French memoir of 1707 says:

"The Hurons are also near, perhaps the eighth of a league from the French fort. This is the most industrious nation that can be seen. They scarcely ever dance and are always at work; raise a very large amount of Indian corn, peas and beans; grow some wheat. They construct their huts entirely of bark, very strong and solid; very lofty and very long and arched like arbors. Their fort is strongly encircled with pickets and bastions, well redoubted and has strong gates. They are the most faithful nation to the French, and the most expert hunters that we have."

After some years at Detroit, a portion of the tribe went to Sandusky, Ohio. In 1745 the French commandant at Detroit provoked the enmity of the chief Orontony (or Nicholas), who, with his following, left Detroit and joined those at Sandusky. There he began the formation of a conspiracy for the destruction of the French posts at and above Detroit, but a Huron woman revealed the plot to a Jesuit priest, who in turn notified Longueuil, the commandant at Detroit. Orontony then destroyed his village near Sandusky and with his warriors and their families established a new one on the White River in Indiana, where he died in the fall of 1748.

Upon the death of their chief the Indians returned to Detroit and Sandusky, where they took the name of Wyandot instead of Huron. As the Wyandot nation they laid claim to the greater part of what is now the State of Ohio. During the War of 1812 they supported the English cause and by the peace of 1815 the tribe was granted a large tract of land in Ohio and Michigan. Most of this tract was ceded to the United States in 1819, the Indians accepting two reservations, one near Upper Sandusky and the other on the Huron River, not far from Detroit. These reservations were sold in 1842 and the occupants removed to what is now Wyandotte County, Kansas, where they lived for twenty-five years, when they were removed to the Indian Territory. The remnant of the once great Huron nation now lives on a reservation in the northeast corner of Oklahoma.

THE IROQUOIS

Strictly speaking there were no Iroquois Indians, that name being applied in a general way to all the tribes of the same linguistic stock, ethnologically known as the Iroquoian family. In 1534 Jacques Cartier found these Indians on the shore of the Gaspé Basin and on both banks of the St. Lawrence River between Quebec and Montreal, which was their first acquaintance with the white race.

The word Iroquois means "We are of the extended lodge," and was given to the confederacy formed about 1570 by the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga and Seneca tribes, after wars with other tribes led them to unite for their common defense. This confederacy was known to the early settlers of New York as the "Five Nations." At that time the allied tribes claimed nearly all the St. Lawrence Valley, the basins of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, the eastern shore of Lake Huron, especially the country about the Georgian Bay, and all the present State of New York except the lower Hudson Valley.

In this confederacy each tribe was an independent political unit, which sent delegates to a general council. The Five Nations were second to none north of Mexico in political organization, statecraft and military prowess. Their chiefs were diplomats of ability and nearly always proved a match for the white men, when the two races met in council for the negotiation of treaties, etc. In 1722 the Tuscarora tribe was added to the confederacy, which then took the name of the "Six Nations."

Champlain, in one of his early expeditions, joined a party of Canadian Indians at war with the Five Nations, who thereby became bitter and lasting enemies of the French. Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries tried in vain to win them to the Catholic faith and in the French and Indian war they fought on the side of the British.

About 1650 French travelers estimated the Iroquois population at 20,000. They were nearly always at war with the neighboring tribes, from New England to Lake Michigan, where their westward advance was checked by the Chippewa. These wars depleted their ranks and at the close of the French and Indian war they numbered about 10,000, with fifty villages. They sometimes were represented in the councils held at the Huron or Wyandot village, near the mouth of the Detroit River, but as a rule they were the enemies of all the Indians about Detroit, particularly those on friendly terms with the French. They were cruel in war and it is stated on apparently good authority that they often ate the flesh of their enemies killed in battle.

THE MASCOUTEN

Some ethnologists classify this tribe as part of the Sac and Fox confederacy and others as the "Prairie Band" of the Pottawatomi. This is probably due to the confused accounts concerning their early history. In 1616 Champlain met with a tribe that he designated as the Asistagueroon, which inhabited the country south and west of Lake Huron. Twenty years later, Sagard stated that the Mascouten country was nine or ten days' journey west of the south end of the Georgian Bay. In 1634 Nicolas Perrot found them living on the Fox River in Wisconsin, and the Jesuit Relation for 1646 says that up to the time of Perrot's visit no white man had seen them and no missionaries had been among them. They called themselves the "little prairie people."

Marest, writing of this tribe, says that in 1712 he found a number of them living on the Ohio River, near the mouth of the Wabash, where they had located only a short time before. It was part of this band who, with some of the Kickapoo, joined in the Fox attack on Detroit in May, 1712, which may have had something to do with the theory that the Mascouten were a branch of the Fox tribe.

THE MIAMI

Among the great tribes of the Algonquian family, the Miami (called Twightwees by the early English settlers) occupied a large territory in Southern Michigan, Western Ohio and Central Indiana. Some idea of the extent of the tribal claims may be gained from the following extract from the speech of their great chief, Little Turtle, at the council of Greenville, Ohio, in August, 1795: "My fathers kindled the first fire at Detroit; thence they extended their lines to the headwaters of the Scioto; thence to its mouth; thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; thence to Chicago and over Lake Michigan."

The Miami was one of the first tribes to establish friendly relations with the French under Cadillac. As early as 1703 there was a considerable Miami colony at Detroit, but their principal settlement at that time was on the shore of Lake Michigan, near the present City of St. Joseph. Later the tribal headquarters were established at the head of the Maumee River, where the City of Fort Wayne, Indiana, now stands.

Agriculture was practiced in a primitive way, the women, as in other tribes doing the work of the field and wigwam, while the men engaged in hunting or "went on the war path." They were less treacherous than many of the tribes and appear to have had a higher sense of honor. When the peace treaty of Greenville was concluded on August 3, 1795, some of the Miami chiefs were opposed to certain provisions, but finally yielded to the majority. As Little Turtle "touched the goose quill" he said: "I am the last to sign it and I will be the last to break it." He kept his word and remained on terms of peace with the white people until his death at Fort Wayne, Indiana, on July 14, 1812.

THE OTTAWA

The name Ottawa was a term common to a number of Algonquian tribes, notably the Cree, Chippewa, Nipissing and Ottawa proper. The first mention of these Indians in history was in 1615, when Champlain met about 300 of them and gave them the name of "les cheueux releuez." In his description of them he says:

"Their arms consisted only of a bow and arrows, a buckler of boiled leather and the club. They wore no breech clouts, their bodies were tattooed in many fashions and designs, their faces painted and their noses pierced."

From their pierced noses an ornament consisting of a small pebble or shell was suspended, which doubtless led some of the early writers to conclude that the term Ottawa signified "the nation with a hole in the nose." This theory is not sustained by the United States Bureau of Ethnology, the "Handbook" of which says the name was applied to the Ottawa "because in early traditional times and also during the historic period they were noted among their neighbors as intertribal traders and barterers, dealing chiefly in corn meal, sunflower oil, furs and skins, rugs and mats, tobacco, and medicinal roots and herbs."

The Jesuit Relation for 1667 says that they claimed the country along the Ottawa River and that no other nation was permitted to navigate that stream without their consent. About the same time Claude Allouez, the Jesuit missionary, wrote: "They are little disposed toward the faith, for they are too much given to idolatry, superstitions, fables, polygamy, looseness of the marriage tie and to all manner of license, which causes them to drop all native decency."

Until about 1670 the Ottawa and Huron lived together. Then the latter removed to the west side of Lake Huron, part of the tribe locating near the present City of Detroit and others going to Michilimackinac to escape from their old enemy, the Iroquois. A little later it seems that a portion of the Ottawa also gained a foothold on the west side of Lake Huron, in the vicinity of Saginaw Bay, where the Pottawatomi were probably in close union with them. In 1703 Cadillac invited them to settle near Detroit and they established a village on the opposite side of the river, where Sandwich now stands. There they built a picket fort, similar to that of the Huron stockade.

For more than half a century the Ottawa were the steadfast friends of the French and on numerous occasions assisted them in repelling the attacks of hostile tribes. After Detroit was surrendered to the British in 1760, the tribe became dissatisfied with the new power. The celebrated chief, Pontiac, was a member of this tribe, and Pontiac's war of 1763, an account of which is given in another chapter, was a prominent event in Ottawa history.

The Ottawa were good farmers and experts in handling their canoes. At the close of the Revolutionary war a small portion of the tribe refused to submit to the authority of the United States and removed to Canada. Subsequently they, with some of the Chippewa and Pottawatomi Indians, were settled on Walpole Island in Lake St. Clair. All the lands in Michigan claimed by the Ottawa were ceded to the United States by various treaties, ending with the Chicago treaty of September 26, 1833, when they accepted a reservation near Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

THE POTTAWATOMI

When first met by the white men, this tribe was one of the greatest of the Algonquin group. The name Pottawatomi signifies "the people of the place of fire," or "nation of fire." The first authentic account of these Indians is that given by Jean Nicolle, who found them in 1634 living with the Winnebago and some other tribes about the Green Bay. Thirty years later the main body of the tribe inhabited the islands about the mouth of the Green Bay. The Jesuit Relation for 1671 says: Four nations make their abode here, namely: "Those who bear the name of Puans (Winnebago), who have always lived here as in their own country, and who have been reduced to almost nothing from being a very flourishing and populous people, having been exterminated by their enemies, the Illini; the Pottawatomi, the Sauk and the Nation of the Fork also live here, but as strangers or foreigners, driven by the fear of the Iroquois from their own lands which are between the lake of the Hurons and the country of the Illini."

This would indicate that the original habitat of the Pottawatomi was somewhere about the foot of Lake Huron. When the Relation of 1671 was written, the tribe was moving toward the south and east. Soon after Cadillac founded Detroit a Pottawatomi village was established near the mouth of the little

stream afterward known as Knagg's Creek and within a short distance of the fort. An old French colonial memoir of 1707 says:

"The village of the Pottowatomies adjoins the fort. The women do all the work. The men belonging to that nation are well clothed, like our domiciliated Indians at Montreal; their entire occupation is hunting and dress; they make use of a great deal of vermillion, and in winter wear buffalo robes richly painted and in summer either blue or red cloth. They play a good deal at la crosse in summer, twenty or more on each side. Their bat is a sort of little racket and the ball with which they play is made of very heavy wood, somewhat larger than the balls used at tennis; when playing they are entirely naked, except a breech cloth and moccasins on their feet. Their bodies are completely painted with all sorts of colors. Some, with white clay, trace white lace on their bodies, as if on all the seams of a coat, and at a distance it would be apt to be taken for silver lace. They play very deep and often. The bets sometimes amount to more than eight hundred livres. They set up two poles and commence the game from the center; one party propels the ball from one side and the other from the opposite, and whichever reaches the goal wins. This is fine recreation and worth seeing. * * * The women cultivate Indian corn, beans, peas, squashes and melons, which come up very fine."

The Pottawatomie were the loyal friends of the French, but after the French and Indian war they joined Pontiac in his conspiracy for the destruction of the English posts. Their burial place at Detroit was on the tract later known as the Brevoort farm. In 1771 they granted part of their lands near Detroit to Isadore Chene and Robert Navarre, on condition that the two white men would keep in order the resting places of their dead.

In the Revolutionary war they fought on the side of the British, with whom they had made friends, and at the council of Greenville in 1795 they notified the Miami that they intended to move down upon the Wabash River, which they did soon afterward, in spite of the protests of the Miami, who claimed practically the whole Wabash Valley. At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century the Pottawatomie were in possession of the country around the head of Lake Michigan from the Milwaukee River to the Grand River in Michigan, extending eastward across the Lower Peninsula, southwest over a large part of Northern Illinois, and southward to the Wabash River. Within this territory they had about fifty populous villages.

In the War of 1812 they again took the side of the British, which was their undoing. Between the years 1836 and 1841 they ceded their lands in Indiana, Illinois and Michigan to the United States and in 1846 removed to a reservation in what is now the State of Kansas.

Morgan divides the Pottawatomie into fifteen clans or gentes, the most important of which were the wolf, bear, beaver, fox and thunder. Early writers describe them as "docile and affectionate" in their relations with the white people. Polygamy was common among them when the first missionaries visited the tribe. In their mythology they had two spirits—Kitchemonedo, the Great Spirit, and Matchemonedo, the Evil Spirit—and they were sun worshipers to some extent. Their principal annual festival was the "Feast of Dreams," at which dog meat was served as the leading dish.

SAC AND FOX

Although these two tribes are nearly always spoken of as one, they were originally separate and distinct organizations, both belonging to the Algonquian

family. After many migrations and vicissitudes they united and became one of the powerful Indian nations of the Mississippi Valley.

The Sac (Indian name Sauk or Osa-ki-wug) signifies "people of the outlet." Their earliest known habitat was on the western shore of Lake Huron, where they were found by missionaries in 1616 associated with other tribes. They are first mentioned as an independent tribe in the Jesuit Relation of 1640. In 1667 Father Claude Allouez found them a populous tribe with no fixed dwelling place and describes them as "more savage than all the other tribes I have met. * * * If they find a person in an isolated place they will kill him, especially if he be a Frenchman, for they cannot endure the sight of the whiskers of the European."

The tribe was divided into thirteen gentes, viz: Bass, bear, eagle, elk, fox, great lynx, grouse, sea, sturgeon, swan, thunder, trout and wolf. From the country about Saginaw Bay they retreated toward the northwest, by way of Mackinaw, and thence southwest to Green Bay, and in 1721 their principal village was near the mouth of the Fox River in Wisconsin.

Concerning the Fox nation, Dr. William Jones of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, says that a hunting party of these Indians was met by some French, who asked to what tribe they belonged and was told the Mesh-kwa-ki-hug. The name being difficult of pronunciation, the French gave them the name of Renard, or Fox. The Indian name, Mesh-kwa-ki-hug, means "people of the red earth." It was often shortened into Musquakie. The Chippewa called them Utagamig, which the white people corrupted into Outagamie. The Chippewa name means "people of the other shore," and from this fact Warren, in his "History of the Ojibwa Indians," draws the conclusion that the earliest known habitat of the Fox was on the southern shore of Lake Superior until driven out by the Chippewa.

There is a striking similarity in the social organization of the Sac and Fox nations, in that each had thirteen gentes, the names of which were almost identical. The Fox clans were the bass, bear, big lynx, buffalo, eagle, elk, fox, pheasant, sea, sturgeon, swan, thunder and potato. The celebrated chief Black Hawk was a member of the thunder clan of the Sac tribe, but was recognized as chief by the Fox after the two had formed their confederacy.

Incited by the English, the Fox Indians became the enemies of the French and made several attacks upon the French posts. In 1733, after one of their forays, Sieur de Villiers was sent against them with an armed force from Canada. They sought refuge in the Sac village on the Fox River. De Villiers demanded the surrender of the fugitives, but it was refused and in the fight that ensued the Indians lost twenty-nine and the French fifteen, De Villiers being one of the killed. The Ottawa and Chippewa, allies of the French, lost respectively nine and six of their warriors. Marquis de Beauharnois, then governor of Canada, sent more troops into the Indian country. It was at this time that the Sac and Fox confederacy was formed, the allied tribes retreating southward to the Rock River Valley in Illinois.

The mythology of both the Sac and Fox was full of superstition and fable, which, like the similarity of their social organization, indicates that they were of the same stock. Both had many festivals and after the confederacy was formed both participated in the rites of the secret Grand Medicine Society known as the Mi-de-wi-win. Also both tribes are described as "stingy, warlike, thieving and quarrelsome."

THE WINNEBAGO

The first mention of the Winnebago Indians in the white man's history was that made by Jean Nicolle, who found them in 1634 living along the shores of the Green Bay, where they were associated with other tribes. A Winnebago tradition says they were once a powerful nation, living along the shores of Lake Supérieur until they were driven out by the Chippewa. They really belonged to the Siouan group, but by long association with Algonquian tribes they acquired the speech and habits of that family.

In their social organization the Winnebago had two phratries called the Air Phratry and the Earth Phratry. In the former were four clans—eagle, pigeon, thunderbird and war people—and in the latter there were eight clans—bear, buffalo, deer, elk, fish, snake, water-spirit and wolf. The bear and thunderbird were the leading clans, from which came most of their great chiefs. In marrying a man always chose a wife from some other clan than his own.

After the French and Indian war they were slow to transfer their allegiance to the English. During the Revolutionary war they took no important part, but in the War of 1812 they fought against the United States with the tribes that gathered about Detroit. At that time the tribe lived on the Rock River, in Illinois, a few miles above the Sac Village. A few years after the Black Hawk war they were removed to a reservation in Iowa.

MINOR TRIBES

In addition to the tribes above mentioned there were several which were less intimately connected with the history of Detroit. One of these was the Menominee tribe, which Jean Nicolle found living with the Winnebago on the Green Bay in 1634. The French called these Indians Folles Avoines, from "wild rice," which was one of their chief articles of food. They were friendly to the French and assisted Du Buisson, the commandant at Detroit, to repel the attack of the Fox and Kickapoo Indians on the fort in May, 1712. In August, 1831, about twenty of them were killed by a Sac and Fox band near the present City of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, the assassins joining Black Hawk immediately afterward and taking part in the Black Hawk war the following year.

The Illinois—or Illini, as they were at first known—was, according to their traditions, once a powerful nation, consisting of five subordinate tribes, viz.: The Kaskaskia, Peoria, Tamaroa, Cahokia and Michigani. They also assisted the French to defeat the assaults on Fort Pontchartrain in the spring of 1712. Pontiac, who led the uprising against the English posts in 1763, was killed by a Kaskaskia Indian in 1769, whereupon the Sac and Fox, allies of Pontiac, declared war upon the Illini and in time almost exterminated the tribes composing the confederacy.

The main dwelling place of the Kickapoo Indians was along the lower Wabash River, in southern Indiana and Illinois, though they frequently wandered into the Great Lakes country. Part of the tribe participated in the attack on the French fort at Detroit in May, 1712. As Capt. George Croghan and his escort were on the way to the English posts on the Mississippi River early in the year 1765, he was captured near the mouth of the Wabash by a Kickapoo band that had been active in supporting Pontiac, but was soon afterward released.

All these tribes were of Algonquian stock, as were the Osage and a few others that figured to a slight extent in Detroit history. They are here classed

as "minor tribes" merely because of the insignificant part they played in local events. Logan, the Cayuga (or Mingo) chief was an occasional visitor at Detroit. Tecumseh (the Shooting Star) and his brother Tenskwatawa (the Prophet), two of the greatest members of the Shawnee nation, frequently visited the post while the English were in control, and the former was an active supporter of the British in the War of 1812 until killed at the battle of the Thames.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST WHITE MEN

COUREURS DE BOIS—SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN—THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES—MARQUETTE AND JOLIET—PERROT'S COUNCIL—DE LUSSON'S PROCLAMATION—DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER—LA SALLE'S EXPEDITIONS—THE GRIFFON—HENNEPIN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE DETROIT RIVER—HE ASCENDS THE MISSISSIPPI—DOLLIER AND GALINEE—THE BROKEN IDOL—AN INDIAN LEGEND—GALINEE'S MAP AND NARRATIVE.

In giving an account of the early explorers, who may or may not have visited the site of the City of Detroit, the writer has ventured to "wander far afield" and include explorations that may appear to have no direct bearing upon the city's history. Yet the work of each of the explorers mentioned in this chapter had its influence in developing the country about the Great Lakes, and incidentally contributed to the founding of Detroit.

COUREURS DE BOIS

In all probability the first white men to set foot upon the soil of Michigan were the coureurs de bois, or Canadian woodsmen. When the continent of North America was first explored by Europeans, it was found that the country lying above 36° north latitude was the richest and most extensive field in the world for the collection of fine furs. The Indians used the skins of some of the fur-bearing animals for clothing, or in the construction of their wigwams, not knowing that such skins were of almost fabulous value in the European capitals. The coming of the white man brought to the savage wants hitherto unknown—wants which he could more easily satisfy by exchanging furs for the white man's goods than in any other way.

The French were the pioneers in the fur trade. Before the dawn of the seventeenth century they were trading with the Indians in the valley of the St. Lawrence River, and after Montreal was founded that city became the principal market for their peltries. The fur trade gave rise to that hardy, adventurous class of men known as coureurs de bois, who, afraid of nothing, wandered into the trackless forests in quest of furs. From the St. Lawrence country they worked their way westward, establishing friendly relations with the Indian tribes they met around the Great Lakes, then crossed the low portages to the Mississippi Valley, and from there by way of the Missouri River finally reached the Rocky Mountains.

The coureur de bois kept no journal of his travels. He had no time for such things, his energies all being directed to the acquisition of valuable peltries and opening up a trade with new tribes. They had no difficulty, as a rule, in maintaining good terms with the natives and many of them married Indian wives. It is quite probable that, in their migrations, their canoes passed through "the

strait," as the Detroit River was at first known, and it is possible that some of them may have landed on the site of the City of Detroit.

SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN

One of the earliest known explorers in the region about the Great Lakes, of whose work an authentic record has been preserved, was Samuel Champlain, who was born at St. Malo, France, in 1582. He was educated for the priesthood, but his love of adventure outweighed his love for the "black gown" and he joined the French navy, where he developed into an expert navigator. About the time he attained to his majority he became interested in the explorations then going on in America. In 1607, when only twenty-five years of age, he was commissioned by the French King to fit out an expedition and establish a settlement somewhere in the country discovered by Jacques Cartier. On July 3, 1608, he selected the site of Quebec and there founded the third permanent settlement in North America. Three years later he laid the foundations of Montreal and in the same year discovered the lake that bears his name in North-eastern New York.

Some writers claim that Champlain visited the vicinity of Detroit in 1610. In the French Colonial Records it is stated that he passed through the strait in 1611 or 1612. Marquis de Denonville, who was governor of New France from 1685 to 1689, writing some years later of Champlain's explorations, says: "In the years 1611 and 1612 he ascended the Grand River as far as Lake Huron, called the fresh sea. He passed by places he has himself described in his book, which are no other than Detroit and Lake Erie."

Even in the face of this positive statement, it is by no means certain that Champlain ever visited the site of Detroit. In his own narrative of his travels and explorations, he says that some Indians described the strait to him in 1603, but nowhere in his writings does he assert that he passed through the Detroit River, or any stream answering its description.

From 1612 to 1619 and again from 1633 to 1635 he was governor of New France. During the former period he was engaged in exploring Canada and Prince de Conde discharged the duties of governor. His description of the country was influential in building up the French settlements and, whether he visited Detroit or not, his work facilitated the establishment of French posts in the Northwest.

THE JESUITS

The Seventeenth Century was still in its infancy when Jesuit missionaries from the French settlements at Quebec and Montreal were among the Indian tribes living upon the shores of Lake Michigan and Lake Superior, instructing them in the ways of civilization and endeavoring to convert them to the Catholic faith. These early priests traveled mainly by water and there is no doubt that some of their canoes passed up the Detroit River. Carlisle, in his compilation of the records of the Wayne County Historical and Pioneer Society, says Jesuit missionaries visited an Ottawa village on Parent Creek, now within the city limits of Detroit, in 1610.

Wherever these priests went they established amicable relations with the native tribes, and though the spiritual welfare of the Indian was their first consideration, they opened the way for the fur traders. It was not until toward the middle of the century, however, that their labors began to bear fruit.

Among the Jesuit missionaries who were active about this time was Father Claudius (or Claude) Dablon. He was a native of France and came to America in 1655, soon after taking his priestly orders. For three years he was stationed at the Onondaga mission, in the Iroquois country, after which he was among the Indians of New England for about ten years. In 1668 he was sent to the Great Lakes country and assisted in founding the mission of Sault Ste. Marie, the oldest white settlement within the present State of Michigan. For a number of years he was the superior of all the missions of the Northwest. While serving as superior he compiled the Jesuit Relations from 1672 to 1679, though they were not published until many years afterward.

One of the first great councils ever held with the Indians of the upper lakes was arranged by Father Claude Allouez at the Chippewa Village, on the southern shore of Lake Superior, in the fall of 1665. At this council half a dozen or more of the leading Indian nations of the Northwest and the Illinois country were represented by their chiefs. Allouez and his associates promised them the friendship and protection of the French and made inquiries regarding the country in which they lived. In the report of Allouez, concerning what was accomplished at the council, he says the Sioux and Illini chiefs told him of a great river "farther to the westward, called by them the Me-sa-sip-pi, which they said no white man had yet seen, and along which fur-bearing animals abounded."

Thirty years before the Allouez council, vague rumors of the great river had reached the Canadian authorities through the reports of Jean Nicollet, but little attention was paid to them. With the report of Allouez, and other information he imparted, came a desire to know more of the river and the rich fur country described by the Indians. A delay of several years occurred, however, before any systematic effort was made to discover it.

MARQUETTE AND JOLIET

Jacques Marquette, one of the most active and intelligent of the Jesuit fathers, was born at Laon, France, in 1637. At an early age he joined the Jesuit Society and in 1666 was sent to Canada as a missionary. For about eighteen months after his arrival in America, he was stationed at the Three Rivers mission on the St. Lawrence. He was then transferred to the Lake Superior field and in 1668 he assisted Father Dablon in establishing the mission of Sault Ste Marie, "at the foot of the rapids." He remained in charge of this mission for about a year, when he was sent to the mission known as Pointe du Esprit. With the Huron portion of his flock, he left Pointe du Esprit in 1671 and founded the mission of Point St. Ignace.

In September, 1673, after his discovery of the Mississippi, he was ordered to the mission of St. Francis Xavier at the head of the Green Bay, where he remained until October, 1674. He was then sent to the Illinois country. Leaving St. Francis Xavier on October 25, 1674, he passed down the west shore of Lake Michigan until he reached the mouth of the Chicago River, thence up that stream to the portage, and down the Illinois River to Kaskaskia, reaching that settlement on April 8, 1675. There he founded the mission of the Immaculate Conception, when failing health caused him to set out on the return to St. Ignace. From the mouth of the Chicago River he crossed over to the east shore of Lake Michigan. Upon reaching the mouth of the Marquette River, where the City of Ludington, Michigan, is now located, he landed and died there

on May 18, 1675. His companions buried his body upon a little knoll and erected a cross to mark the spot, though his remains were afterward removed to St. Ignace.

Louis Joliet was born at Quebec on September 21, 1645, and was educated in the Jesuit College in his native city. He took minor orders, but in 1667 he gave up the idea of the priesthood to engage in the fur trade. After a visit to France, he was sent by M. Talon, the intendant at Quebec, to find the copper mines on the shore of Lake Superior. Early in 1669, accompanied by Jean Pere, he set out on his voyage and it is asserted by some writers that he was the first white man to pass through the Detroit River.

Joliet was at the Sault Ste Marie in June, 1671, when St. Lusson took possession of the region for France, and upon his return to Quebec he was assigned to accompany Father Marquette on an expedition "to find and ascertain the direction of the course of the Mississippi River and its mouth." Joliet died in Canada in May, 1700.

PERROT'S COUNCIL

The accounts of the region about Lake Michigan and Lake Superior carried back to Quebec by Allouez and other missionaries, led the Canadian authorities to send Nicolas Perrot as the accredited agent of the French Government to arrange for a grand council with the Indians and negotiate a treaty of peace. The council assembled at the mission of St. Marie late in May, 1671, and continued in session for about two weeks. According to the Jesuit Relations for that year, the tribes represented were the Chippewa, Cree, Fox, Sac, Illini, Menominee, Pottawatomi and some of the Sioux. The account of the council says:

"Having caused a cross to be erected, to produce there the fruits of Christianity, and near it a cedar pole, to which we have attached the arms of France, saying three times with a loud voice and public proclamation, that IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HIGH, MOST POWERFUL AND MOST REDOUBTABLE MONARCH, LOUIS XIV OF NAME, MOST CHRISTIAN KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, we take possession of said place, Sainte Marie du Sault, as also of the Lakes Huron and Superior," etc.

This proclamation was signed by Daumont de St. Lusson and a number of witnesses, and was dated June 14, 1671. (Some writers give the date as June 4, 1671.) By this act of De Lusson the territory bordering on Lake Huron became officially French domain.

DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Among those who were filled with the desire to discover the Mississippi River, after the council held at the Chippewa Village in the fall of 1665, was Father Marquette. He was deterred from making the attempt until after Perrot's council, which assured the friendship of the Indian tribes living along the upper portion of the river. In the spring of 1673, having received the necessary authority from the Canadian officials, he began his preparations at Michilimackinac for the voyage.

Early in May he was joined by Louis Joliet, who had been selected by M. Talon on account of his knowledge of topography to accompany Marquette and prepare a map of the river. It is said that the friendly Indians, who were loath to lose Father Marquette, tried to dissuade him from the undertaking

by telling him the Indians living along the river were cruel and treacherous, and that the river itself was the abode of terrible monsters which could swallow both canoes and men. These stories had no effect upon the intrepid priest, unless to make him more determined, and on May 13, 1673, he and Joliet, accompanied by five voyageurs, with two large canoes, left Michilimackinac.

Passing up the Green Bay to the mouth of the Fox River, the little expedition ascended that stream to the portage, crossed over to the Wisconsin River, down which they floated until June 17, 1673, when their canoes drifted out upon the broad bosom of the Mississippi. Turning their course down stream they descended the great "Father of Waters," carefully noting the landmarks as they passed along. When they reached the mouth of the Arkansas River, they found an Indian tribe whose language they could not understand and decided to go no farther, deferring the discovery of the mouth of the river for a future voyage.

Instead of returning by way of the Wisconsin River, they ascended the Illinois to the portage, about where the City of Joliet now stands, crossed over to the Chicago River and in due time reached Lake Michigan, over whose waters they passed to Michilimackinac. There Father Marquette ended his journey, but Joliet went on to Quebec to report the results of their voyage. In the Lachine Rapids, above Montreal, his canoe was capsized and his notes and charts were lost. Joliet barely escaped with his life and upon reaching Quebec he prepared a narrative from memory, which agreed in all the essential particulars with Marquette's account of the voyage.

The discovery of the Mississippi by Marquette and Joliet wrought important changes in the affairs of the Canadian settlements. Transportation in those days was chiefly by water, and, although the exact location of the mouth of the Mississippi was still undetermined, it was certain that the river emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. Enough was learned through the voyage of Marquette and Joliet to make sure that by easy portages, by way of either the Illinois or Wisconsin River, a thoroughfare could be opened between the French settlements about the Great Lakes and those soon to be established in Louisiana. The reports of Marquette and Joliet convinced the Canadian authorities that the great river was not a myth, and it was not long until steps were taken to claim the country drained by it for France.

LA SALLE'S EXPEDITIONS

In the year following the voyage of Marquette and Joliet, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, was granted the seigneurie of Fort Frontenac, where the City of Kingston, Ontario, is now situated, and on May 12, 1678, he received from Louis XIV, King of France, a commission to continue the explorations of Marquette and Joliet, "find a port for the king's ships in the Gulf of Mexico, discover the western parts of New France, and find a way to penetrate Mexico."

In the fall of 1678 La Salle sent a party of fifteen men up the lakes to trade with the Indians and soon afterward commenced preparations for his first attempt to reach and descend the Mississippi. At a place called Black Rock, near Niagara, he began the construction of a vessel of sixty tons, which was launched in May, 1679, and named the "Griffon." This was the first sailing vessel on the Great Lakes. After a few short trial trips, she started on her first real voyage early in August, 1679. She was equipped with five small

cannon and carried La Salle, Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan priest of the Recollet order, and thirty men.

About three weeks before the start of the "Griffon," La Salle despatched his lieutenant, Henri de Tonty, with five men, to find the party sent out the preceding autumn and bring the men to the lake at some convenient point for embarkation. The little vessel made good time and on August 10, 1679, found Tonty and the others waiting on the Detroit River, at or near the site of the City of Detroit. Taking them on board the "Griffon," La Salle continued his voyage and reached Washington Island, at the entrance of the Green Bay, in the early part of September.

Hennepin's description of the Detroit was one of the first to be published. He says: "The islands are the finest in the world. The strait is finer than Niagara, being one league broad excepting that part which forms the lake we have called Lake Ste. Claire. * * * A large village of Huron Indians called Teuchsa Grondie occupied the bank of the river. The village had been visited by the Jesuit missionaries and coureurs de bois, but no settlement had been attempted."

On September 18, 1679, the "Griffon" left Washington Island on her return voyage, but two days later encountered a severe storm in the northern part of Lake Michigan and was lost. Pieces of the wreck afterward drifted ashore on some of the islands at the north end of the lake and were identified.

La Salle reached the Illinois River, "in the dead of winter," when he learned of the loss of the "Griffon" and abandoned the expedition. Near the present City of La Salle, Illinois, he built a small stockade, which he called Fort Crevecoeur (Broken Heart), where he left part of his men and with the others started for Canada. Passing around the head of Lake Michigan, he arrived at the site of St. Joseph, where he struck a due easterly course, crossed the Detroit River on a raft and arrived at Niagara about May 1, 1680.

In the meantime, Father Hennepin, who had been left at Fort Crevecoeur, undertook a little exploring expedition of his own. With a few men he left the fort in February, 1680, and went down the Illinois to the Mississippi. Instead of descending the latter stream, he turned his canoes in the opposite direction. On April 11, 1680, he and his party were captured by Sioux Indians near the mouth of the Wisconsin River. The captives were taken up the Mississippi to St. Anthony's Falls—so named by Hennepin in honor of his patron saint—where they were rescued by Sieur du Luth and in November they were back in Quebec.

After the failure of his first expedition, affairs at his seigneurie claimed La Salle's attention for nearly three years, though he did not relinquish the idea of finding and exploring the great river. In December, 1681, he started upon his second, and what proved to be his successful expedition. This time he was accompanied by Henri de Tonty; Jacques de la Metarie, a notary; Jean Michel, surgeon of the expedition; Father Zenobe Membre, a Recollet missionary; and a "number of Frenchmen bearing arms." It is not necessary to follow this little band of explorers through all its vicissitudes and hardships in traversing a wild, unexplored country in the worst season of the year. Suffice it to say that the river was reached and descended to its mouth. On April 8, 1682, La Salle and Tonty passed through two of the channels connecting with the Gulf of Mexico. The next day came together again and La Salle took formal possession of "all the country drained by the great river and its tributaries,

in the name of France, and conferred upon the territory thus claimed the name of Louisiana, in honor of the French king."

To the casual reader it may seem that La Salle's work as an explorer has little or nothing to do with the history of Detroit. But it should be borne in mind that the discovery of the Mississippi by Marquette and Joliet opened the way for the later voyage of La Salle and his claim to all the country drained by the river, which strengthened the French claim to the region about the Great Lakes and made easier the establishment of forts and trading posts, one of which was planted at Detroit by Cadillac nineteen years later.

DOLLIER AND GALINEE

Last to be mentioned, but by no means to be reckoned the least important of the early white visitors to the vicinity of Detroit, were the two Sulpitian priests, Francois Dollier de Casson and Abbe Brehant de Galinee. The former, commonly called Dollier, was born about 1620 and before entering the priesthood he had won distinction as a cavalry officer under Turenne. Parkman describes him as "a man of great courage, of a tall, commanding person and of uncommon bodily strength."

With three of his brethren he came to Canada in September, 1666, and soon after his arrival joined Colonel Tracy in a campaign against the Mohawk Indians. Then, for a time, he was chaplain at Fort Ste. Anne, at the outlet of Lake Champlain. He passed the winter of 1668-69 in the hunting camp of Nitarikijk, a chief of the Nipissing Indians. While in the Nipissing camp he met an Indian prisoner from the Lake Superior country, who told him of the populous tribes living in that region, and he determined to pay them a visit. In the early summer of 1669 he went to Montreal to procure an outfit for his journey.

At Montreal he met Galinee and enlisted his coöperation. Galinee had come to America the year before with Queylus, the superior of the Sulpitian Seminary at Montreal. After hearing Dollier's story, the superior gave a ready assent to the undertaking and assisted the two missionaries in their preparations. Governor Courcelles persuaded them to join La Salle, who was then just about ready to start on an expedition to the upper lakes.

On July 6, 1669, with three canoes and seven men, besides themselves, they left Montreal. On September 24, 1669, while waiting at an Indian village called Timaouataoua for guides, they met Louis Joliet, who was on his way to Lake Superior to locate some copper mines and also to find, if possible, a better route to the upper lakes than that by way of the Ottawa River, Lake Nipissing and the Georgian Bay. A fever caused La Salle to abandon his expedition and Dollier and Galinee linked their fortunes with Joliet.

On the last day of September Dollier said mass at an altar formed of forked sticks driven into the ground, connected by other sticks and covered with sails from their canoes. Immediately after the mass, La Salle started for Montreal and Joliet and the two Sulpitians turned their faces to the Northwest. According to Coyne's translation of "Galinee's Narrative," they arrived at Lake Erie on October the 13th or 14th, cruised along the northern shore of the lake until they reached the bay behind the Long Point, where they went into winter quarters. Here, on the shore of Lake Erie, in what is now Norfolk County, Ontario, they took possession of the country, according to the French custom, by erecting a cross bearing the following inscription:

"In the year of salvation 1669, Clement IX being seated in the chair of St. Peter, Louis XIV reigning in France, Monsieur Courcelles being Governor of New France, and Monsieur Talon being intendant therein for the king, there arrived at this place two missionaries (of the Seminary) of Montreal, accompanied by seven other Frenchmen, who, the first of all European people, have wintered on this lake, of which they have taken possession in the name of their king, as of an unoccupied territory, by affixing his arms, which they have attached here to the foot of this cross.

"In testimony whereof we have signed the present certificate.

"FRANCOIS DOLLIER,

"Priest of the Diocese of Nantes, Brittany.

"DE GALINEE,

"Deacon of the Diocese of Rennes, Brittany."

On March 23, 1670, which was Passion Sunday, they went to the lake shore and noticed that the ice was sufficiently broken up for them to continue their voyage. Returning to camp, they hurried forward the preparations for their departure and on Wednesday, March 26, 1670, their canoes were again afloat on Lake Erie. That same evening they encountered a storm in which one of their canoes was lost. The next day five of the men marched along the lake shore, with two men in each of the two remaining canoes, the men changing places occasionally to rest those who were walking and give those in the canoes an opportunity for exercise after sitting for hours in a cramped position. Galinee's Narrative gives this account of their progress:

"We pursued our journey accordingly toward the west, and after making about one hundred leagues on Lake Erie arrived at the place where the Lake of the Hurons, otherwise called the Fresh Water Sea of the Hurons, or Michigan, discharges into this lake. This outlet is perhaps half a league in width and turns sharp to the northeast, so that we were almost retracing our path. At the end of six leagues we discovered a place that is remarkable and held in great veneration by all the Indians of these countries, because of a stone idol that nature has formed there. To it they say they owe their good luck in sailing on Lake Erie, when they cross it without accident, and they propitiate it by sacrifices, presents of skins, provisions, etc., when they wish to embark on it. The place was full of camps of those who had come to pay homage to this stone, which had no other resemblance to the figure of a man than what the imagination was pleased to give it. However, it was all painted and a sort of face had been formed for it with vermillion. I leave you to imagine whether we avenged upon this idol, which the Iroquois had strongly recommended us to honor, the loss of our chapel. We attributed to it even the dearth of provisions from which we had hitherto suffered. In short, there was nobody whose hatred it had not incurred. I consecrated one of my axes to break this god of stone, and then, having yoked our canoes together, we carried the largest pieces to the middle of the river and threw all the rest also into the water, in order that it might never be heard of again. God rewarded us immediately for this good action, for we killed a roebuck and a bear that very day."

The outlet of Lake Huron, mentioned by Galinée as being "half a league in width," is the mouth of the Detroit River. Six leagues up that stream, where they found the stone idol, was not far from where Fort Wayne is now located. The breaking of the idol gave rise to an Indian legend, to the effect that, after the two Sulpitians had been gone for some time, a company of Indians came

to the river with gifts for their stone deity and found only small fragments of its mutilated remains. There was great wailing among them until their medicine man directed each one to take a piece of the stone in his canoe and let it guide his course. With one accord the remnants of the shattered image guided the canoes to Belle Isle, where the spirit of the idol had taken up its abode. This spirit told the Indians to cast the fragments upon the ground and when they obeyed each fragment was turned into a rattlesnake, to guard the island against the encroachments of the white man.

After destroying the idol, the missionaries passed on up the river for four leagues, where they came to a "small lake about ten leagues in length and almost as many in width, called by M. Sanson 'The Salt Water Lake,' but we saw no sign of salt." The small lake was christened Lake St. Clair by Father Louis Hennepin nine years later, when he passed through the straits with La Salle.

Galinee was a good topographer for that day and made a map to accompany his "Narrative." Although this map would hardly be accepted by geographers of the present day, it shows with tolerable accuracy many of the leading features of the shores of the lakes. A copy of this map, as well as Galinee's "Narrative" in the original French, and two translations of the same are now in the Burton Historical Collection at Detroit.

CHAPTER IV

INDIAN TREATIES OF CESSION

SPAIN'S POLICY TOWARD THE INDIANS—THE FRENCH POLICY—THE ENGLISH POLICY
—THE UNITED STATES POLICY—ORIGIN OF INDIAN TREATIES—TREATY OF FORT
STANWIX—TREATY OF GREENVILLE—TREATY OF DETROIT—TREATY OF ST. MARY'S
—TREATY OF CHICAGO—TREATY OF UPPER SANDUSKY—INDIAN RESERVATION IN
WAYNE COUNTY—INDIAN NAMES ALL THAT IS LEFT.

When the first white men came to Michigan they found the Indians in possession of the land. The red men had no system of fixing boundaries or recording deeds, yet, except in a few instances, each tribe or confederacy occupied a certain district as its exclusive hunting grounds, until driven out by a more powerful tribe.

By the treaty of September 3, 1783, which ended the Revolutionary war, England acknowledged the independence of the United States, the western boundary of which was fixed at the Mississippi River, and the new republic inherited all the rights and powers of the mother country in dealing with the natives. But Great Britain had no power to extinguish the Indian title to the lands, leaving that problem to be solved by the Federal Government. Before the United States could come into formal and complete possession of the territory, it was necessary that some agreement be made with the natives that would permit the white people to occupy and develop the country. In this connection it may be interesting to the reader to notice briefly the policies of the several European nations claiming territory in America regarding their relations with the Indians.

SPAIN'S POLICY

When Cortez was commissioned captain-general of New Spain in 1529, he was instructed to "give special attention to the conversion of the Indians; to see that no Indians be given to the Spaniards as servants; that they pay such tribute to His Majesty as they can easily afford; that there shall be a good correspondence between the Spaniards and the natives, and that no wrong shall ever be offered the latter either in their goods, families or persons."

Notwithstanding these instructions of the Spanish Government, during the conquest of Mexico the treatment of the Indians was often cruel in the extreme, many of them being enslaved and forced to work in the mines to satisfy the avarice of their Spanish taskmasters. Don Sebastian Ramirez, bishop and acting governor after Cortez, honestly endeavored to carry out the humane instructions given to Cortez, but soon found that he was not to be sustained. Antonio de Herrera says that under the administration of Ramirez "the country was much improved and all things carried on with equity, to the general satisfaction of all good men."

With regard to possession, the Spaniards never accepted the idea that the

Indians owned all the land, but only that portion actually occupied, or that might be necessary to supply their wants. All the rest of the land they considered as belonging to Spain "by right of discovery," and was taken without compensation.

THE FRENCH POLICY

It seems that the French had no settled policy concerning the possession of or title to the land. When the French Government, in 1712, granted to Antoine Crozat a charter giving him a monopoly of the Louisiana trade, it was expressly stipulated that the Indians living in the province were to receive religious instruction, but no provision was made for extinguishing the claim of the Indians to the land. In the letters patent given by Louis XV to the Western Company (Crozat's successor) in August, 1717, was the following provision:

"Section IV—The said company shall be free, in the said granted lands, to negotiate and make alliance with all the nations of the land, except those which are dependent on the other powers of Europe; she may agree with them on such conditions as she may think fit, to settle among them and trade freely with them, and in case they insult her she may declare war against them, attack them or defend herself by means of arms, and negotiate with them for peace or a truce."

It will be noticed that in this section there is nothing said about the acquisition of lands. As a matter of fact, the French cared very little for the absolute ownership of the lands, their principal object being the control of the fur trade. In the establishment of trading posts only a small tract of land was required for each post, and the trader and his retinue usually lived with the Indians as "tenants in common." At some of the posts a few acres were cleared for the purpose of raising a few vegetables, but the great forests were rarely disturbed, leaving the hunting grounds of the natives unmolested. If the trading post was abandoned, the small cultivated tract reverted to its Indian owners. Under such a liberal policy it is not surprising that the French traders were nearly always on friendly terms with the Indians.

THE ENGLISH POLICY

Great Britain's method of dealing with the Indians was different from either that of France or Spain. The English colonists wanted to establish permanent homes and cultivate the soil. Consequently, title to the land was the first consideration. The English Government, however, treated the Indian as a barbarian and in making land grants ignored any claim he might make to the soil. The so-called "Great Patent of New England," which was granted to the Plymouth Company, including all the land from 40° to 48° north latitude and "from sea to sea," made not the slightest allusion to the Indian title.

The charter granted by Charles I to Lord Baltimore gave the grantee authority "to collect troops, wage war on the barbarians and other enemies who may make incursions into the settlements, and to pursue them even beyond the limits of their province, and, if God shall grant it, to vanquish and captivate them; and the captives to put to death, or according to their discretion, to save."

William Penn's charter to Pennsylvania contained a similar provision. After the settlements reached a point where the local authorities were called upon

to deal with the question, each colony adopted a policy of its own. That of Pennsylvania was perhaps the only one whose "foundations were laid deep and secure in the principles of everlasting justice." Several of the colonies followed Penn's example and bought the land from the tribal chiefs, and in a number of instances failure to quit the Indian title by purchase resulted in bloody and disastrous wars.

All the nations of Europe which acquired territory in America, asserted in themselves and recognized in others the exclusive right of the discoverer to claim and appropriate the lands occupied by the Indians, but France was the only nation which exercised that right with a due regard for the original occupants. Says Parkman: "Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him."

THE UNITED STATES POLICY

The people who founded the Government of the United States were either from England or descendants, for the most part, of English ancestors, and they copied the English policy, with certain modifications. The Articles of Confederation, the first organic law of the American Republic, provided that: "The United States in Congress assembled shall have the exclusive right and power of regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the states, provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated."

Under this authority Congress, on September 22, 1783, issued a manifesto forbidding all persons to settle upon the Indian lands. Then came the Federal Constitution, which superseded the Articles of Confederation, and which vested in Congress the power to deal with all matters arising out of the Government's relations with the Indians. On March 1, 1793, President Washington approved an act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, in which it was expressly stipulated: "That no purchase or grant of lands, or any title or claim thereto, from any Indians, or nation or tribe of Indians, within the bounds of the United States, shall be of any validity, in law or equity, unless the same be made by a treaty or convention entered into pursuant to the constitution."

The object of the founders of the Government in adopting this policy was twofold: First, to prevent adventurers from trespassing upon the Indian lands, thereby causing conflicts with the natives; and, second, to establish a system by which titles to lands should be assured for all time to come. The penalty for violation of any of the provisions of the act was a fine of \$1,000 and imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months. With amendments this law remained the basis of all relations with the Indians of the country until 1871. Cyrus Thomas, of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, says:

"By the act of March 3, 1871, the legal fiction of recognizing the tribes as independent nations, with which the United States could enter into solemn treaty, was, after it had continued nearly one hundred years, finally done away with. The effect of this act was to bring under the immediate control of Congress the transactions with the Indians and reduce to simple agreements what had before been accomplished by solemn treaties."

Soon after the Federal Constitution went into effect, the Government began making treaties with the Indians. At first these treaties were merely expres-

sions of peace and friendship, but as the white population increased and more territory was needed for white settlement, treaties were negotiated with the tribes for the relinquishment of their lands.

TREATY OF FORT STANWIX

In fact, before the adoption of the Constitution, the United States had negotiated treaties of peace with some of the eastern tribes. On October 22, 1784, Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee, as commissioners of the United States, concluded a treaty with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, New York. This treaty is of interest in the history of Detroit only because it fixed the western boundary of the domain of the Six Nations. While the Indians did not agree to give up any of their lands to the United States for white occupation, they accepted as their western boundary a line beginning on the shore of Lake Ontario, four miles east of Niagara, and running thence by certain described courses to the "forks of the Ohio," where the City of Pittsburgh now stands. Prior to the conclusion of this treaty, the Six Nations were frequently at war with the tribes that inhabited the country about Detroit, particularly the Huron or Wyandot. The establishment of the boundary line brought peace to the Indians living west of it.

By the treaty of Fort Harmar, which was concluded on January 9, 1789, between Gen. Arthur St. Clair, representing the United States, and the chiefs of the Six Nations, the treaty of Fort Stanwix was modified so as to give the Indians some additional territory in the western part of New York. This treaty was proclaimed on June 9, 1789, and remained in force until the Six Nations ceded their lands to the United States and accepted reservations.

TREATY OF GREENVILLE

Late in July, 1795, a great council of Indians was called at Greenville, Ohio, by Gen. Anthony Wayne, acting under the authority of the United States. Chiefs of twelve tribes were present at the council, viz.: The Chippewa, Delaware, Eel River, Kaskaskia, Kickapoo, Miami, Ottawa, Piankasha, Pottawatomie, Shawnee, Wea and Wyandot. On August 3, 1795, a treaty was concluded which established a boundary line between the Indian possessions and the white settlements in Ohio, to wit: "Beginning at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River and up that stream to the portage between the Cuyahoga and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum River; thence down the Tuscarawas branch to the crossing place above Fort Lawrence (Laurens); thence westerly to that branch of the Great Miami River running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loromie's Store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and the St. Mary's River, which is a branch of the Miami (Maumee) which runs into Lake Erie; thence in a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence southwesterly in a direct line to the Ohio River, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of the Kentucke or Cuttawa River."

All the country south and east of this line was ceded by the Indians to the United States. About a year later, the northern part of this line was defined as the boundary of Wayne County in the proclamation of Winthrop Sargent, acting governor of the Northwest Territory. North and west of the line sixteen small tracts were ceded by the Indians for military posts, etc. These tracts were as follows:

1. One piece of land six miles square at Loromie's Store, not far from the present City of Piqua, Ohio.

2. One piece of land two miles square at the head of navigable waters on the St. Mary's River, near Girty's Town, about twenty miles east of Fort Recovery.

3. A tract six miles square at the head of navigation on the Au Glaize River.

4. A tract six miles square at the confluence of the Au Glaize and Maumee rivers, where the City of Defiance now stands.

5. One piece of land six miles square at or near the confluence of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's rivers, where the City of Fort Wayne, Indiana, is now situated.

6. One piece of land on the Wabash River at the end of the portage from the Miami (Maumee) of the lake and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne.

7. A piece of land six miles square at the Ouiatenon, or old Wea towns on the Wabash River, a few miles below the present City of Lafayette, Indiana.

8. One piece of land twelve miles square at the British fort on the Miami (Maumee) of the lake at the foot of the rapids, near the present City of Napoleon, Ohio.

9. A tract six miles square at the mouth of the Maumee, where the City of Toledo now stands.

10. A tract six miles square on Sandusky Lake, where a fort formerly stood.

11. One piece of land two miles square at the lower rapids of the Sandusky River, not far from the present City of Fremont, Ohio.

12. "The post of Detroit and all the land to the north, the west and the south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and so much more land to be annexed to the District of Detroit as shall be comprehended between the River Rosine on the south, Lake St. Clair on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west end of Lake Erie and the Detroit River."

13. "The post of Michilimackinac and all the land on the island on which that post stands, and the main land adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and a piece of land on the main land to the north of the island, to measure six miles on Lake Huron, or the streight between Lakes Huron and Michigan, and to extend three miles back from the water of the lake or streight, and also the island De Bois Blanc, being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa Nation."

14. A tract six miles square at the mouth of the Chikago River, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood. This tract is now all within the city limits of Chicago.

15. A piece of land twelve miles square at or near the mouth of the Illinois River, where it empties into the Mississippi. This tract included the old post of Kaskaskia.

16. One piece of land six miles square at the old Peoria fort and village, near the south end of Illinois Lake on said Illinois River, where the City of Peoria now stands.

In addition to the above mentioned tracts of land, the Indians gave the United States the right of way for a passage, either by land or water, through

the Indian country. The cessions made by the treaty of Greenville were the first ever made by the Indians to the Government of the United States. In return, the United States agreed to relinquish claim to all other Indian lands north of the Ohio River, east of the Mississippi and west and south of the Great Lakes, except a tract of 150,000 acres near the Falls of the Ohio, granted to Gen. George Rogers Clark for the use of himself and his soldiers.

TREATY OF DETROIT

On November 17, 1807, William Hull, then governor of Michigan Territory and superintendent of Indian affairs, held a council at Detroit with the chiefs and head men of the Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawatomi and Wyandot tribes at Detroit, which resulted in the conclusion of a treaty, the first article of which was as follows:

"Article I. The sachems, chiefs and warriors of the nations aforesaid, in consideration of money and goods, to be paid to the said nations by the United States as hereinafter stipulated, cede all the lands contained within the following boundaries: "Beginning at the mouth of the Miami River of the Lakes and running thence up the middle thereof to the mouth of the great Au Glaize River; thence running due north until it intersects a parallel of latitude to be drawn from the outlet of Lake Huron, which forms the River St. Clair; thence running northeast, the course that may be found will lead in a direct line to the White Rock in Lake Huron; thence due east until it intersects the boundary line between the United States and Upper Canada in said lake; thence southwardly, following the said boundary line, through the River St. Clair, Lake St. Clair and the Detroit River into Lake Erie, to a point due east of the said Miami River; thence west to the place of beginning."

For this tract the United States agreed to pay \$10,000 in money, or in goods and animals for the improvement of husbandry, at the option of the Indians. Of this amount, the Chippewa and Ottawa were each to receive \$3,333.33, the remainder to be divided equally between the Pottawatomi and Wyandot tribes. In addition to this initial payment, the Indians were to receive, "forever," an annuity of \$2,400, to be distributed among the tribes as follows: \$800 to the Chippewa; \$800 to the Ottawa; \$400 to the Pottawatomi, and \$400 to the Wyandot. The treaty was proclaimed on January 27, 1808, and the ceded territory was included in Wayne County by the proclamation of Governor Cass, dated November 15, 1815. (See Chapter XI.)

TREATY OF ST. MARY'S

About a year after the treaty of Detroit, some of the Wyandot Indians became dissatisfied over its terms, which compelled them to give up their old villages on the Huron River, in what is now Brownstown Township, Wayne County. On February 28, 1809, President Jefferson approved an act of Congress giving the inhabitants of these villages and their descendants the right to occupy their old homes for a period of fifty years, unless a new treaty for their cession was concluded.

On September 20, 1818, a treaty was concluded at St. Mary's, Ohio, by Gen. Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan Territory, with certain Ottawa and Wyandot bands, including the one to which the old villages had been granted by the act of February 28, 1809. By the treaty of St. Mary's, the band relinquished the lands in Brownstown Township and accepted therefor a reservation consisting of sections 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 34, 35 and 36, and that part of

section 22 lying south of the Huron River, in township 4 south, range 9 east, containing 4,996 acres. The map of Wayne County accompanying Dr. Douglass Houghton's report as state geologist for 1843, shows this reservation as being composed of the nine southeastern sections of Huron Township, though the reservation had been ceded to the United States the preceding year.

TREATY OF CHICAGO

After the act of February 28, 1809, which gave certain Wyandot bands the privilege of occupying their old villages in Michigan, some of the other tribes that participated in the negotiation of the treaty of 1807 endeavored to set up claims to their old homes in that territory. No attention was paid to their claims by the Federal authorities, and after the treaty of St. Mary's the grumbling on the part of the Indians practically ceased, though occasionally some chief would declare that the United States had cheated the red men in the treaty of Detroit.

On September 26, 1833, George B. Porter, Thomas J. V. Owen and William Weatherford, as commissioners of the United States, concluded a treaty at Chicago with the confederated nations of Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomi Indians. By this treaty the tribes mentioned ceded to the United States all their lands bordering on the west shore of Lake Michigan and confirmed the provisions of the treaties of Detroit and St. Mary's. The Chicago treaty is of interest in a History of Detroit only because of this confirmation which gave the white men an undisputed title to the former Indian lands.

TREATY OF UPPER SANDUSKY

This was the last Indian treaty affecting the Indian title to lands in Wayne County. Early in the year 1842, President Tyler appointed John Johnston a commissioner to treat with the Wyandot nation for the relinquishment of all their lands in Ohio and Michigan. Mr. Johnston met the Wyandot chiefs, counselors and head men in council at Upper Sandusky, where on March 17, 1842, was concluded a treaty by which the Indians ceded to the United States "all right and title to the Wyandot reserve on both sides of the River Huron, in the State of Michigan, containing 4,996 acres, being all the land claimed or set apart for the use of the Wyandot nation within the State of Michigan."

For the relinquishment of this reservation and the Wyandot lands in Ohio, the United States promised the Indians a reservation of 148,000 acres, somewhere west of the Mississippi River acceptable to them, to pay the expenses of removal, give the tribe an annuity of \$17,500, allow them \$500 annually for the maintenance of a school, furnish them a blacksmith and iron for their needs, and discharge all debts owed by the tribe to white traders, amounting to \$23,860.

The Huron River reserve was vacated soon after the conclusion of the treaty, the United States paying \$500 to defray the expenses of the band's removal to Upper Sandusky, where all the Wyandot nation was to rendezvous for their removal west of the Mississippi. Some delay occurred in finding a tract of 148,000 acres that was satisfactory to the chiefs, but in 1844 the whole tribe was settled in what is now Wyandotte County, Kansas.

When Cadillac founded the post of Detroit in 1701, his first object was to form friendly relations with the Indians and have them locate near his fort.

From 1760 to 1796 Detroit was under British control. Neither the French nor the English made any attempts to establish permanent settlements in Michigan away from the trading posts. With the Americans it was different. They were not fur traders and they wanted the lands for agricultural purposes. Through the treaties above described, the white race came into possession and the red men were removed from the hunting grounds of their fathers. Such names as Kalamazoo, Muskegon, Pontiac, Saginaw, Shiawassee, Tekonsha and Washtenaw are all that they left behind them. These names are pathetic reminders of the savage tribes that once roamed through the forests and oak openings of Southern Michigan or paddled their canoes over the placid waters of the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair.

PART II

POLITICAL AND CIVIC HISTORY

CHAPTER V

CADILLAC—A BIOGRAPHY

UNCERTAINTY REGARDING CADILLAC'S EARLY LIFE—MEMORIAL TABLET AT HIS BIRTH-PLACE—CADILLAC'S MARRIAGE—HIS CHILDREN—LAND GRANT ON THE ATLANTIC COAST—COMMANDANT AT MICHILIMACKINAC—ESTABLISHES A POST AT DETROIT—GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA—THE MISSISSIPPI BUBBLE—IMPRISONED IN THE BAS-TILE—AT CASTELSARRASIN—THE CADILLAC CHAIR AT DETROIT.

For a long time little was known of the early life of Antoine Laumet de La Mothe Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, even the exact date and place of his birth being matters of uncertainty. Early in the year 1907, Clarence M. Burton was in France and learned that the Archæological Society of Montaubau had marked the birthplace of Cadillac by a memorial tablet. Montaubau is located on the River Tarn, about thirty miles north of Toulouse on the Garonne, in the Department of Tarn-et-Garonne, which takes its name from the two rivers.

Hoping to find the solution of a long-standing problem, Mr. Burton made the journey from Paris to Montaubau, where he consulted the officers of the archæological society, from whom he learned that Cadillac was born at St. Nicolas de la Grave, a village of some two or three thousand inhabitants, about twenty-three miles from Montaubau, and that the memorial tablet had been placed on November 8, 1904.

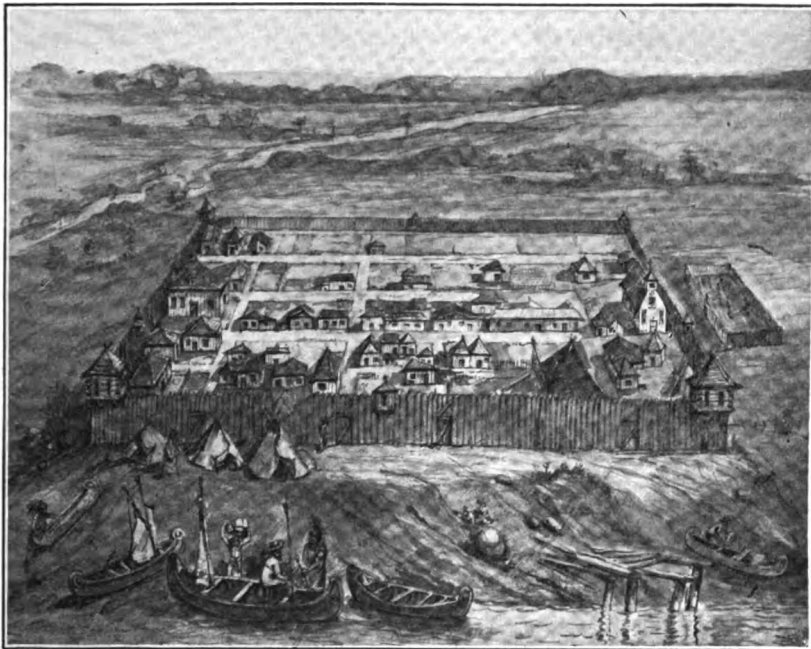
THE MEMORIAL

Continuing his journey to St. Nicholas de la Grave, Mr. Burton found the house in which Cadillac was born to be a small one-story brick dwelling, probably five hundred years old. The inscription on the tablet reads:

*A la Memorie
Antoine Laumet de LaMothe Cadillac
Ne Dans Cette Maison Le 5 Mars, 1658
Colonisateaur Du Canada et De La Louisiane
Fondateur de Detroit
Gouverneur De Castelsarrasin
Ou Il Est Mort in 1730*

Translation—To the memory of Antoine Laumet de LaMothe Cadillac, born in this house, March 5, 1658, colonizer of Canada and Louisiana, founder of Detroit, governor of Castelsarrasin, where he died in 1730.

Cadillac's father was Jean Laumet, "lawyer, assistant to the justice, royal justice, counselor of the king in the Parliament of Toulouse," and his mother was Jeanne de Pechagut. His parents were married on March 16, 1646, and Antoine was the fourth child of their union. The family name of Laumet, as applied to the founder of Detroit, seems to have become practically lost after he came to America, which is no doubt the reason for some of the confusion



Burton Historical Society

CADILLAC'S VILLAGE, DETROIT, IN 1701
First called Fort Pontchartrain

that has resulted regarding the history of his early life. That he was liberally educated for a youth of that period is apparent in his writings, his skill as a navigator and the executive ability he displayed in the various positions of trust and responsibility to which he was called. He was a cadet in the regiment of Dampierre-Lorraine and a lieutenant in the regiment of Clairembault in 1677.

CADILLAC'S MARRIAGE

In 1683, when only twenty-five years of age, Cadillac came to America and located at Port Royal (now Annapolis), Nova Scotia. There he formed the acquaintance of Francois Guyon of Beauport, a merchant and trader (some say a privateer), with whom he became associated in the seafaring business. Cadillac had previously acquired some knowledge of the art of navigation and now learned much of the Atlantic coast of North America, which later was destined to bring him into important relations with the French Government. In his voyages to Quebec he met and fell in love with his partner's niece, Therese Guyon, daughter of Denis and Elizabeth (Boucher) Guyon, to whom he was married at Quebec on June 25, 1687. In the church record of the marriage the bridegroom is named "Antoine de la Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac, of Port Royal in Acadia, aged about twenty-six years, son of Jean de la Mothe, Sieur de Cadillac, de Launay et de Semontel, counselor of the Parliament of Toulouse, and Jeanne de Malenfant."

In this record the approximate age of Cadillac, as given, is three years younger than he really was, and there is likewise an error in the name of his mother. Historians who have depended upon this record, for information concerning Cadillac's age and parentage, have very naturally been led astray. Some time previous to his marriage, his superior officer in the French Army, recommending him for promotion, called him LaMothe. This name, a common one in France, was adopted by him and he was thereafter known as Antoine de LaMothe Cadillac, the name Cadillac being derived from landed possessions.

CADILLAC'S CHILDREN

To Antoine de LaMothe Cadillac and his wife, Therese, were born thirteen children, viz.:

1. Judith, born at Port Royal in 1689. On November 12, 1711, she took the veil as an Ursuline nun at Quebec, to be a perpetual pensioner, her father paying 6,000 livres for her support.
2. Magdalene, date and place of birth uncertain. She was probably born at Quebec or Mount Desert Island and upon arriving at womanhood also became an Ursuline nun.
3. Antoine de LaMothe Cadillac, fils, born at Quebec on April 26, 1692, accompanied his father to Detroit in 1701, and was made an ensign in 1707. He died about 1730.
4. Jacques, born at Quebec on March 16, 1695, and was brought to Detroit by his mother in 1702.
5. Pierre Denis, born at Quebec on June 13, 1699, and died there when about one year old. He was buried on July 4, 1700.
6. Marianne, born at Quebec on June 7, 1701, and was buried there two days later.
7. A child born at Detroit in the latter part of 1702, or early in 1703,

mentioned in one of Cadillac's letters. The baptismal record of this child was probably destroyed in the fire of 1703.

8. Marie Therese, born at Detroit on February 2, 1704. She was married at Castelsarrasin on February 16, 1729, to Noble Francois de Pouzargues, and died there in February, 1753.

9. Jean Antoine, born at Detroit on January 19, 1707, and was buried there on April 9, 1709.

10. Marie Agathe, born at Detroit on December 28, 1707. No further record of this daughter is obtainable.

11. Francois, born at Detroit on March 27, 1709, and was still living at the time of his father's death.

12. Rene Louis, born at Detroit on March 17, 1710, and was buried at Quebec in October, 1714.

13. Joseph, a son mentioned in the records relating to the settlement of his father's estate. The date and place of his birth could not be ascertained.

Of these thirteen children, only three were living at the time of Cadillac's death. They were Marie Therese, Francois and Joseph, whose names are found in the records of Castelsarrasin in connection with the division of Cadillac's property.

LAND GRANT ON THE ATLANTIC COAST

Immediately after his marriage, Cadillac took his young wife (she was only a little more than sixteen years of age) to Port Royal. The next year he petitioned the Marquis de Denonville, then governor of New France, for a grant of land "two leagues on the sea shore, by two leagues in depth, within the land, at a place called Donaquec, near Mageis (Port Machias), the Donaquec River to divide the said two leagues in depth, one league to be taken on the west side and one league on the east side of said river, with the islands which are on the fore part of the said two front leagues, to hold in fief and lordship with high, mean and low jurisdiction, being desirous to promote an establishment there."

The petition was granted by Governor Denonville on July 23, 1688, and was confirmed by Louis XIV on May 24, 1689. The grant was recorded at Quebec on April 20, 1691. It embraced the Island of Mount Desert and a tract of the mainland opposite, including all of Bar Harbor on the coast of Maine. At the time the grant was made, the lands lay in what was known as Acadia. After the Revolution, the tract formed a part of the Territory of Penobscot, in the State of Massachusetts, Maine not being admitted to the Union as a state until 1820. This grant indicates that Cadillac, at this time, was considered a man of importance and held in high esteem.

In May, 1761, Marie Therese, daughter of Joseph and granddaughter of Antoine de LaMothe Cadillac, married her cousin, Bartholomey de Gregoire, at Castelsarrasin. On June 15, 1785, the French consul at Boston, on behalf of Marie Therese Gregoire and her husband, made application to the State of Massachusetts for the restoration to them of the lands. His petition was referred to a committee on unappropriated lands, where it rested until the fall of 1786, when the Gregoires arrived to prosecute their claim in person. Their second petition was presented on November 6, 1786, and set forth the facts concerning the manner in which the lands were acquired by Cadillac, who was styled as "Lord of Donaquec and Mount Desert." After some delay, the Massa-

chusetts Legislature granted the petition on July 5, 1787, and on October 29, 1787, the Gregoires and their three children—Pierre, Nicolas and Marie—became naturalized citizens of the United States of America.

Says Farmer: "The lands were actually within the limits claimed by Massachusetts at the time Louis XIV made the concession. * * * The conceding of the claim of the Gregoires was really a graceful act, but the good feeling then entertained toward the French nation, on account of services rendered in the Revolutionary war, undoubtedly had much to do with the favor with which the claim was received."

COMMANDANT AT MICHILIMACKINAC

While making his preparations to settle a colony on the Donaque River or Mount Desert Island, Cadillac continued to live at Port Royal. In 1689 Louis XIV declared war against England. This conflict is commonly known as King Williams' war. Cadillac was summoned to Paris in 1689, to consult with the king as to the best means of prosecuting the war. During his absence Port Royal was captured by the English expedition under Sir William Phipps on May 10, 1690, and Madame Cadillac, with her infant daughter, went to her mother's home in Quebec. There she was found by her husband upon his return from France, soon after the defeat of Sir William Phipps by the French troops under Count Frontenac, who had succeeded the Marquis de Denonville as governor of New France.

Cadillac proved to be of great assistance to Governor Frontenac in planning his campaigns for the defense of New France. In February, 1692, Count Pontchartrain, the French minister of marine, wrote to Frontenac to send "Antoine de LaMothe Cadillac to Paris by the first ship, that he may give minute information to aid in the proposed attack on New York and New England, as he is considered to be the best instructed on plans, soundings and all observations."

Pursuant to this request, Cadillac again went to France. On this occasion he presented his plan for the defense of the rivers and lakes of Canada by using vessels of light draft, which plan was approved by the king. He returned to Canada and toward the close of the war was made a second lieutenant in the French navy. At that time the French colonies were under the control of the naval department, hence the soldiers of New France were classed as marines, although much of their service was upon the land. On October 25, 1694, Governor Frontenac wrote to Count Pontchartrain: "Lieutenant Cadillac is a man of rank, full of capability and valor; and I have just sent him to Missilimakinac to command all those posts of the upper country and to fill the place of the Sieur de Louvigny de Laporte."

Cadillac remained the commandant at Michilimackinac until after the death of Governor Frontenac in 1698. During that time his wife and children lived in Quebec. On his visits to his family, and from the reports of early French explorers, he became imbued with the advantages of the country along the Detroit River as a desirable location for a post. Soon after the death of Count Frontenac he went to France to present the matter to the king. The history of the post of Detroit under Cadillac, his controversy with the Company of the Colony of Canada, his disputes with the Jesuits, his financial losses, etc., is given in the next chapter.

GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

Men of positive natures invariably make enemies. Cadillac's enemies accused him of being "opinionated and quarrelsome," and through their influence and that of their friends he was finally removed from the position of commandant at Detroit. To soften the blow of the removal, he was appointed governor of the French Province of Louisiana. This appointment was made on May 6, 1710, but he remained at Detroit until some time in the summer of the following year.

In September, 1712, Antoine Crozat, a wealthy merchant of Paris, was granted a charter giving him the exclusive right to trade in Louisiana, as well as the proceeds of any mines he might discover and develop. Crozat continued Cadillac in the office of governor and, it is said, promised him a liberal percentage of the profits derived from commercial transactions and mining operations in the province. Cadillac's whereabouts at this time are somewhat uncertain. He was probably in France, as the Louisiana records show that on May 17, 1713, he arrived at Dauphin Island, at the entrance to Mobile Bay, on the French frigate "Baron de la Fosse." He was accompanied by his family and servants, and brought a large quantity of provisions and munitions of war for the colony there.

At that time the settlement was near the head of Mobile Bay, but in 1713 Cadillac caused it to be removed to the site of the present City of Mobile, where a number of houses were built during the summer and autumn. In order to obtain supplies for the infant colony, he sent out expeditions in various directions to ascertain the resources of the country, and endeavored to open a trade with the Spanish settlements in Mexico. In the summer of 1715 he visited the Illinois country and examined the lead mines near the present City of Dubuque, Iowa. Returning to Mobile, he embarked for France in November, 1715, to report the result of his explorations and make further arrangements for the support of the settlements in Louisiana.

THE MISSISSIPPI BUBBLE

Cadillac's reports from Louisiana indicate that he was not altogether satisfied with the country. Possibly his removal from Detroit and the blasting of his hopes still rankled in his mind. His strong will and somewhat arbitrary methods at times aroused opposition among his associate officers, and early in 1717 M. de la Epinay was appointed to succeed him as governor. Epinay arrived at Mobile on March 9, 1717, and in June following, Cadillac bade good-by to America. Before the close of that year Crozat surrendered his charter.

John Law, an English adventurer, organized the Mississippi Company, as a branch of the Bank of France, which company succeeded to "all the rights, privileges and emoluments formerly enjoyed by Crozat." In 1718 Law sent some eight hundred colonists to Louisiana and the next year Philippe Renault brought over about two hundred more. Renault's idea was to go up the Mississippi River, establish posts in the Illinois country, and open a trade with the Indians. A few years of the wildest speculation and inflation followed, but in 1720 Law's whole scheme collapsed. It is known in history as "The Mississippi Bubble."

Cadillac arrived in France about the time the Mississippi Company was launched. His knowledge of the country Law proposed to develop, the general

PLAN FROM CONVEYANCES OF CADILLAC
 (Made in 1707 and 1708)

DETROIT & 1708

*Source: Original records
 Land Office, Records of 1707*



LARNED ST.

WAYNE ST.

SHELBY ST.

GRISWOLD ST.

plan advertised by the company, and the extravagant promises made to investors, all told him that the project was built upon an insecure foundation and doomed to failure. He frankly expressed his opinion that the whole scheme was a swindle, unworthy of patronage, and did all he could to warn the French people against investing their money in such a problematical venture. Popular sentiment was in favor of Law, however, and Cadillac was arrested. For several months he was confined in the celebrated Bastille in Paris, when he was released and was never brought to trial. A year or so later the people learned by experience that his judgment of Law was well founded, and many of those who lost money by investing in the company regretted they did not heed his warning.

AT CASTELSARRASIN

Shortly after the collapse of the Mississippi Company, Cadillac applied for the governorship of Castelsarrasin, in the department where he was born. His application was granted in August, 1722. The appointment was made by Louis XIV, who in 1721, issued an edict taking away from the people of municipalities the right to select their own officers. On December 11, 1722, Cadillac was regularly commissioned governor and mayor. Thus, after having spent the best part of his life amid the turmoil and strife of the New World, and having wandered all over America, he returned to the neighborhood of his birth, there to spend his declining years in peace.

Castelsarrasin, now a town of some eight or ten thousand inhabitants, and perhaps quite as large in Cadillac's day, is located about twelve miles from Montauban. In 1722 it contained a castle, in which Cadillac established his official residence. How long he retained the office of governor is not definitely known. In 1724 the king revoked his edict of 1721, and some writers assert that Cadillac was then retired. It is quite likely, however, that he continued to hold the office for some time after the revocation of the edict, as it is well known that he remained a resident of Castelsarrasin until his death on October 16, 1730. His remains were buried in the cemetery adjoining the Carmelite monastery in the town. At the time of the French Revolution the monastery was confiscated and converted into a prison. Some years later the remains of the few persons of consequence buried in the cemetery were exhumed and carefully reinterred beneath the stone flagging in the rear of the building. Here rest the bones of Antoine Laumet, de LaMothe Cadillac, soldier, chevalier, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, navigator and diplomat. During his long and active career he was successively a merchant and trader at Port Royal, seigneur of Mount Desert Island and Bar Harbor, an officer in the French navy, commandant at Michilimackinac, founder and first commandant at Detroit, governor of Louisiana, a prisoner in the Bastille in Paris because he dared to give wise counsel to the people of his native land, and governor of Castelsarrasin.

THE CADILLAC CHAIR

On Wednesday morning, July 24, 1901, at the opening of the Bi-Centenary exercises in Detroit, a fitting tribute was paid to this soldier, scholar and pioneer by the unveiling of a large stone chair at the western end of Cadillac Square. This is known as the "Cadillac Chair." The inscription on the back of the chair is as follows:

"This chair, erected July 24, 1901, is located on the site of the City Hall built in 1835 and occupied until 1871 as the seat of Civic Authority.

"It is symbolic of the Seignorial Rule of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, Knight of St. Louis, who, with his company of colonists, arrived at Detroit, July 24, 1701.

"On that day, under the patronage of Louis XIV, and protected by the Flag of France, the City of Detroit, then called Fort Pontchartrain, was founded."

CHAPTER VI

BEGINNING OF DETROIT

CADILLAC RECOGNIZES THE ADVANTAGES OF THE DETROIT RIVER—HE WRITES TO COUNT FRONTENAC—CADILLAC GOES TO FRANCE—HE IS COMMISSIONED TO ESTABLISH A POST—THE VOYAGE TO DETROIT—BUILDING THE POST—COMPANY OF THE COLONY OF CANADA—LITIGATION—CADILLAC'S REPORT TO COUNT PONTCHARTRAIN—CADILLAC REGAINS POSSESSION—QUARREL WITH THE JESUITS—DISPOSAL OF LOTS—FIRST WHITE WOMEN—MADAME CADILLAC TABLET—A FEW FIRST THINGS.

While Cadillac was commandant at Michilimackinac, he learned through the reports of Dollier and Galinee and Father Louis Hennepin of the beauties and advantages of the region along the Detroit River and bent himself to the task of securing the establishment of a post in that part of the country. Sieur Du L'hut (Du Luth) had selected the site of Fort St. Joseph, near the present City of Port Huron, only a short time before Cadillac went to Michilimackinac. While he recognized the importance of Du Luth's post, as well as the one he had the honor to command, Cadillac was so favorably impressed with the Detroit River that he wrote to Count Frontenac, then governor of New France:

"However well chosen was the position of Du L'hut's trading fort at St. Joseph, I have in mind a better site. Dollier and Galinee, and later La Salle, followed up this connecting chain of waters from Fort Frontenac. They found it as richly set with islands as is a queen's necklace with jewels and the beautifully verdant shores of the mainland served to complete the picture of a veritable paradise. Especially attractive was the region that lies south of the pearl-like lake to which they gave the name of Ste. Clair, and the country bordering upon that deep, clear river, a quarter of a league broad, known as Le Detroit. I have had from the Indians and the *coureurs de bois* glowing descriptions of this fair locality, and, while affecting to treat their accounts with indifference, I made a note of it in my mind.

"On both sides of this strait lie fine, open plains where the deer roam in graceful herds, where bears, by no means fierce and exceedingly good to eat, are to be found, as are also the savoury poules d'Indies (wild duck) and other varieties of game. The islands are covered with trees; chestnuts, walnuts, apples and plums abound; and, in season, the wild vines are heavy with grapes, of which the forest rangers say they have made a wine that, considering its newness, was not at all bad. The Hurons have a village on Le Detroit; they see, according to their needs, its advantages. Michilimackinac is an important post, but the climate will ever be against it; the place will never become a great settlement. Le Detroit is the real center of the lake country—the gateway to the West. It is from there that we can best hold the English in check. I would make it a permanent post, not subject to changes as are so many of the others. To do this it is but necessary to have a good number of French soldiers

and traders, and to draw around it the tribes of friendly Indians, in order to conquer the Iroquois, who, from the beginning, have harassed us and prevented the advance of civilization. The French live too far apart. We must bring them closer together, that, when necessary, they may be able to oppose a large force of savages and thus defeat them. Moreover, the waters of the Great Lakes pass through this strait, and it is the only path whereby the English can carry on their trade with the savage nations who have to do with the French. If we establish ourselves at Le Detroit, they can no longer hope to deprive us of the benefits of the fur trade."

CADILLAC GOES TO FRANCE

Governor Frontenac was inclined to favor Cadillac's plans, but he died in 1698, before definite arrangements for the establishment of the post had been completed. He was succeeded by Chevalier de Callieres, who apparently had little faith in Cadillac's suggestions and refused to aid his project. Failing to interest the new governor in his cherished ambition, Cadillac resolved to go to France and lay the whole matter before the king. He was cordially welcomed by Louis XIV, then the occupant of the French throne, and returned to America armed with authority to establish a post at such point as he might select. His commission was signed by Count Pontchartrain, the minister of marine, and was approved by the king. He was allowed the sum of 1,500 livres (a livre was about twenty cents) for the purpose of building a fort, and was granted subsistence for himself, wife and two children, and two servants. He was likewise granted a tract of land "fifteen arpents square."

Having accomplished the object of his mission, Cadillac returned to America, arriving at Quebec on March 8, 1701. After a brief stay there, he went on to Montreal to make arrangements for the establishment of his post. Under the authority given him by Count Pontchartrain, he enrolled 100 Frenchmen and a similar number of friendly Indians. Cadillac's officers were: Capt. Alphonse de Tonty; Lieutenants Chacornacle and Dugue; Sergeant Jacob de Marac, Sieur de L'Ommesprou; Chaplains Father Constantine de L'Halle, a Recollet, and Father Francois Valliant, a Jesuit. Francois and Jean Fafard also accompanied the expedition as Indian interpreters.

THE VOYAGE TO DETROIT

With this outfit, Cadillac left Montreal on June 2, 1701, for the Detroit River. The scene of the embarkation is thus described by Mary Catherine Crowley in her "Daughter of New France," as she obtained it from old documents in the archives at Quebec: "There in the sunshine were the soldiers in their blue coats with white facing; the artisans in their blouses; the coureurs de bois, with leathern jerkins brightly embroidered with porcupine quills, red caps set jauntily on their dark heads, and upon their swift feet gaudy Indian moccasins; the black robed Jesuit and the gray frocked Recollet missionaries, holding aloft the cross beside the banner of St. Louis; the officers resplendent in their gorgeous uniforms and white plumed cavalier hats. Cadillac was the last one to embark. Stepping into his canoe he stood erect—an imposing figure in his azure habit with its crimson sash, a scarlet mantle thrown back from his broad shoulders, his sword by his side, and the breeze stirring the long, thick locks of his black hair, as he waved a last adieu to his friends upon the shore."

In writing her story, Miss Crowley doubtless exercised the privilege of the novelist and drew largely upon her imagination. The "gorgeous uniforms" and "white plumed cavalier hats" of the officers, Cadillac's "azure habit with its crimson sash" and his "scarlet mantle" would all have been appropriate were they going to visit the court of some foreign monarch. But they were going into a wilderness where they would meet none except savage Indians, and it is far more likely that Cadillac and his men all wore the rough costume of the voyageur—a costume that would stand hard knocks.

Among the soldiers was one Robert Chevalier, called De Beauchene, whose adventures were written by Le Sage, author of *Gil Blas*, and published in 1745. This is said to be the first printed book to mention Cadillac. From the copy in the Burton Collection De Beauchene's story, as told by himself, is taken. Says he:

"An affair that I had in that City (Montreal), in the middle of the year 1701, attached me wholly to my Algonquins. The Fact was this: We, that is, myself and about a hundred Canadians, undertook to escort Monsieur de la Mothe de Cadillac, who was sent with two Subaltern Officers, near two hundred Leagues from Montreal, to command at the Streight. When we were at the Place, which is named the Fall of China, because there is a Water-fall there, upon the River of St. Lawrence, where they are obliged to unload their Goods, Monsieur de Cadillac undertook to search the canoes, to see if we had not brought more Brandy than was allowed. He discover'd more than was licenc'd in several of the Canoes, and immediately raising his voice, demand'd with a magisterial Air, whose it was; one of my Brothers was near him, who answered him in the same Tone, that it belonged to us and that he had no Authority to find Fault with it.

"Cadillac was a Gascon, and consequently hot; he affronted my Brother, who drew upon him immediately; Cadillac received him like a Man of Courage and making him retreat, he was going to disarm him, when throwing myself between them, I push'd aside my Brother and took his Place, and repuls'd my Enemy so briskly that he had no Occasion to be sorry that we were parted. He is, I believe, still alive—if he dares, let him contradict me."

He then goes on to tell how Cadillac returned to Montreal to make his complaints. De Beauchene followed him and the intendant, Champigny, gave him a short term in prison (three days), and his brother, ashamed of having been defeated by Cadillac, spent the rest of his life among the Indians.

To avoid giving offense to the tribes of the Five Nations, who were inclined to resent any exploration or occupation of the Indian country, the route selected was up the Ottawa River, thence by way of Lake Nipissing and the French and Pickernel rivers to the Georgian Bay. Regarding the route followed by Cadillac, C. M. Burton says in his "Early Detroit": "In the summer of 1904, I went to the eastern end of Lake Nipissing and spent several weeks in going over the pathway of Cadillac in this, his first trip to Detroit. Passing through the eastern end of this lake, we reached the outlet known as French River. With an Indian guide and birch bark canoes, we paddled the entire length of French and Pickernel rivers to French River village, the head of navigation. The country today is as wild and barren as it was in Cadillac's time, and if he could again visit this scene, there is no doubt that the old landmarks that guided him then would again serve to show him his way through this vast wilderness of water and of rocks. The country is a great desert of

rocks—rocks for miles and miles—no trees of any size, and underbrush only in the crevices of the rocks, where the accumulation of the dust of ages has been sufficient to sustain a little vegetable life. The river is not a river, but a continuation of the lake. It has very little current, though it occasionally contracts into a narrower channel with a waterfall, around which our boats had to be carried. The scenery is perfectly wild and the route we took is doubtless the one used by all travelers for the past two hundred and fifty years."

Upon reaching the Georgian Bay, Cadillac's twenty-five canoes crossed that body of water to the strait connecting it with Lake Huron, then followed the easterly coast of that lake to the St. Clair River, down which they passed, through Lake St. Clair and the Detroit River to the site of Detroit. Late on the afternoon of July 23, 1701, the canoes passed the place where the city now stands and that night Cadillac encamped on Grosse Ile, sixteen miles down the river. Early the next morning he slowly ascended the stream, carefully noting the character of the shores, until he reached a point now about the foot of Shelby Street, where the high bank seemed to offer strategic advantages for a post. There he landed and planted the French standard at the top of the bluff, taking possession of the country in the name of Louis XIV.

BUILDING THE POST

Almost immediately after the ceremony of taking possession of the territory, the work of building a storehouse and stockade was commenced. A piece of ground one arpent square (the Canadian arpent of that day was 192.75 feet) was laid off for the fort. While some cleared the ground others cut trees from six to eight inches in diameter for the pickets to form the stockade. These pickets were about fifteen feet long and were sunk in the ground to a depth of three feet. They stood close together, thus forming a palisade twelve feet high. Still others, under the direction of Father de L'Halle, began the building of a church, which was named Ste. Anne, because it was commenced on July 26th—Ste. Anne's day. It was $24\frac{1}{2}$ by 35 feet, ten feet high to the eaves, and was provided with a door and windows, though the windows were without glass. The door had a lock and the windows were provided with shutters. This church was the first building in Detroit to be completed.

Other buildings (belonging to Cadillac) inside the stockade were seven in number, to wit: 1. A warehouse 22 by $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet, 8 feet high, constructed of thick oak planks split from trees and smoothed with an adz. Inside this warehouse were a counter and a press for baling skins, and the door was fitted with a lock and key. 2. A building 19 by $33\frac{1}{2}$ feet, built, like all the others, by placing posts in the ground. This building was also provided with a lock. 3. A smaller building $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 18 feet, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. 4. A barn 27 by 50 feet, 11 feet high. This was evidently for storing crops, though Cadillac later brought three horses, only one of which (Colon) lived. 5. A building 21 by 33 feet, formed of split stakes and without a door. 6. An ice house 15 feet square, 6 feet high above ground and extending 15 feet below the surface. 7. An inferior building 12 by 16 feet and only 5 feet high. Other buildings were owned by members of the colony, all built of logs set on end. Several years elapsed before cabins were built with the logs laid horizontally. Concerning this work Cadillac wrote: "All this is no easy task, as everything has to be carried on the shoulders, for we have no oxen or horses yet to draw loads, nor to plough, and to accomplish it, it is necessary to be very active."

COMPANY OF THE COLONY

Scarcely had Cadillac laid the foundations of Michigan's future metropolis,—and while he was encouraged and buoyed up by the bright prospects for the future,—when a cloud appeared above the horizon. For some years the merchants of Quebec and Montreal had been engaged in the fur trade in a limited way. Their method was to employ voyageurs to fit out expeditions and transport in canoes, to the Indian country about the upper lakes, goods to exchange for peltries. About the close of the Seventeenth Century a company was formed to conduct this trade on a larger scale. Authentic information relative to this company is so scarce that it is difficult to ascertain just what rights it was granted, or who composed it. Enough has been learned, however, to state with certainty that on October 3, 1699, some of the leading citizens of Quebec (among whom was Cadillac) sent a deputation composed of Anteuil, Juchereau and Pacaud to Versailles to solicit from the king the privilege of organizing a company to have general charge of the beaver trade of Canada. (The beaver trade included all furs.)

That some effort to organize a company at that time was made is borne out by a letter written some years later (October 21, 1726), by Claude Thomas Dupuy, then intendant of Canada, in which he says: "M. de la Mothe was placed at Detroit as commandant in the year 1700, when this post was established. The old Beaver Company, which had established the post, gave it up to the new company, which was unable to keep it up, and Sieur de la Mothe asked for it with the monopoly of the trade and the other conditions the company had."

Not long after Cadillac left Quebec on June 2, 1701, for the Detroit River, a treaty of peace was made with the Iroquois, which opened a more direct route between Fort Frontenac and Detroit by way of Lake Erie. It is quite probable that this treaty revived the idea of organizing a company, as goods could now be transported without encountering the troublesome portages of the Ottawa River route. But Cadillac had been granted the exclusive right to trade with the Indians at Detroit and was taking steps to settle them near the post, where they would be under his domination. To break his power, a company called the "Company of the Colony of Canada" was formed and influences set to work to undermine his standing with King Louis XIV. If this hypothesis as to the formation of the new company is correct, it follows that at the time Cadillac founded the post there was no company in charge of the new colony, and he was justified in considering himself the exclusive owner of the post and of its trade.

It seems that Governor-General Callieres had conceived a personal dislike for Cadillac and, as the representative of the French Government in Canada, encourage the formation of the company, with the exclusive right to trade at Fort Frontenac and Detroit, taking from Cadillac the powers given him by the king's commission. By intrigue the consent of Louis XIV was gained and the contract with the company was concluded at Quebec on October 31, 1701. On the same day the intendant wrote to Count Pontchartrain:

"You will see from the agreement I have made with the Company of the Colony, on putting it in possession of the forts of Frontenac and Detroit, that I have been obliged to advance large sums without being able to obtain payment until next year, in letters of exchange and furs, which will have to be sent to France to be sold, and this will delay the repayment for two years.

Therefore I most humbly beg you, My Lord, to take this into account to some extent, by granting us such increase in funds as you may think fit, having regard to the extraordinary disbursements we have been obliged to make both for the ratification of peace with the Iroquois and for the enterprise at Detroit, and for the fortification at Quebec, as you know from the statements which I have sent to you.

“CHAMPIGNY, Intendant.”

As the Company of the Colony was destined to play a conspicuous part in the discomfiture of Cadillac, the principal features of the contract entered into by its directors and the Canadian officials are here given, taken from Leake's History of Detroit (p. 13):

“The following articles of agreement have been made between the governor-general and intendant on the one part, and Messrs. d'Auteuil, procureur-general of the King in the sovereign council of this country, Lotbiniere, lieutenant-general of this City of Quebec, Irazeur, Gobin, Macart and Pierese, gentlemen, merchants of this City of Quebec, all directors-general of the said company, on the other part.

“1. Be it known, that the governor-general and intendant, in consequence of the express orders which they have this year received from the King, do, by these presents and acceptances, in the name of His Majesty, cede and convey to the directors of said Company of the Colony the posts of Detroit and Fort Frontenac, giving into the possession of said Company of the Colony, from this day forth, the said posts in the state in which they now are for their use, to traffic in furs, to the exclusion of all other inhabitants of said country, so long as it shall please His Majesty.

“2. It shall be the duty of said Company to complete the construction of said fort at Detroit, and the buildings properly belonging thereto; and the Company shall in future keep said buildings and fort in good repair, that they may be rendered in the same state they are now, and better, if possible, whenever His Majesty shall judge proper to receive them, if in the course of time he so order.

“3. The Company of the Colony is also to take charge of the goods which have been sent to said place, obeying the conditions that have been agreed upon—Messrs. Radisson and Arnault to be overseers of the storehouse of said goods which the intendant has placed in the hands of the directors of the Company. They are also to have charge of the other advances made by the King for this establishment, and to make payment for said goods and advances to the intendant from the first bills which shall be returned from Detroit, and in case said bills should not be sufficient, on the first of October, 1702, the said overseers shall give bills of exchange for the remainder, which shall be drawn upon the directors and commissioners of said Company in Paris, payable to the sureties and overseers of the storehouse, for the purpose of liquidating the claims against said Company, conformably to the agreement made with the said Lord-Lieutenant.

“4. It is also agreed that the King shall support, at his expense, the garrison which the governor shall order for the protection of said fort of Detroit, and that the commandant and one other officer only, shall be maintained by the Company.

“5. The said commandant and soldiers shall not make any trade for furs

with the savages nor French, directly nor indirectly, on any pretext whatever, under pain of confiscation of the said furs, and other punishment prescribed by the King."

Cadillac knew nothing of all this until July 18, 1702, when Arnault and Radisson arrived at Detroit to take charge of affairs. They presented him with a copy of the contract and showed their credentials as overseers. The information came like the proverbial clap of thunder from a clear sky. On July 21, 1702, Cadillac left Detroit for Quebec, hoping to secure some modification of the contract with the company, or, failing in that, to make terms with the directors that would give him partial control of the post, at least. Under date of September 25, 1702, he wrote from Quebec to Count Pontchartrain, giving the following account of what had been accomplished at Detroit:

"After the fort was built, and the dwellings, I had the land cleared there and some French wheat sown on the 7th of October, not having had time to prepare it well. This wheat, although sown hastily, came up very fine and was cut on the 21st of July. I also had some sown in the spring, as is done in Canada; it came up well enough, but not like that of the autumn. The land having thus shown its quality, and taught me that the French tillage must be followed, I left orders with M. de Tonty to take care to begin the sowing about the 20th of September and I left him twenty arpents of land prepared. I have no doubt he has increased it somewhat since my departure. I also had twelve arpents or more sown this spring, in the month of May, with Indian corn which came up eight feet high; it will have been harvested about the 20th of August and I hope there will be a good deal of it. All the soldiers have their own dwellings."

Then, after giving a detailed account of his building a boat, establishing a vineyard for the cultivation of wild grape vines, and some other matters, he continues: "All that I have had the honor to state to you has been done in one year, without it having cost the King a sou, and without costing the company a double; and in twelve months we have put ourselves in a position to do without provisions from Canada forever; and all this undertaking was carried out with three months' provisions, which I took when I set out from Montreal, and which were consumed in the course of the journey. This proves whether Detroit is a desirable or an undesirable country. Besides this, nearly six thousands mouths of different tribes wintered there, as every one knows. All these proofs, convincing as they are, cannot silence the enemies of my scheme; but they do begin to grow feeble and to diminish in violence. It may be said that nothing more remains to them, good or bad, but their tongues.

"There are at Detroit a good fort, good dwellings and the means of living and subsisting. There are three villages of the savages; the rest will very soon come there. They are waiting to see whether what was promised them is being carried out. It is for you to push this matter about the inhabitants (that deserves our attention on account of the war) and to consider whether you will allow the inhabitants of Canada to settle there; to form a seminary to begin to instruct the savage children in piety and in the French language; to allow the Recollets to settle there in order to discharge their functions."

Unable to have the agreement with the company altered to any appreciable extent, Cadillac returned to Detroit. Upon his arrival there on November 6, 1702, he found that the overseers had conducted matters in such a manner as to incur the displeasure of the Indians. It had been Cadillac's custom to treat

his red brethren as though he had implicit confidence in their honesty, allowing them the freedom of the fort during the day. As soon as he left for Quebec in July, Radisson and Arnault ordered the warehouse, in which the goods were stored, to be kept locked, and in other ways (particularly in the distribution of brandy) treated the Indians with so much insolence that many of them were about ready to desert the post. Cadillac did all he could to pacify his Indian friends, who liked him personally, but his influence among them was weakened when they saw he was subordinate to the despised overseers.

CADILLAC REGAINS POSSESSION

While the company was in charge of the post, Cadillac remained as commandant on a salary of 2,000 livres per year, and was not required to bear any part of the expense of maintaining the garrison. Under this arrangement he was not shorn of his powers, always went about in military costume, with his sword by his side, soldiers saluting him and civilians removing their hats as he passed. But he was almost constantly involved in quarrels with the representatives and employees of the company. On one occasion a clerk named Desnoyers became rather saucy and Cadillac ordered him to be imprisoned for two hours. Upon being released, he immediately began making preparations to desert his post and return to Montreal, when he was again thrown into prison by the commandant's orders. In his defense before Count Pontchartrain, when asked why Desnoyers had been so treated, Cadillac said:

"I did so because it is laid down in my orders that nobody, officer or otherwise, is to set out from Detroit without my permission; yet the clerk, Desnoyers, to continue his disobedience, had his boat put in the water and loaded for Montreal (as he says) without speaking of it to me or saying anything to me about it, claiming always that he was not subordinate to me. * * *

"As to my powers, they are very ample, being to punish according to circumstances, by reprimands, by arrests, by imprisonment or by deprivation of civil rights; and in case of distinct disobedience, to run my sword through any one who has offended against me."

Although it was stipulated in the articles of agreement with the company that the king would support the garrison, in the fall of 1703 the soldiers were so poorly paid that nine of them deserted. They returned after a short absence and were pardoned by Cadillac. About the same time Cadillac learned that his captain, Tonty, had entered into a plot with the Jesuits of Michilimackinac to cripple Detroit by encouraging the establishment of a new post at St. Joseph on Lake Michigan. When confronted with the evidence of the conspiracy, Tonty, it is said, admitted the truth and was likewise pardoned, on promise of good behavior. These pardons indicate that Cadillac was not always unduly severe in his administration of affairs.

Notwithstanding Tonty's promise of good behavior, he was soon engaged in another scheme. Cadillac detected him and one of the company's commissioners in the embezzlement of goods belonging to the company, for the purpose of carrying on an illicit trade in furs. The furs they had collected were confiscated and charges against the offenders were forwarded to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the governor-general. The commissioner was a relative of Vaudreuil and an intimate friend of some of the directors of the company, who preferred countercharges against Cadillac, and in the fall of 1704 he was summoned to

appear before the governor and intendant for trial. He was acquitted, but was not allowed to return to Detroit. Cadillac then appealed to the colonial minister at Paris and received instructions while still at Quebec to present his case to Count Pontchartrain. Vaudreuil then gave him permission to return to Detroit, but Cadillac wanted a complete vindication. After a patient hearing, Count Pontchartrain announced himself as satisfied that Cadillac had done "all that could be expected of a faithful officer and an honest man," and promised that the annoyances to which he had been subjected should be stopped.

On June 14, 1705, the company executed an agreement to restore to Cadillac the post of Detroit and all its appurtenances. In accordance with this agreement, the property was to be invoiced in the presence of M. de Tonty, Father de L'Halle and the company's clerks, Cadillac to pay for the merchandise in money or bills of exchange; that Count Pontchartrain was to decide whether Cadillac should pay for the buildings erected by the company; that the new proprietor was to supply the company with beaver skins not amounting in value to more than twenty thousand livres per year; that he was not to trade at any point on the lakes outside of Detroit; and that the company should have the privilege of sending an inspector to see if that feature of the agreement was being infringed. In addition, Cadillac was to defray the entire expense of maintaining the post, except a portion of the priest's salary, which was to be paid by the inhabitants.

Cadillac's victory was only temporary. Count Pontchartrain was unable to keep his promise that the annoyances should be brought to an end and the intriguing went on. The company did not want Detroit to be colonized, while Cadillac's ambition was to build up a permanent colony. To this end he had caused a number of Indian bands to locate near the fort. The Huron village was a short distance down the river, in the opposite direction were four bands of the Ottawa and a Miami settlement, and the Wolf Indians occupied the land known as the "King's Commons." He also offered inducements to Canadians to settle near the post and encouraged unmarried soldiers to take Indian wives. Under his liberal policy, it is said that within eight months after he landed at Detroit, his settlement promised to become a rival of Montreal or Quebec. After more than four years of bickerings, his enemies succeeded in having him removed. In the spring of 1710 he was appointed governor of Louisiana. So many of his friends left at the same time that the town was practically deserted, though the original stockade had been previously enlarged to accommodate the growing population. To make matters worse for Cadillac, his successor took all his property and refused to account for it. The value of this property, as shown by an inventory taken in April, 1720, was as follows:

400 arpents of land at 100 francs.....	40,000.00
Loss of same for ten years at 6 francs per year.....	24,000.00
1 warehouse	3,000.00
House of M. de LaMothe	2,500.00
2 other houses	1,500.00
1 barn, etc.	1,200.00
1 stable	500.00
1 dove cot	400.00
1 ice house	300.00
Chapel and house of almoner	3,000.00

1 mill	8,000.00
29 horned cattle and 1 horse	9,000.00
Loss of mill at 1,000 francs per year	10,000.00
For 29 horned cattle which should have been bred during the 10 years	9,000.00
Furniture, grain, flour, tools, etc.	7,000.00
Premium on same at 4 per cent	2,800.00
Due for King's service & care of sick.....	4,331.73
Total.....	126,531.73

The loss of this property, valued at 126,531 francs (or livres), 7 sous and 3 deniers, was a severe one to a man who had spent ten of the best years of his life in building up a colony in the wilderness of North America, hoping thereby to uphold the honor of his king and enrich himself.

QUARREL WITH THE JESUITS

Cadillac was reared a Catholic and in his religious faith and practices was decidedly partial to the Franciscan order. While commandant at Michilimackinac, he became embroiled with the Jesuit missionaries over the sale of brandy to the Indians. The competition between the French and English for the control of the fur trade was then at its height. As the English traders were permitted to sell intoxicating liquors to the natives in unlimited quantities, the French claimed that it was necessary for them to pursue the same policy, in order to prevent their rivals from obtaining a monopoly of the trade. The Jesuits protested against the custom, and, knowing the commandant to be in sympathy with the Franciscans, tried to place all the blame on him, hoping to have him removed and a commandant more friendly to their order appointed. Cadillac had been at Michilimackinac but a few months when the Jesuits scored a victory by having the transportation of brandy to the post prohibited.

On March 21, 1795, a deputation of Indians and French traders called on Cadillac to remonstrate against the prohibition. One of the chiefs reminded him that former commandants had not been so severe upon them, and said: "If we are your friends, give us the liberty of drinking. Our beaver is worth your brandy and the Great Spirit gave us both to make us happy. If you wish to treat us as your enemies, or as slaves, do not be angry if we carry our beaver to Orange or Cortland (English trading posts), where they will give us rum; as much of it as we want."

After this incident, Cadillac wrote to a friend in Quebec that the Jesuits had acted in bad faith and made misrepresentations to secure the order prohibiting the shipment of brandy to the post. With him the interests of the king and the French traders were paramount and he refused to obey the order. By doing so he made a bitter and lasting enemy of Father Etienne de Carheil, the Jesuit priest at the post.

Cadillac's idea, in establishing the post of Detroit, was to make it sufficiently powerful to check the aggressive campaign of the English for the trade of the Indians of the upper lake country. His plan was to induce the Indians to settle near the post, teach them the French language, and thus make it possible to bring about an alliance for their mutual protection. To accomplish this he made the right to supply the Indians with liquor one of the principal provisions of his commission. He well knew that the adoption of such a policy,

and his open preference for the Recollet priests, would still further alienate the Jesuits, especially when they should learn that it was his determination not to permit them to control the religious affairs of the post. He anticipated, but did not fear, the opposition of Father Carheil, the Montreal traders and Governor Callieres, who was an ardent supporter of the Jesuits, all of whom realized that the settlement of the Indians near Fort Pontchartrain, where they could easily obtain liquor, would draw a large part of the trade away from Michilimackinac.

Although a staunch friend of the Franciscan order, Cadillac was not intolerant. As already stated, when he left Montreal on June 2, 1701, Father Valliant, a Jesuit priest, was one of his company. On the way to the Detroit River, Cadillac noticed a discontent among the men and traced it to rumors that they would not be paid for their services, that they would not be permitted to bring their wives to Detroit, or to visit their families in Montreal, etc. It had been settled before starting that Father Valliant was to go as a missionary to the Indians, and that his colleague, Father de L'Halle, was to be the priest and almoner of the post. Cadillac knew that Father Valliant wanted to be superior to Father de L'Halle, and suspected him with being the author of the rumors. Soon after landing at Detroit, he called the men together, told them frankly that he had observed their discontent and inquired the cause. Father Valliant, seeing that a day of reckoning was at hand, and that he was likely to be placed on record, hastily departed, without waiting for permission or an escort, and went to Michilimackinac. After his departure no Jesuit officiated at Detroit for several years.

The absence of the Jesuits did not prevent them from engaging in intrigues and doing many things to harass Cadillac and retard the growth of Detroit. Under date of August 31, 1703, Cadillac wrote to Count Pontchartrain as follows:

"You were good enough to write to me that the King wishes the missions of Detroit to be administered by the Jesuit fathers, and that their Superior at Quebec would grant me some who would be more in sympathy with me than Father Valliant had been. It would appear that your orders were sufficient to induce this Superior to provide for that mission promptly, especially after the special favor you have done him by approving of Father Valliant remaining in this country, after having opposed the will of His Majesty as he has done.

"The arrangement made by M. de Callieres also seemed to compel him, absolutely, to have the mission provided for, as is clearly explained therein. Yet you will see that, up to the present, the Jesuits have done nothing to carry out His Majesty's intentions, which you explained clearly both to M. de Callieres and to their Superior at Quebec, with which you were pleased to acquaint me.

"I do not know whether they have sent you word that it was agreed, in consequence of the arrangement which had been made, that the Company of the Colony should pay to each missionary of Detroit the sum of 800 livres a year; that it would have the things they would want for their food and clothing necessary for their use, brought for them at its cost and expense; and that it would get dwellings for them in the villages of the savages until there was time to build them more conveniently. I have carried out, for my part, the arrangements which have been made; the Company has carried them out on its side, having this spring (in accordance with the agreement) sent a boat on purpose for Father Marest, Superior of Missilimakinak, who feigned important

reasons for not coming here, so the Company has incurred that expense in vain, as it had already done regarding Father Valliant.

"You wish me to be friendly with the Jesuits and not to pain them. Having thought it well over, I have only found three ways of succeeding in that. The first is to let them do as they like; the second to do everything they wish; the third, to say nothing about what they do. By letting them do as they like, the savages would not settle at Detroit and would not be settled there; to do as they wish, it is necessary to cause the downfall of this post; and to say nothing about what they do, it is necessary to do what I am doing; and (yet) in spite of this last essential point, I still cannot induce them to be my friends."

To just what extent the antipathy of the Jesuit fathers was responsible for the ultimate defeat of Cadillac's plans at Detroit would be difficult to determine. Persons who engage in conspiracy or factional intrigue do not keep an open record of their deeds. That they connived with the merchants of Montreal and others for his downfall is certain, though it took them nearly ten years to accomplish their purpose. It is equally certain that none rejoiced more upon his final removal, to which they had contributed.

DISPOSAL OF LOTS

On June 14, 1704, Count Pontchartrain wrote to Cadillac, advising him of a decree giving him authority to make conveyances of the lands in and around the village, though some of the lots and lands had been taken prior to that time by some sort of an agreement, the exact nature of which is not known. The lots inside the fort were small—about 20 by 25 feet,—though a few were larger. The houses occupied by the soldiers belonged to the commandant, but the civilians owned their homes. At the time the authority was granted by the king to make conveyances, Cadillac was in the midst of his litigation with the Company of the Colony and no lots were conveyed to individuals until in March, 1707. Between that time and June 28, 1710, sixty-eight lots in the village were granted to private citizens. He also granted a number of tracts for agricultural purposes, which are known as the "French Farms" or "Private Claims," and which are further described in Chapter XX of this work. The complete description of all of Cadillac's grants in the village, along the river and in the "gardens" is published in Volume 33, pp. 373-82, of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections. The following list gives the number of each lot granted within the village and the name of the person receiving it from Cadillac:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Pierre Chesne | 13. Pierre Hemard |
| 2. André Chouet | 14. Antoine Dupuis <i>dit</i> Beauregard |
| 3. Pierre Faverau <i>dit</i> LeGrandeur | 15. Jacques L'Anglois |
| 4. Joseph Despré | 16. Guillaume Bovet <i>dit</i> Deliard |
| 5. Salomon Joseph Du Vestin | 17. Michael Massé |
| 6. Pierre Leger <i>dit</i> Parisien | 18. Michel Campo |
| 7. Bonnaventure Compien <i>dit</i>
L'Esperance | 19. Louis Normand |
| 8. Jacob de Marsac <i>dit</i> Desrocher | 20. Francois Tesée |
| 9. M. D'Argenteuil | 21. Pierre Chantelon |
| 10. Jean Richard | 22. Francois Bienvenu <i>dit</i> de L'Isle |
| 11. Jean Labatier <i>dit</i> Champagne | 23. Pierre Estevé |
| 12. Estienne Bontran | 24. Blaise Surgere |
| | 25. Pierre Poirier |

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 26. Antoine Ferron | 48. Jerome Marliard |
| 27. Pierre Tacet | 49. André Bombardie |
| 28. Francois Fafard de Lorme | 50. Pierre Du Roy |
| 29. Michel Dizier (Disier) | 51. Pierre Roy |
| 30. Jacob de Marsac | 52. Francois Margue |
| 31. ——— Rencontre | 53. Antoine Magnant |
| 32. ——— Desloriers | 54. Francois Bonne |
| 33. ——— Xaintonge | 55. Touissaints Dardennes |
| 34. Jacques Du Moulin | 56. Pierre Bassinet |
| 35. Guilleaume Aguet | 57. Francois Brunet |
| 36. Louis Gastineau | 58. Antoine Beauregard |
| 37. Joseph Parent | 59. Marie Le Page |
| 38. Martin Sirier | 60. Jacques Campo |
| 39. ——— Quilenchivé | 61. Jean Serond |
| 40. M. Derancé | 62. Pierre Robert |
| 41. ——— Du Figuier | 63. ——— L'Arramée |
| 42. ——— La Montagne | 64. René Le Moine |
| 43. Pierre Mallet | 65. Jacques Le Moine |
| 44. Antoine Dufresne | 66. Paul Guillet |
| 45. Jean Baptiste Chornic | 67. Joseph Rinaud |
| 46. Jean Casse | 68. Antoine Tuffé <i>dit</i> du Fresne |
| 47. Paul L'Anglois | |

Lot No. 59, conveyed to Marie Le Page, is the only record of a conveyance to a woman in early Detroit. As an example of how Louis XIV conducted colonial affairs, in 1716, after Cadillac had left to become governor of Louisiana, all grants were annulled by royal edict and the titles reverted to the king.

FIRST WHITE WOMEN

In September, 1701, Madame Cadillac and Madame de Tonty left Quebec for Fort Frontenac, intending to join their husbands at Detroit the following spring, as soon as it was considered safe to undertake the journey. The treaty with the Iroquois had just been concluded and they made their arrangements to go by way of Lake Erie. When importuned by friends in Quebec to refrain from such a toilsome and dangerous journey, especially as the country to which she contemplated going was wild and barbarous, where she would be without congenial company and attractions, Madame Cadillac replied: "Do not waste your pity upon me, dear friends. I know the hardships, the perils of the journey, the isolation of the life to which I am going; yet I am eager to go. For a woman who truly loves her husband has no stronger attraction than his company, wherever he may be."

Although the two women were accompanied only by Indians and rough canoe men, they were treated with the utmost respect and arrived at Detroit without accident or adventure. The following description of their landing is taken from Mary Catherine Crowley's address at the Bi-Centenary celebration in 1901:

"One day toward the end of May (1702) the sentry whose pleasant task it is to watch the river, beholds down toward the lake of the Eries a dark object, just at the line where the blue-gray clouds and the silver waters meet; so far off that it might almost be mistaken for a wild duck, which as it flies dips its wings to the surface of the stream, a fog stealing up from the lake,

or the smoke of an Indian fire from the land. As it draws nearer, however, it is seen to be a canoe; another appears in its wake. The sentry calls the news in a loud voice and every civilian in the little town hurries to the strand; the occupants of the canoes may be a party of redskins returning from the lower lakes, or perhaps even a band of Iroquois come with treacherous offerings of peace belts, as they did at Michilimackinac.

"Monsieur de Cadillac orders the garrison under arms. The bateaux come nearer; now a white banner waves from the prow of the foremost canoe as it glides up the shining path made by the sunlight. A sunbeam kisses the flag, and at the same moment the spectators on the shore catch sight of its golden fleurs de lis. A glad shout goes up from a hundred throats: 'This is verily the convoy from Fort Frontenac!' * * * Now we distinguish the figures in the canoes; the Indian rowers, the sturdy forms of the Canadians who form the escort of the women, the happy wives of the soldiers. In the stern of the ladies' flagship we see Madame de Tonty, buxom and comely, a charming picture of a young matron of New France; Madame Cadillac, handsome and graciously dignified as the wife of the seigneur should be, yet with a bright, glad smile. Against her knee leans little Jacques, her six year old son, who calls out cheerily at the sight of his father and of his older brother Antoine, who came with Cadillac."

MADAME CADILLAC TABLET

At noon on May 30, 1903, a tablet commemorative of the arrival of these first white women in Detroit was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies. It is located on the Detroit Art Museum, at the corner of Hastings Street and Jefferson Avenue, and shows in bas-relief Madame Cadillac landing from the canoe, greeted by her husband, while Indians are seen peering from behind the trees farther back from the river.

The idea of the tablet originated with Mrs. Marguerite Beaubien, by whom it was unveiled. It was presented to the city and the Detroit Museum of Art by Mrs. Bertram C. Whitney, president of the Women's Bi-Centenary Committee; was accepted for the city by Mayor William C. Maybury, and for the Museum of Art by Theodore C. Buhl, custodian of the museum. The memorial address was delivered by Alfred Russell.

A FEW FIRST THINGS

A few events, each the first of its kind, that occurred in old Detroit, between the time it was founded and the departure of Cadillac in 1711, were:

The first white child born in the village was a daughter of Alphonse de Tonty and his wife. She was named Therese, in honor of Madame Cadillac. The exact date of birth is not known.

The first recorded baptism was that of Marie Therese, daughter of Antoine de LaMothe and Therese Cadillac. Farmer gives the date of this baptism as February 2, 1704.

The first known death was that of Father Constantine de L'Halle, who was killed by an Indian in the summer of 1706.

The first wheat ever sown in Michigan was sown at Detroit on October 7, 1701, by direction of Cadillac.

CHAPTER VII

DETROIT UNDER FRENCH RULE

FRENCH COMMANDANTS AFTER CADILLAC—PIERRE ALPHONSE DE TONTY—SIEUR DE BOURGMONT—SIEUR DUBUISSON—FRANCOIS DE LA FOREST—JACQUES CHARLES SABREVOIS—SIEUR DE LOUVIGNY—PICOTE DE BELESTRE—SIEUR DESCHAILLONS—SIEUR DE BOISHEBERT—SIEUR DE LIVANDIERE—NICOLAS JOSEPH DESNOYELLES—PIERRE JACQUES PAYAN DE NOYAN—PIERRE JOSEPH CELORON—PAUL JOSEPH LE MOINE—SIEUR DE MUY—JEAN BAPTISTE HENRY BERANGER—PICOTE DE BELESTRE II—FIFTY-NINE YEARS' PROGRESS.

The principal events in the history of Detroit from 1701 to 1710—while Cadillac was commandant—have been chronicled in the preceding chapter. During that period Cadillac sent frequent reports to the governor-general of New France, and to Paris, concerning the condition of the post. None of his successors was so enterprising in this respect, and many events that occurred between 1710 and 1760 are left, to a considerable degree, in obscurity. The purpose of this chapter is to give a list of the commandants that followed Cadillac, in the order in which they served, together with such information regarding the occurrences under each as could be gleaned from sources considered reliable. The first commandant after Cadillac was

PIERRE ALPHONSE DE TONTY

Pierre Alphonse de Tonty, Baron de Paludy, a son of Laurent and Angelique (de Liette) de Tonty, was born in 1659. His father is credited with having been the inventor of Tontine insurance. An older brother, Henry de Tonty, was La Salle's lieutenant in the efforts to discover the mouth of the Mississippi River. He wore an artificial hand and was called by the Indians "The man with the iron hand."

Alphonse de Tonty was an associate and confidant of Cadillac and accompanied him to the Detroit River in 1701 as second in command. When Cadillac was called to Montreal in 1704, and placed under arrest upon his arrival, Tonty was left in charge of the post. Soon after Cadillac's departure, Tonty began selling powder to the Indians and also became involved in the embezzlement of furs belonging to the Company of the Colony. This caused Cadillac to lose confidence in a man whom he had trusted implicitly, and at his solicitation Tonty was removed. M. de la Forest was made temporary commandant on September 25, 1705, but was succeeded in the following January by Sieur de Bourgmont, of whom more will be said later.

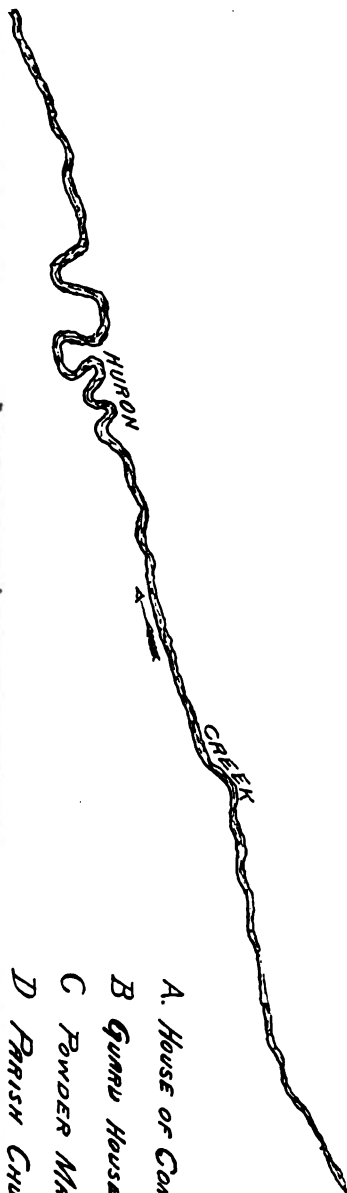
It appears that when Cadillac returned to Detroit in 1706, he pardoned Tonty, who remained at the post and secretly worked to destroy the influence of his superior officer among the Indians. It is reported that he received a

pension of 6,000 francs a year for this service. In July, 1717, he was made commandant, though four others had preceded him in that position after the removal of Cadillac. At that time the commandant was required to pay all the expenses of the post, a missionary, an interpreter, presents for the Indians, clothing, subsistence and a surgeon for the soldiers of the garrison, all out of the profits derived from his trade. Tonty borrowed 26,246 livres, 18 sous and 4 deniers from Francois Bouat to invest in goods for trade with the Indians. He did not succeed as well as he anticipated, his debt to Bouat was a source of constant anxiety, and he turned the trade over to Francois La Marque and Louis Gastineau for an annuity. They took in three other partners—Thierry, Nolan and Gouin—and these five controlled the trade, paying Tonty every year a sum sufficient for the maintenance of the post.

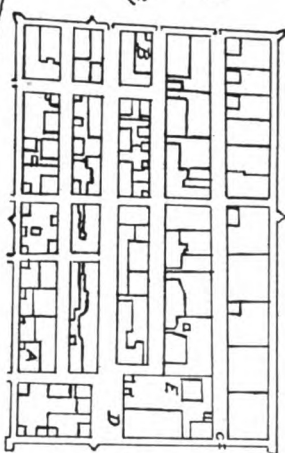
During Cadillac's time, and for some years after he left, it was the custom to hold a sort of fair every year, usually lasting three days. On these occasions the Indians came to the post and bought such goods as they wanted, paying for them with their furs. There were at first twenty or more stores, from which the natives could purchase. Under the Tonty administration they found but two stores, both owned by the same persons, with no competition in prices, which were higher than ever before. This created great dissatisfaction among the Indians, and also among the French or Canadians, causing trade to decrease to an alarming extent. Many left the post. Others appealed to Tonty for relief, but he could do nothing, having disposed of his trading rights under an agreement that could not be broken.

Complaints were lodged against him, by both the leading citizens and the Indians, and early in the winter of 1721-22 Tonty went to Quebec to answer the charges. During his absence Sieur de Belestre discharged the duties of commandant. In 1724 Tonty was again summoned to Quebec to answer charges made against him by Francois La Marque, who had purchased from Cadillac certain rights at Detroit, but was forbidden by Tonty to visit the post for the purpose of looking after his interests. When the Marquis de Beauharnois became governor of New France early in 1727, Tonty went to Quebec to welcome him and to make certain recommendations for the improvement of the post. He failed to make a favorable impression on the new governor. To make matters worse for him, the Huron Indians were threatening to abandon their village near Detroit and remove to the Maumee River, unless they were given a new commandant. This threat outweighed anything Tonty could bring to bear, as it was plain that if the Indians went to the Maumee (now Toledo, Ohio), their trade would go to the English, which would ruin Detroit. Beauharnois told the Indians that Tonty's term would expire the following spring, when they should have a new commandant. He was therefore relieved of the command in the spring of 1728.

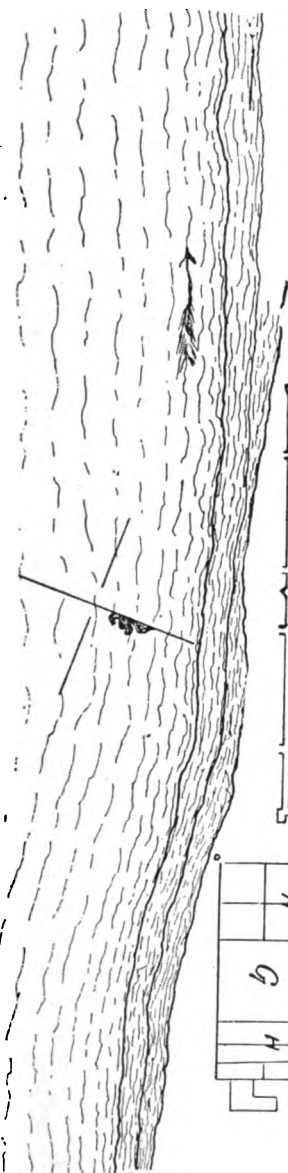
Tonty was twice married. His first wife, to whom he was married on February 17, 1689, was Marianne, daughter of Picote de Belestre, afterward second in command and acting commandant of Detroit. His second wife was Marianne, a daughter of Francois La Marque. Her first husband was J. B. Nolan, to whom she was married on May 3, 1669, and after his death she became the wife of Antoine de Fresnel (or Fruel) de Pipadiere. Tonty was therefore her third matrimonial venture. Madame de Tonty did not accompany her husband to Detroit in 1701, but came the following spring with Madame Cadillac. Tonty died at Detroit on November 10, 1727.



Plan of Fort Detroit.
Situated at 42° 12' 24" of North
Latitude, on the North side of
the River Detroit of Lake Erie,
As it was, August 20th 1749.



- A. House of Commandant
- B. Gunpow House
- C. Powder Magazine
- D. Parish Church
- E. Priest's House
- F. Cemetery
- G. King's Garden
- H. Public Gardens



De Lery's Plan of Detroit 1749

SIEUR DE BOURGMONT

The name of Etienne Venyard, *Sieur de Bourgmont*, first appears in the post records as commandant on January 29, 1706, when he succeeded La Forest as temporary commandant during Cadillac's absence. He had been described as a "big blustering coward," and some of his acts while at Detroit bear out the description. The several Indian bands located near the village were not always on amicable terms with each other, quarrels among them were of frequent occurrence and the citizens were in constant fear of an uprising. The post needed a commandant who understood the Indian character better than Bourgmont to preserve the peace, but instead of adopting a policy to keep the savages quiet, he acted in such a manner that they became more restless than before his coming. In June, 1706, a dog belonging to an Indian of one band bit an Indian of another. The enraged Indian kicked the dog, which started trouble inside the fort. Bourgmont rushed out of his quarters, fell upon the Indian who had been bitten, and beat him severely. All the Indians were aroused over the incident, but by the exercise of diplomacy on the part of the citizens in whom the Indians had confidence, serious trouble was averted.

Before the return of Cadillac, Bourgmont deserted the post, taking with him several soldiers of the garrison and a woman named Tichenet, with whom he had maintained relations that caused a scandal in the village. The deserters established a camp on the shores of Lake Erie. As soon as Cadillac returned he sent a detachment of soldiers to arrest them. Bourgmont and all the deserters except one succeeded in making their escape. The one captured was brought back to Detroit, tried by a court martial and shot. For some time Bourgmont was hunted by French soldiers, but he managed to avoid them and in time his offense was apparently forgotten.

In 1718 a letter from him reached the French court, stating that for several years he had been living among the Indians on the Missouri River, and asking for 2,000 livres to be used in purchasing presents for them. He also stated that he had heard of a people four or five hundred leagues from where he wrote—a people who were small, very numerous, deformed, with large eyes and flat noses, and who wore clothing like that worn by Europeans, their boots being covered with spangles of shining metal. He also stated that these people were always occupied in good work, possessed an abundance of gold and fine jewels, and were believed to be related to the Chinese.

On August 12, 1720, he was commissioned to lead an expedition to make peace with the Indians of New Mexico and to establish a post on the Missouri River. Margry, in Volume VI of his works, gives a detailed account of Bourgmont's wanderings through the wilds west of the Mississippi River. He succeeded in his mission and established a post on the Missouri, which he called the Fort of Orleans, but two years later it was abandoned.

SIEUR DUBUISSON

The fourth man to occupy the position of commandant at Detroit was Charles Regnault, *Sieur Dubuisson*. When Cadillac was removed in 1710, Francois de la Forest was appointed as his successor. He had previously served a brief term as temporary commandant, and being old and infirm he requested that Dubuisson be sent to take charge of the post for a time. By La Forest's direction Dubuisson took all of Cadillac's property, real and personal, and

would not permit him to sell or remove it. This action was not approved by the governor-general, but no reparation was ever made.

Many of the people living at Detroit, especially those who were personal friends of Cadillac and unmarried, packed up their effects and went back to Montreal and Quebec. This so reduced the population that Dubuisson decided to decrease the size of the village inclosure, which in previous years had been enlarged to accommodate the growing population. Originally, the village included the land measured along the line of the present Jefferson Avenue from Griswold to Wayne streets, with lots on both sides of St. Anne Street, which almost coincided with the present north line of Jefferson Avenue. Dubuisson divided the village into two nearly equal parts and built a new palisade in such a manner as to exclude about half of the old village from the protection of the garrison. This did not please the people, particularly those left outside of the new palisade. A meeting was called, at which a remonstrance was drawn up and signed by many of the leading men of the village. This was sent to Cadillac, but the old commandant could do nothing for them. In May, 1712, the village was attacked by the Fox Indians and those outside the garrison were the greatest sufferers. An account of this attack is given in Chapter XXXIII. Soon after this event La Forest arrived and Dubuisson continued at the post as second in command.

After the death of La Forest, Dubuisson served as commandant until the arrival of Sabrevois. From 1723 to 1727 he was in command at the Miamis, a post on the Maumee River a short distance above the present City of Toledo. In 1729 he was in command at Michilimackinac with the rank of captain, after which he seems to have dropped out of sight.

FRANCOIS DE LA FOREST

Technically speaking, Francois de la Forest (sometimes written La Foret) was the second actual commandant, having been appointed to succeed Cadillac. He was born in the City of Paris in 1648 and soon after attaining to his majority was commissioned a captain in the marine service. In 1679 he accompanied La Salle to Fort Frontenac and to the Illinois country the following year. In 1682 he was in command at Fort Frontenac and assisted the governor in negotiating a treaty with the Iroquois Indians, accompanying them to Montreal. Shortly after this Count Frontenac was removed from the office of governor and his successor seized Fort Frontenac (belonging to La Salle). La Barre, the new governor, who had thus seized the property, would not permit La Forest to return there and he went to France to enter his protest against the confiscation of La Salle's property in this high-handed manner, though he did the same thing to Cadillac a few years later. In the spring of 1684 he returned to Canada, with orders to La Barre to restore Fort Frontenac to him as the agent of La Salle. The orders also directed the governor to assist La Forest in maintaining the establishment which La Salle had made at the Fort. From the summer of 1685 to 1687 he was in command at Fort St. Louis, which had been established by La Salle in the Illinois country.

On September 11, 1691, La Forest left Quebec with 110 men for Michilimackinac, with Tonty as second in command. After some time at that post, he returned to Quebec, where on November 11, 1702, he married Charlotte Francoise Juchereau, a wealthy widow. The one child born to this union died in infancy. On September 25, 1705, he was appointed commandant at Detroit

in the absence of Cadillac. The appointment was only temporary and lasted but a few weeks. Upon Cadillac's return a difference of opinion arose between him and La Forest, and the latter went back to Quebec. In 1710 he was appointed as Cadillac's successor, but sent Dubuisson to administer the affairs of the post until the summer of 1712. It was at this time that he appropriated all of Cadillac's property, amounting in value to more than one hundred and twenty-five thousand livres, and never accounted for any of it. La Forest died at Quebec on October 16, 1714.

JACQUES CHARLES SABREVOIS

Succeeding La Forest came Jacques Charles Sabrevois, Sieur de Bleury, a son of Henry and Gabrielle (Martin) Sabrevois, who was born in 1667. He came to America in the latter part of the Seventeenth Century and in 1695-96 held a commission as lieutenant in the war with the Iroquois. Little can be learned regarding his career during the next quarter of a century. A decree of the royal council in 1720, cites the fact that Sabrevois was appointed commandant at Detroit in 1712, two years before the death of La Forest. Ramezay used his influence to prevent him from going to Detroit and he was not permitted to go there until the latter part of 1714 or the early part of 1715.

Acting upon the belief that he was to be given the exclusive right of trade at Detroit, Sabrevois expended a considerable sum of money. He paid an interpreter 800 livres a year, an almoner 600, a surgeon 150, and was liberal in other ways. In 1717 he was removed and was succeeded by Alphonse de Tonty. Just before his departure, Sabrevois called the citizens of Detroit together and pointed out to them the condition of the fort. One curtain of the fort and one line of pickets he pronounced as worthless and asked the people to assist him in rebuilding it for the general welfare of the village. All except three men—Baby, Dusable and Neven—agreed to bear a portion of the expense. These three subsequently persuaded the others to withdraw their support. Sabrevois then undertook the work at his own expense, but did not finish it before he left. He then applied to the court for financial relief, asking to be reimbursed for all his expenses, because he had not been given the trade of the post, but his petition was denied. The rebuilding of the fort was completed by Tonty in 1718.

Sabrevois' management of the post was evidently satisfactory to his superiors, as in 1718 he was created a Chevalier of the Military Order of St. Louis. From 1721 to 1724 he was commandant at Fort Chambly. He then returned to Montreal and was made major of that city, where he died while holding that office on June 19, 1727. On November 16, 1695, he married Jean Boucher and to them were born six children.

An incident in the early life of Sabrevois shows that he was acquainted with Cadillac. On the evening of May 2, 1686, when he was only about nineteen years of age, he met Cadillac at the boarding house of Louise Mousseau, in the lower town of Quebec. Sabrevois mentioned that he was going to the upper town to call on a lady and in the conversation Cadillac characterized him as a "sharper." This was resented by the youngster, angry words followed and both started to draw their swords when they were separated by the bystanders. Cadillac then picked up a heavy brass candlestick and hurled it at his opponent, knocking him down. The candle was extinguished, leaving the room in darkness, and Cadillac made a hasty exit, supposing that he had killed Sabrevois, who, in fact, was only slightly injured. Governor Denonville

learned of the affair and ordered an investigation. The testimony was reduced to writing, but the records do not show that either of the contestants was punished.

SIEUR DE LOUVIGNY

Some authorities give the name of Louis de la Porte, Sieur de Louvigny, as commandant at Detroit, succeeding Tonty in 1728, but the records do not corroborate the statement. If he was ever commandant it must have been only in a temporary capacity at some period subsequent to the appointment of Tonty in 1717 and during the absence of that officer from the post.

Louvigny was a native of France, but was in Canada as early as 1682. From 1690 to 1694 he was commandant at Michilimackinac, immediately preceding Cadillac, and in 1700 his name appears as commandant at Fort Frontenac. The laws of New France prohibited the commandant of that post from trading with the Indians. A party of Iroquois visited the fort with a large quantity of furs and told Louvigny that they were on their way to Albany to sell the skins to the English, but would sell to him if he desired to buy. He purchased the peltries, for which he paid 60,000 livres, and sent them to Quebec. The Jesuits learned of the transaction and informed the governor, who removed Louvigny and caused the furs to be confiscated.

Louvigny was appointed major of Three Rivers, Canada, in 1701 and held that office for about two years, when he became major of Quebec. In 1703 he came to Detroit as an officer in the garrison under Cadillac, but did not remain long at the post. In 1716 he led an expedition against the Fox Indians. On that occasion he passed through Detroit and reported the post there as one of the best fortified in the country. While on this expedition he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Canada, assuming the duties of the position upon his return to Quebec. He lost his life in a shipwreck near Louisburg on August 27, 1725.

PICOTE DE BELESTRE

The full name of this officer was Francois Marie Picote de Belestre. It is questionable whether he was ever really appointed commandant at Detroit, though he may have served as such at various times between 1718 and 1727, during the absences of Tonty. Belestre was born in 1677 and was twice married. His first wife was Anne Bouthier, who died in 1710, and his second wife was Marie Catherine Trotier, a widow. By his second marriage he had two children, one of whom afterward became commandant at Detroit. He died at Detroit on October 9, 1729.

SIEUR DESCHAILLONS

Upon the death of Tonty in 1727, Jean Baptist de St. Ours, Sieur Deschailons was appointed to fill the vacancy. He was about fifty-eight years of age at the time he received the appointment, having been born in 1670. On November 25, 1705, he married Marguerite La Gardeur and to this marriage were born nine children. In July, 1708, France and England being at war, he led a force of about one hundred British troops and some Indians against the New England settlements. In the assault on Haverhill, Massachusetts, it is said he encouraged the savages to massacre the inhabitants. The next year Governor

Vaudreuil sent him to Lake Champlain, and later he was ordered to march against the Fox Indians about Detroit and Mackinaw.

In 1719 Deschaillons was appointed commandant of the post at Michilimackinac, but held the position for only about one year. His record during the next few years seems to have been lost, as nothing more can be learned about him until he was appointed commandant at Detroit in the early part of 1728. He remained at Detroit until the spring of 1729. It is said his short stay there was due to his desire not to forfeit his opportunity for promotion in the army by settling down as commandant of a frontier post. He died at Quebec on June 9, 1747.

SIEUR DE BOISHEBERT

Following Deschaillons came Louis Henry Deschamps, Sieur de Boishebert, a son of Jean Baptiste Deschamps and his wife, Catherine Gertrude Macard. He was born at Quebec on February 8, 1679. When about two years old, his mother died and his father removed to Riviere Quelle, where he founded an establishment and married Jeanne Marguerite Chevalier in 1701. His death occurred about two years after his second marriage.

Louis entered the army almost as soon as he was old enough to be accepted by the military authorities. In 1699 he was engaged in the war with the Iroquois Indians, under the command of the Marquis de Vaudreuil. In 1701 he was sent by Governor Callieres to hold a council with the Indians at Michilimackinac. While he was absent on his mission, Callieres died and Boishebert received no remuneration for his services. During Queen Anne's war, he was sent to guard the harbors of Newfoundland. Near Boston he assisted in the capture of three English vessels loaded with powder—a prize of great importance to the Canadians, whose supply of powder was very low.

Boishebert made his home in Acadia during this period. In 1709 he went overland to Quebec to solicit aid for the Arcadians, who were in great want. On this journey he dislocated his foot, which rendered him a cripple for the remainder of his life. He was employed as assistant engineer on the fortifications of Quebec in 1711-12, and the next year made a map of the Labrador coast for the naval council. He was then appointed adjutant of Quebec and held that position for about eighteen years. On December 10, 1721, he married at Quebec Genevieve de Ramezay, daughter of Claude de Ramezay, who was afterward governor of Montreal.

The exact date of his appointment to the command of Detroit is uncertain, but it was probably in the spring of 1730. He started for Detroit in the early summer of that year and held the position of commandant for about three years. During his term of office there was an improvement in the conditions at Detroit. He returned to Montreal in 1733 and died there on June 6, 1736.

SIEUR DE LIVANDIERE

Soon after Boishebert left for Montreal, Ives Jacques Hugues Pean, Sieur de Livandiere, came to Detroit as commandant. He was born in Paris in 1682 and was a son of Jean Pierre Pean and his wife, Anne de Corbarboineau. That he held a commission of some sort in the army is almost certain, though the records do not show his rank. His career after he came to America was of a military nature. On June 25, 1722, he was united in marriage with Marie Francoise Pecody, daughter of Antoine Pecody and his wife, Jeanne de St.

Ours, of Montreal. Three sons and a daughter were born to this union. In 1724 he was appointed commandant of Fort Frontenac and three years later he occupied a similar position at Fort Chambly.

When he came to Detroit in 1733, the garrison consisted of only seventeen soldiers, though there were in the village eighty men capable of bearing arms. Pean was a man of good judgment and executive ability and the improvement that began under Boishebert continued throughout his term of three years. In 1734 the population and importance of the village had grown to such proportions as to justify the appointment of a royal notary. Robert Navarre was chosen for the position. He was a son of that Robert Navarre who came to Detroit in 1728, and a lineal descendant of Antoine Navarre, Duke de Vendome, a half-brother of Henry IV, King of France and Navarre. The notary was born at Detroit in 1739 and married Louise de Marsac, a granddaughter of Jacob de Marsac, who came as a sergeant with Cadillac to Detroit in 1701. Before his appointment the only records kept at the post were those of St. Anne's Church. He began the public records, among which were the marriage contracts, which always preceded the church wedding. He was a man of high character and served as justice, notary, surveyor and collector until the surrender of the post to the English in 1760. The British commandants continued him in office for many years. His death occurred on November 21, 1791.

In his report for 1735 Pean stated that the wheat crop of that year was between thirteen and fourteen hundred minots, that it had been safely harvested, and that the price had fallen to three livres a minot. As the minot at Detroit was equivalent to a bushel, the price of wheat was therefore sixty cents per bushel. Prior to this time the chief exports were furs and maple sugar, but in this year some wheat was exported.

While at Detroit, Pean was granted "a tract of land called Livandiere, or Riviere Chazy, two leagues or two and half leagues in width by three leagues in depth along the River Chambly and Lake Champlain, with the River Chazy in the midst, also the Isle LaMothe." This grant was confirmed on February 8, 1735, but in 1744 it was discovered that a portion of it had previously been granted to other parties, so that Pean's concession was cut in two. He was again confirmed in the possession of a tract one and a half leagues wide by three deep, and, as a sort of indemnity, was granted another parcel three-fourths of a league wide on Lake Champlain. In the documents relating to these land grants he is designated as "a Chevalier of the Military Order of St. Louis, late captain and now major of Quebec, and commandant at Detroit."

Through the reports and letters of Pean, the Quebec government was awakened to the importance of Detroit and a change of sentiment became noticeable. A few months after the expiration of Pean's term in 1736, Hocquart, the intendant at Quebec, recommended the increase of the garrison to sixty men, with the proper officers, and other measures were taken to strengthen the post. Pean retained the office of major of Quebec until his death on January 26, 1747. Says Mr. Burton:

"An injustice has been done to Pean by the late Judge Campbell and some others who have written about him, in confounding the commandant Pean with his son who bore the same name. It is related that the son, Michael Jean Hugues Pean, became powerful in Canadian affairs and infamous through the relations existing between his wife and the Intendant Bigot; that he countenanced the intrigue and reaped a financial benefit from it. He formed one of



OLD "MORAN" HOUSE, BUILT ABOUT 1734
Was located on what was later Woodbridge Street, between St. Antoine and Hastings

a number of conspirators who ruined French Canada and finally gave it up to the British in 1760. Young Pean was taken to Paris and confined for some years in the Bastile, tried for his misdemeanors, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of 600,000 livres. It is only necessary to examine the dates at which these transactions are recorded to prove that the commandant Pean is not the notorious Pean who helped to ruin Canada. Commandant Pean died on January 26, 1747, and the imprisonment of the son in the Bastile began on November 13, 1761. His trial commenced a little later and was protracted three years."

NICOLAS JOSEPH DESNOYELLES

The last name of this commandant is sometimes written "Noyelle" or "Desnoyelle." He was born in France in 1694 and was the son of Col. Joseph Desnoyelles, of Crecy. He came to America in his youth, entered the army and in 1736 held a commission as captain in the marine department, having arrived at that distinction by successive promotions. Six years prior to that time he was in command at the Miamis, a post on the Maumee River a few miles above the present City of Toledo. According to Ferland's "Historie du Canada," Desnoyelles left Montreal in August, 1734, with eighty French troops and about one hundred thirty Indians, in a campaign against the Sac and Fox Indians. He passed through Detroit, where he received reinforcements of Huron and Pottawatomi Indians, and after a march of seven months found the Sac and Fox warriors to the number of 250 on the Des Moines River. After a skirmish the enemy withdrew to a fort built by the women and children. Part of the Indians who had accompanied Desnoyelles had returned to their villages, leaving him only 240 men. With this force he deemed it imprudent to attack. A parley was held, in which the Sac and Fox promised to separate and the latter tribe was sent north to the bay.

Governor Beauharnois appointed Desnoyelles commandant at Detroit in 1736 to succeed Pean, but the appointment was not approved by the government at Paris. Unaware of the king's veto, he left Montreal on May 6, 1736, and in due time arrived at Detroit. The king appointed Pierre Jacques Payan de Noyan, but he did not go at once to Detroit, and Governor Beauharnois did not remove Desnoyelles, reporting that he was "universally beloved by all the French and savages and that he was disinterested in his work for the service." It is said that he served the entire term of three years without being apprised of the king's refusal to confirm his appointment. After retiring from the office of commandant, he joined the explorer Verendrye in one of his expeditions to the westward in an effort to discover a passage by water to the Pacific Ocean. The date of his death could not be ascertained.

PIERRE JACQUES PAYAN DE NOYAN

Under date of October 5, 1738, Pierre Jacques Payan de Noyan, Sieur de Charvis (or Chavois), wrote to the French colonial minister from Montreal: "My Lord:—I have received with all the respect and gratitude of which I am capable, the new proofs of the kindness with which your highness honors me, in having been pleased to select me to command at Detroit. I know, my Lord, how greatly the honor of that confidence ought to spur me on to seek means of justifying it to your highness, despite my humble capacity. I feel to deserve their marked favor will result in the fulfillment of what is required of me. I do not feel able, my Lord, to make any proposal as to the settlement

of this post. I am, as yet, unaware what means you wish to be employed and the methods you prescribe for me, the Marquis de Beauharnois not having done me the honor to inform me of them."

It seems that the writer of this letter had been appointed commandant of Detroit in the place of Desnoyelles, but his acceptance of the position was delayed on account of a surgical operation, as the intendant wrote to the Paris government in the fall of 1738 that "he has recovered from the operation that was performed last spring on his left breast and he counts on being able to take up his appointment at Detroit next spring. M. de Beauharnois will give him orders to do so. He will therefore then be installed as commandant."

Payan was born at Montreal on November 3, 1695. His father was Pierre Payan, Sieur de Noyan, and his mother was Catherine Jeanne Le Moine (or Le Moyne), a member of the celebrated family of that name that furnished so many men prominent in the annals of Canada and Louisiana. Previous to his appointment as commandant of Detroit, he served as captain of a company in the marine department and later as major. In 1726, while serving with his uncle, Sieur de Bienville, then governor of Louisiana, the latter was removed from his office as governor and summoned to Paris to explain his official conduct. Payan accompanied his uncle, but their explanations were not satisfactory to the court, which was already prejudiced against Bienville. They returned to America and on November 17, 1731, Payan married Catherine Daillebout. Of their four children, Pierre Louis was born in Detroit.

Payan assumed his duties as commandant in the spring of 1739 and rendered himself unpopular with certain elements on account of his efforts to check the sale of liquor to the Indians. In 1740 he went to Montreal to obtain an order to that effect, but returned to Detroit in 1742 to finish the remainder of his term—only a few weeks. In 1749 he was made major and governor of Montreal, which was probably his last public service.

PIERRE JOSEPH CELORON

Pierre Joseph Celoron, Sieur de Blainville, the fifth child and eldest son of Jean Baptiste Celoron and his wife, Helene Picote de Belestre, was one of the most noted of Detroit's commandants. Following the example of so many young men of that period, he chose a military career and in 1734 was commandant at Michilimackinac with the rank of lieutenant. He was sent to New Orleans to assist the French settlers of Louisiana in their war with the Chickasaw Indians. He was appointed commandant at Detroit on July 6, 1742. He served there until in June, 1744, when he was sent to Niagara. During the next six years he was employed on several important missions for the Canadian Government. In 1747 he convoyed a quantity of provisions from Quebec to Detroit, and in 1749 he led an expedition down the Ohio River to plant the leaden plates setting forth France's claims to the country. This work he performed so well that in 1750 he was again appointed commandant at Detroit. Burton's "Early Detroit" says:

"During Celoron's second term, the governor of Canada offered, as an inducement to people to settle at Detroit, to assist them with articles necessary to sustain them for two or three years. Each head of a family was given a farm, of the usual size, rations for the members from the military stores, tools and implements of husbandry. Many families came up and settled here under these inducements, and yet the plan was not very popular. The materials

furnished these farmers in the way of tools and stock were not gifts but loans, and were expected to be repaid when the people became permanently settled. A full list of these emigrants has been preserved, containing the names of fifty-four heads of families. Many of the newcomers were young men without wives and young women were so scarce that Celoron wrote to ask for girls to become wives to the young farmers."

Celoron served as commandant until the beginning of the French and Indian war. In 1755 he was in command of the Canadian militia that attacked the British post at Lake George. He was appointed major of Montreal while the war was in progress and died there on April 12, 1759. Celoron Island, at the mouth of the Detroit River, bears his name.

On December 30, 1724, Celoron married Marie Madeleine Blondeau, who bore him three children. After her death he married Catherine Eury de La Parelle at Montreal on October 13, 1743. Of the nine children of this union, three were born at Detroit. His widow survived him and in 1777 became a member of the Grey Nuns of Montreal, under the name of Sister Marie Catherine Eury La Parelle. A daughter, Marie Madeleine, was also a member of the same order.

PAUL JOSEPH LE MOINE

In 1743, a few months before the conclusion of Celoron's first term as commandant, Paul Joseph Le Moine (or Le Moyne), Chevalier de Longueuil, was appointed as his successor. He was a son of Charles Le Moine, Baron de Longueville, and was born at Longueville on September 19, 1701, when the settlement at Detroit was not quite two months old. The Le Moine family was one of the most illustrious in the annals of Canada and Louisiana. Says Parkman: "Charles Le Moyne, son of an inn keeper of Dieppe and founder of a family the most truly eminent in Canada, was a man of sterling qualities, who had been long enough in the colonies to learn to live there. He had ten sons who made themselves famous in the history of their times."

The ten sons were: Charles, Baron de Longueville; Jacques, Sieur de Ste. Helene; Pierre, Sieur d'Iberville; Paul, Sieur de Maricourt; Francois, Sieur de Bienville; Joseph, Sieur de Serigny; Louis, Sieur de Chateauguay; Jean Baptiste, Sieur de Bienville; Gabriel, who died at sea while serving in the marine guard; Antoine, governor of Cayenne. A daughter, Catherine Jeanne, married Pierre Payan, Sieur de Noyan, as previously mentioned.

On October 19, 1728, Paul Joseph Le Moine and Marie Genevieve de Joybert were united in marriage at Quebec. They became the parents of eleven children, none of whom was born during their residence in Detroit. Between the time of his marriage and his appointment as commandant at Detroit, Le Moine was employed in various positions of responsibility in connection with Canadian affairs. At the expiration of his term at Detroit in 1748, he was made second in command at that post. He took an active part in the French and Indian war and in 1757 was sent as an emissary to the Six Nations of Indians to enlist their cooperation in the war against the English. Soon after the close of that war he went to France and died in Tours on May 12, 1778.

SIEUR DE MUY

The date of the appointment of Jacques Pierre Daneau, Sieur de Muy, as commandant of Detroit is not certain, but he probably succeeded to the office

upon the retirement of Celoron in the spring of 1754. Little can be learned of his life, farther than that he was a son of Nicolas Daneau, Sieur de Muy, a Chevalier of the Military Order of St. Louis, at one time governor of Louisiana, who died at Havana, Cuba, on January 25, 1708.

Jacques was born in 1695 and married Louise Genevieve Dauteuil at Montreal on January 30, 1725. Six children were born to them. He held the office of commandant at Detroit until his death on May 18, 1758. Events during his term were of a rather tempestuous nature, owing to the French and Indian war, the history of which is given in another chapter. Sieur de Muy was more of a student and diplomat than a soldier, and during these stirring times depended largely upon the officers of his garrison to carry out the plans and wishes of his superiors.

JEAN BAPTISTE HENRY BERANGER

Prior to the death of Sieur de Muy, Beranger had occupied the position of second in command at the post of Detroit. A few days after the funeral, his name appears in the records as "lieutenant in the troops of His Majesty and commandant for the king in this village." He remained in that position until the arrival of the regularly appointed commandant chosen to succeed de Muy, after which he again took up his old place as second in command until the surrender of Detroit to the British on November 29, 1760.

Beranger was a native of France and a son of Guillaume Beranger, Sieur de Rougemont. He came to America while still a young man and on May 21, 1750, married Catherine Madeleine Fafard dit Laframbois at Three Rivers, where she was born on August 23, 1723. A daughter of this marriage, Marie Magdeleine, was born at Detroit on February 9, 1760.

PICOTÉ DE BELESTRE

The last French commandant at Detroit was Francois Marie Picoté, Sieur de Belestre, a son of the man of the same name, who was acting commandant at times during the term of Pierre Alphonse de Tonty, when his superior was absent. His mother was the widow of Jean Cuillierier. The name is sometimes written "Bellestre," but the last commandant always signed his name with one "l."

In some respects Belestre was the most conspicuous of the French commandants. He was an efficient and energetic officer, fully enjoying the confidence of his superiors, and was frequently entrusted with important missions. In 1739 he was engaged in the war with the Indians; was with Celoron in 1747 to convoy provisions to Detroit; was an active participant in some of the early engagements of the French and Indian war, commanding a body of British and Indians at the time of General Braddock's defeat on July 9, 1755. Previous to his coming to Detroit he had served as commandant at St. Joseph. At the time of his appointment to the Detroit post he held the rank of lieutenant. The same year he was promoted to captain. After the transfer of Canada to England he occupied several important positions under the new government. His death occurred at Quebec in May, 1793. For many of the events that occurred at Detroit while he was in command, including the surrender to the English, see the chapter on the "French and Indian War."

Belestre was born in Montreal, where on July 28, 1738, he was united in marriage with Marie Anne Nivard. At the time of this marriage he was about

twenty years of age, having been born in 1719. Six children were born to this union. His second wife, to whom he was married on January 29, 1753, was Marie Anne Magnan.

FIFTY-NINE YEARS' PROGRESS

When Cadillac came in 1701, the country about Detroit was uninhabited, being a sort of neutral zone between the Five Nations and the western tribes. The soil was first cultivated by the French, whose methods were so superficial that only moderate crops were raised. There was no incentive to raise more than they did, because their market was limited to the villagers and Indians, and most of the former had gardens of their own. Voyageurs conveying goods to the upper posts were occasional customers. Wheat and Indian corn were the principal crops. The price of wheat varied from three to twenty-five livres (60c to \$5.00) per minot or bushel, as the crop was abundant or scarce. Bread was usually baked by the public baker.

Until about 1727 the commandant controlled the trade of the post. This system gave rise to so much dissatisfaction that, about the time Deschaillons became commandant, trade was made free. At that time there were only about thirty families in the village and its environs. In fact, the post had fallen so low that it was officially proposed to abandon Detroit, if the owners of the trading licenses would surrender them for 500 livres. A report on conditions at that time says: "We shall have a post, abandoned, 300 leagues from Montreal, with no provision made for the garrison, the maintenance of which will fall on the king again, contrary to his will."

Under the free trade policy an improvement was soon noticeable. The first records, those of St. Anne's Church, were destroyed by fire in 1703. Later vital statistics were kept by the notary, Robert Navarre. From these two sources it is learned that between the years 1701 and 1730 there were 143 baptisms, 26 marriages and 72 deaths. The next decade showed 156 baptisms, 27 marriages and 73 deaths, more of each than during the first twenty-nine years of the town's existence. During the entire period of the French regime there were 998 baptisms, 147 marriages and 475 deaths.

CHAPTER VIII

BRITISH DOMINATION: 1760-1796

CONDITIONS AT DETROIT IN 1760—MAJ. ROBERT ROGERS—CAPT. DONALD CAMPBELL—
MAJ. HENRY GLADWIN—COL. JOHN BRADSTREET—LIEUT.-COL. JOHN CAMPBELL—
CAPT. GEORGE TURNBULL—FIGHT OVER ILE AUX COCHONS—CAPT. GEORGE
ETHERINGTON—MAJ. HENRY BASSETT—THE QUEBEC ACT—JOHN CONNOLLY—
RICHARD BERINGER LERNOULT—ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER—JEHU HAY—
MAJ. WILLIAM ANCRUM—CAPT. THOMAS BENNETT—CAPT. ROBERT MATTHEWS—
MAJ. PATRICK MURRAY—MAJ. JOHN SMITH—COL. RICHARD ENGLAND.

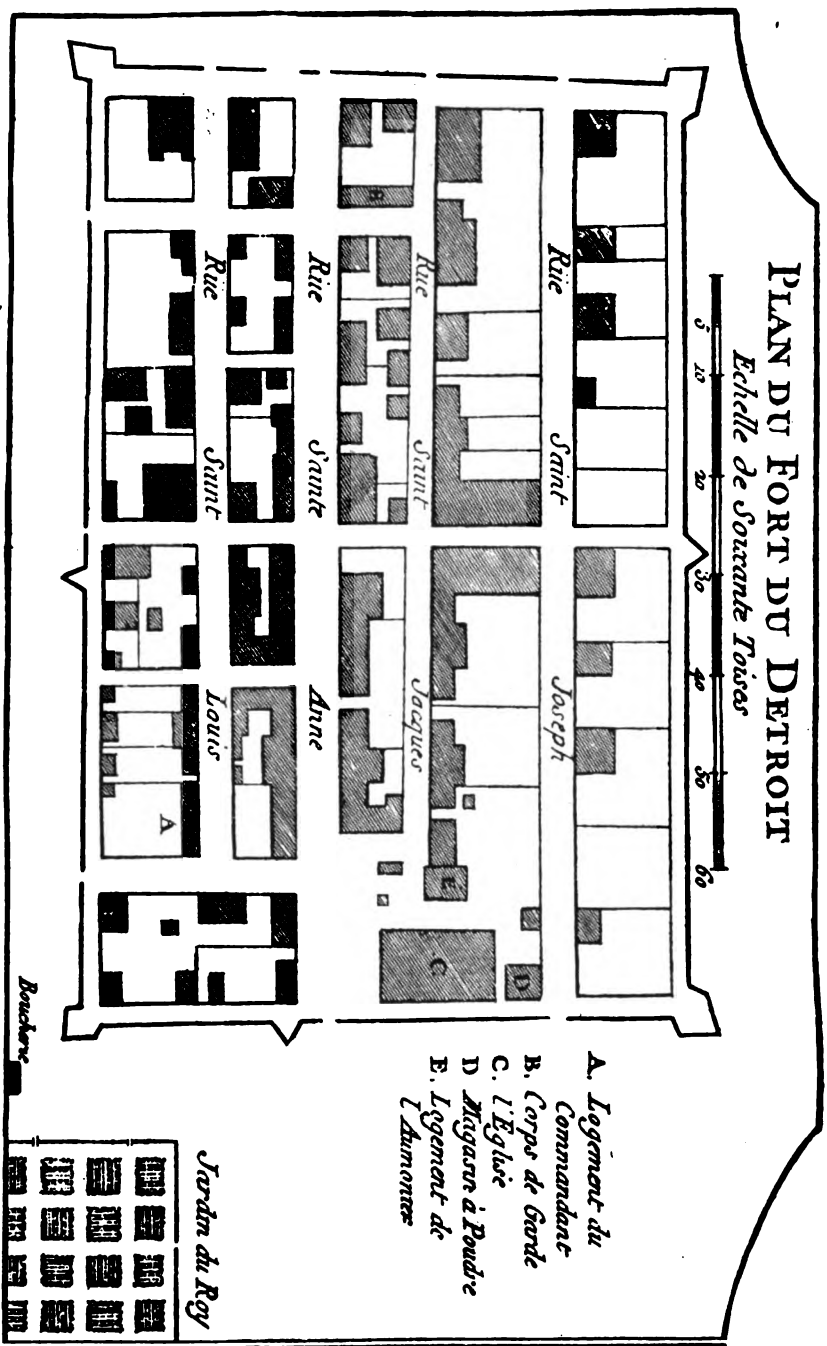
The period of British domination over the post of Detroit, as well as the other western posts, begins with the siege of Quebec by General Wolfe, followed by the battle of the Plains of Abraham, where Wolfe and Montcalm met their deaths, the surrender of Montreal and the moving westward of British troops to take possession of the garrisons like Detroit which had come to them, the victors, as the spoils of war. Detroit was occupied by Maj. Robert Rogers, the "New England Ranger," and a detachment of English soldiers, on November 29, 1760, in pursuance of the articles of capitulation of September, 1760, though the final treaty of peace between England and France was not concluded until February 10, 1763. Major Rogers came directly to Detroit from Niagara, some of his men arriving in bateaux by the river route, while another portion of the force marched along the southern shore of Lake Erie, driving a herd of cattle with them. This force of men which accompanied Rogers to Detroit was composed of a portion of the Royal American Regiment, made up of British colonists, and part of the Eightieth Regiment.

Thus, Detroit changed from a French colony to a British trading-post. The French had always been amicable with the Indians, but the English came in with the intention of driving out the Indian, also those of the French who were not amenable to their customs and rule. This was followed naturally by the uprising of the Indians under Pontiac, the siege of Detroit, the battle of Bloody Run and other historical incidents before an era of tranquillity and peace was to settle down over Detroit under British government.

When the English took possession they found in storage furs worth approximately half a million dollars. For many years there had been an intense rivalry between the French and English for the control of the fur trade about the upper lakes. With the surrender of the French posts, the English took steps to increase the trade and within a few years about two hundred thousand skins were marketed annually. During those days the Detroit River was a great channel of commerce, even as now, but in the place of the lengthy freighters one sees now, there were numerous, gaudily-decorated canoes, manned by the red men and white traders. These canoes came down the river to Detroit loaded with valuable skins, which were bartered at the post. At night these canoes were pulled upon the shore, turned upside down, and under them the red or

PLAN DU FORT DU DETROIT

Echelle de Soixante Toises



Detroit in 1763 from Cellin's Atlas of 1764.

white owner reposed. The English trader, it may be mentioned in this connection, was the source of the greater part of the trouble which arose between the English and the Indians. He was an unscrupulous fellow, utterly without principle, and his methods in business practice soon aroused the hatred and ire of the savages.

This condition, with the military despotism, usurpation of authority by civil officers, and the general unrest under the British domineering influence, caused many a year of turmoil before prosperity succeeded poverty. These features, military and official, are narrated at length in other chapters of this work.

MAJ. ROBERT ROGERS

Maj. Robert Rogers was born at Dunbarton, New Hampshire, in 1727. His father, James Rogers, was an Irishman and one of the first settlers of Dunbarton. From boyhood Robert was inured to the hardships of frontier life and assisted in protecting the New England settlements against Indian depredations. In 1755 he was commissioned a captain by Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs, to drill a company of men as rangers. The company was formed of volunteers from the regulars to the number of thirty-five, also fifteen Royal Americans and six men selected by Rogers. Under the leadership of their dashing commander, "Rogers' Rangers" played an important part in the military operations in eastern New York, particularly about Crown Point and Ticonderoga. They performed many reckless feats, yet so skilfully were their movements conducted that they suffered few casualties. Rogers won the confidence of his superior officers and was promoted to major. A few days after the surrender of New France to the British, Gen. Jeffrey Amherst, commander of the English forces at Quebec, ordered him to take a force of some two hundred men and occupy Detroit. (See chapter on the French and Indian War.)

Major Rogers remained in Detroit but a short time, leaving on December 23, 1760, for Fort Pitt. He then joined General Grant's expedition against the Cherokee Indians, after which he went to London. He was a man of some education and while in England arranged for the publication of his "Journals," one edition of which was published in London and another in Dublin. He returned to America and on July 29, 1763, while Detroit was besieged by the Indians under Pontiac, he came to the relief of the post, bringing supplies and reinforcements for the garrison. While in Detroit on this occasion he took part in the Battle of Bloody Run.

On January 10, 1766, he was appointed commandant at Michilimackinac. It seems that Gen. Thomas Gage wrote to Sir William Johnson about this time to learn something of Major Rogers' character. Sir William replied, telling how he had made Rogers an officer in the army, and added:

"He soon became puffed up with pride and folly, from the extravagant encomiums and notices of some of the provinces. This spoiled a good Ranger, for he was fit for nothing else. * * * He has neither understanding nor principles, as I could sufficiently show."

Notwithstanding this adverse report, Rogers assumed command at Michilimackinac in August, 1766. The Indians were not friendly to the English and at that time the post was almost deserted by white men. It was not long until Rogers got into trouble by incurring expenses without authority, drawing orders upon the government which afterwards went to protest, etc. He was also

charged with a design to plunder the post and desert to the French at New Orleans. He was arrested and sent to Montreal for trial, the principal witness against him being a Colonel Hopkins, whose own loyalty was not above suspicion. Rogers was acquitted of the charge of treason and soon afterward went again to London.

In 1775 he returned to America and wrote a letter to General Washington, offering his services to the cause of the colonists in the war with Great Britain. His offer was not accepted and many thought he was really a British spy. He then accepted a commission as lieutenant-colonel in the Queen's Rangers and became active in the English cause. On October 21, 1776, most of his command was captured at Mamoranec, Long Island Sound, and Rogers barely escaped. In 1778 the New Hampshire Legislature passed an act banishing him from the colony, but his estate was not confiscated. After his defeat at Mamoranec, Rogers again went to London and died there in 1800.

About the time Rogers entered the army he married Miss Elizabeth Browne, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. After his arrest at Michilimackinac she obtained a divorce and married John Roche. She died May 11, 1811.

Says Parkman: "An engraved portrait of Major Rogers was published in London in 1776. He is represented as a tall, strong man, dressed in the costume of a Ranger, with a powder horn slung at his side, a gun resting in the hollow of his arm, and a countenance by no means prepossessing."

CAPT. DONALD CAMPBELL

The territory embracing the post at Detroit was at this time under the control of Sir William Johnson and Gen. Thomas Gage, who were lieutenants of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, governor-general of the British colonies. Although Major Rogers and Colonel Croghan, who led the British troops to Detroit, were his superior officers, Capt. Donald Campbell was the first appointed commandant at this post pending the settlement of peace. He was a "canny Scot," who had seen military service in His Majesty's army for several years before coming to Detroit. He succeeded Major Rogers on December 23, 1760, and soon afterwards was promoted to major. At the time the British took possession, the fort occupied about four blocks of the present city, such as might be bounded on the north by Larned Street, east by Griswold, south by Woodbridge, and on the west by a line near Wayne Street. Early in the year 1761 Captain Campbell wrote to General Amherst as follows:

"The fort is very large and in good repair; there are two bastions toward the water and a large bastion toward the inland. The point of the bastion is a cavalier of wood, on which there are mounted the three-pounders and the three small mortars or coehorns. The palisades are in good repair. There is scaffolding around the whole, which is floored only toward the land for want of plank; it is by way of a banquette. There are seventy or eighty houses in the fort, laid out in regular streets. The country is inhabited ten miles on each side of the river and is a most beautiful country. The river is here about nine hundred yards over and very deep. Around the whole village, just within the palisades, was a road which was called the 'Chemin de Ronde.'"

Campbell was instructed to reconcile the Indians to the change in government, and presents were sent to him for distribution among them. He was also directed to disarm the French inhabitants, but as many of them were hunters or trappers, to have disarmed them would have been to deprive

them of their means of earning a living. The order was then modified so as to apply only to those whose loyalty to the English order of things was suspected.

This was the first step toward the monopolization of the fur trade. Within a few years the English completely controlled the trade in furs, and the Canadians, as the French were termed, were driven either to live on their farms or to join the Indians in the chase. They did both. During the spring and summer months they cultivated a small patch of ground, but when the hunting season opened they left their little crops to be taken care of by the women and children. Even in the summer, a large part of the farm work was performed by the women, the men spending their time in fishing, or in associating with the Indians, with whom most of them were on intimate terms.

About two weeks before he became commandant, Captain Campbell wrote to Col. Henry Boquet, commandant at Fort Pitt: "The inhabitants seem very happy at the change of government, but they are in great want of everything." Boquet undertook to supply the means of providing for this want by giving a permit to Thomas Colhoon to take a stock of goods to Detroit and open a trading establishment. Colhoon embraced the opportunity with enthusiasm, but before he was ready to start the weather grew so severe that he gave up the enterprise. Hamback and Van Der Velder, two Dutch traders, were then licensed by Boquet and they arrived in Detroit in January, 1761, with six horses and the first stock of goods brought to the post after the beginning of British rule.

Major Campbell was superseded as commandant by Maj. Henry Gladwin in July, 1762, but remained at Detroit as second in command. He was cruelly murdered by the Indians in July, 1763, an account of which is given in the chapter on Pontiac's Conspiracy. He was universally respected by both the Indians and the white men and the settlement at Detroit prospered while he was commandant.

MAJ. HENRY GLADWIN

The Gladwin family traces its descent back to Thomas Gladwin, who was born in Derbyshire, England, about 1605. Maj. Henry Gladwin was born in that shire in 1730, entered the army at an early age, and in 1753 was commissioned as a lieutenant in Colonel Dunbar's regiment, with which he took part in the campaign that ended in the defeat of General Braddock at Little Meadows in July, 1755. He was then made a captain in the Eightieth Regiment of foot, in which he served until June 22, 1761, when he was promoted to major by General Amherst. Captain Gladwin was sent to relieve Niagara in 1760.

In September, 1761, he came to Detroit but remained only a short time, during which, however, he suffered from fever and ague. In the fall he was granted a leave of absence and permission to return to England. On March 30, 1762, he married in England, Miss Frances, daughter of Rev. John Beridge, and immediately returned to Detroit. In the latter part of July, 1762, he was made commandant. The greater part of his term as commandant was taken up in defending the post against the Indians under Pontiac, the story of which is told elsewhere. In the fall of 1764 he again obtained a leave of absence and returned to England. It is doubtful whether he ever came back to America. If he did he took no conspicuous part in affairs. The inscription on his monument in the Wingerworth Churchyard in Derby is as follows:

"Here lieth the remains of General Henry Gladwin. He departed this life on the 22nd day of June, 1794, in the sixty-second year of his age. He was distinguished by all those private and social duties which constitute the man and the Christian. Early trained to arms and martial deeds, he sought fame amidst the toils of hostile war, with that ardour which animates the heart of the brave soldier. On the plains of North America he reaped laurels at the battles of Niagara and Ticonderoga, where he was wounded. His courage was conspicuous and his memorable defense of Fort Detroit against the attacks of the Indians will long be recorded in the annals of a grateful country.

"Also Mary and Henry, son and daughter of the aforesaid General Henry Gladwin and his wife, who died in infancy; Martha Gladwin, their daughter, died October 17, 1817, aged thirty-two.

"Also Frances, sister of the late John Beridge, of Derby, M. D., and widow of the above General Gladwin, died October 16, 1817, aged seventy-four years."

In this inscription there are several statements which do not agree with those in the "Gladwin Papers," published in the "Michigan Historical and Pioneer Collections." In the latter Gladwin's date of birth is given as 1730, and the date of his death as June 22, 1791, which corresponds more nearly with the statement on his tombstone that he was "in the sixty-second year of his age." His wife is mentioned in the Gladwin Papers as the daughter of Rev. John Beridge, while the epitaph says she was the sister of John Beridge, M. D. That the monument was erected several years after his death is evidenced by the fact that the inscription includes two persons who died as late as 1817, though it might have been erected earlier and that part of the inscription added. It is quite likely that his death occurred in 1791.

COL. JOHN BRADSTREET

On August 26, 1764, Col. John Bradstreet arrived in Detroit with a large supply of provisions and a considerable military force for strengthening the garrison. He presented his credentials to Major Gladwin and on the last day of the month assumed command. He has been described as "a man of little principle, who beguiled the Indians into treaties they did not understand, and granted lands fraudulently obtained, which caused much trouble in later years."

One of Bradstreet's first acts was the consummation of a deal with the Indians by which they ceded for the use of white settlers a strip of land beginning just west of the fort and extending to Lake St. Clair. This brought on a conflict of schemes for private interest which retarded the growth of the town. The fur traders antagonized any attempt at settlement, because the farmers would drive away the beaver and other animals, and thus injure their business. Others took a broader view of the matter. They foresaw that, if the population could be increased to a point to justify the establishment of local manufactories, the people could be supplied with many of the necessities of life without having to depend upon the long canoe voyages from Montreal or Niagara, and at the same time be relieved from paying the high prices charged by the English tradesmen. Bradstreet's policy was of such a vacillating nature that neither side to the controversy received much encouragement. The traders hesitated to enlarge their stock of goods and the title to the land was so uncertain there were but few purchasers.

One important change that came under Bradstreet's administration was the reduction of taxes and the manner of their collection. Under the old French

regime, the inhabitants paid, as a rent to the crown, an annual tax of from one to two sols per front foot of their holdings. The early English commandants required the farmers to pay a tax for the support of the garrison and to furnish one cord of wood for each acre of frontage on the river. In 1762 the tax on the inhabitants amounted to £184, 13s. 4d. This was paid in skins or farm products. The same year the wood tax was increased to two cords per acre. In 1764 the tax was reduced by Bradstreet to £158. The next year, the first money, known as "New York Currency," began to circulate in Detroit. After that the payment of taxes in skins and produce was gradually discontinued.

On September 14, 1764, Colonel Bradstreet left seven companies of his command as reinforcement for the garrison, with Maj. Robert Bayard as temporary commandant, and set out for Sandusky. He remained at Sandusky until the 18th of October, when he embarked his men and supplies in bateaux for Niagara. Near Cleveland a severe storm suddenly came on, in which twenty-five of the bateaux, nearly all the baggage and ammunition and a few of the men were lost. The rest of the journey was made by land, but upon the march through the wilderness the men became separated and the last of them did not reach Niagara until late in December. There is no record to show that Colonel Bradstreet ever returned to Detroit.

LIEUT.-COL. JOHN CAMPBELL

Bradstreet's successor was Lieut.-Col. John Campbell, of the Seventh Regiment. He was appointed in the fall of 1764, but did not arrive in Detroit until early in the following year. Under British domination, the mild rule of the French was succeeded by a sort of petty despotism, the commandants exercising both military and civil authority. The citizens were relieved to some extent from oppressive taxation by Colonel Bradstreet, but under Campbell taxes were higher than ever before. On August 7, 1766, the following protest against his policy, in the matter of supporting the garrison and making repairs on the fort, was presented to him by a group of the civilians.

"Detroit, August 7, 1766.

"To John Campbell, Esq., Lieut.-Col. and Commandant at Detroit and its dependencies.

"Sir—We have taken your order of the 3d inst., respecting the furnishing of materials by us for repairing this fort, into consideration and find it absolutely impossible to comply with it. The requisition made of us few individuals would amount to at least £4,000, New York Currency—a sum by far too great for the whole settlement and all the trading people from different places now residing here to pay. However, that we may not be looked upon to be actuated by a spirit of opposition, we have taken all the pains in our power to obtain the fullest information we could in regard to the obligations we are supposed to lay under for keeping up the repairs of this fort upon its present plan. We find, sir, that till the year 1750 the fort was about half the extent it now is. The inhabitants till then were obliged to furnish one picket for each foot of ground they possessed in front within the fort and pay annually two sols per foot to the Crown by way of quit rent. It was with difficulty that the circumstance of this place could accomplish the payment of their dues to the French King; of which he proved his sensibility by easing the inhabitants of the heavy burden of furnishing pickets; for from that time the fort was enlarged upon an entire new plan at the sole expense of the Crown.

The annual tax of two sols per foot in front was continued till the surrender of the country to the English, since which the service has required such taxes of us that they have been almost unsupportable. Permit us, sir, to mention them, and you will see that we stand in greater need of assistance than to be obliged to pay any new demands.

"Captain (Donald) Campbell, the first English commandant at Detroit, on his arrival here levied a tax on the proprietors in the fort, for lodging the troops, which amounted to a very considerable sum; besides, each of the farmers was obliged to pay a cord of wood per acre in front. The second year the proprietors again paid for quartering the troops and the farmers furnished double the quantity of wood they did the year before.

"The third year Colonel Gladwin continued the same taxes, and in 1762 the tax within the fort alone amounted to £184, 13s. 4d. In the year 1764 the taxes came to £158, New York Currency. In the year 1765 you said to Messrs. Babee (Baby) and Shapperton (Chapoton) that the taxes for the future should be the same as in the French government, which as we have pointed out, was two sols per foot for the lots within the fort. The farmers were subject to a quit rent of two shillings and eight pence New York Currency, and one-fourth bushel of wheat per acre in front, which was accordingly paid to Mr. Shapperton, who was appointed to receive the same. After this we could not help being surprised at the tax for the current year, viz., one shilling per foot in front for lots within the fort and ten shillings per acre for the farmers in the country. The heaviness of this tax is most severely felt, as you may judge by the delay and difficulty the people had in paying it."

Campbell left Detroit soon after this protest was submitted and was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs, which position he held until the close of the Revolutionary war. In General Haldimand's correspondence frequent mention is made of orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell to send supplies to various posts. In Campbell's report of supplies sent to Detroit, Michilimackinac and Niagara during the year ending June 30, 1781, he states that Detroit received 10,254 gallons of rum—more than was sent to both of the other posts.

CAPT. GEORGE TURNBULL

Just when Capt. George Turnbull, of the Second Battalion, Sixtieth Regiment, became commandant at Detroit is not certain, but it was undoubtedly in the autumn of 1766, after the departure of Campbell. A letter to Turnbull from Gen. Thomas Gage, dated October 6, 1766, acknowledges the receipt of the former's return of stores, etc., sent by Major Bayard, who was Campbell's assistant. The following extracts from General Gage's letter throw some light upon conditions in Detroit at that time:

"With respect to the inhabitants, you will take care that no taxes whatever are laid upon them. * * * As for the King's rights, I can by no means give them up, agreeable to the desire of some of the inhabitants in a memorial brought me by Major Bayard. It is not in my power to do it. * * * After Mr. Van Schaack's proposal about the cattle, I can make no bargain about it. A contract is made at home to supply the troops and I must keep up to it and take provision from the contractor. But I shall be very glad that the soldiers have an opportunity to exchange their salt meat for fresh. * * * I don't hear that the works ordered were finished when Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and Major Bayard left Detroit."

When Detroit was surrendered by the French in 1760 no provision was made by the English for the establishment of courts of law in the surrendered territory west of Quebec. On April 24, 1767, Captain Turnbull appointed Philippe Dejean to hold courts, hear evidence and settle disputes. His office really combined the duties of chief justice, notary and sheriff. More of the insincere Dejean and his checkered career is written in the chapters entitled "Law and Order in Early Detroit."

Dejean's conduct did not meet with the approval of the citizens, however, and a committee of investigation made a report, May 21, 1768, after having been appointed for the purpose by Commandant Turnbull, exonerating the notary. This report follows:

"The committee, to whom was referred the question of fees collected by Philip Dejean, find:

"First, That the fees established by the committee appointed by Maj. Robert Bayard, on the establishment of the Court of Justice at Detroit, are just and reasonable and ought not to be less.

"Second, That every prisoner confined in the guard house, whether for debt or misdemeanor, shall on being set at liberty pay one dollar, and every batteau or canoe arriving here loaded with merchandise belonging to any person or persons not possessing in property any lot or building within this fort, shall pay two dollars; the moneys accruing therefrom to be applied, as in time of the French government, to keep in good and sufficient repair the fortifications around this town.

"Third, No person having appeared before us to make any complaints against said Philip Dejean, with respect to his public office, we are of the opinion that they were ill-founded and without cause."

This report was signed by ten of the committee members and on June 14, 1768, Dejean was reappointed notary.

FIGHT OVER ILE AUX COCHONS (BELLE ISLE)

On May 4, 1768, King George III and his Council gave to Lieut. George McDougall, of the Detroit garrison, permission to occupy the Ile aux Cochons (Hog Island), so long as Detroit remained a military post, or so long as he was there stationed. This permission was given on condition that the consent of the Indian claimants of the island should be obtained, and that any improvements made by McDougall should be of such nature that they could be utilized for the needs of the garrison. Nothing was said, however, about the rights of the Detroit citizens to the island as a public commons, where they could harbor their cattle and other domestic animals. That the citizens had a legitimate right through a royal grant years before, during the French regime, has been proved, but the English authorities willfully ignored the claim, which brought about much bitterness and litigation.

On June 5, 1769, the Chippewa and Ottawa Indians sold the island to McDougall for five barrels of rum, three rolls of tobacco, three pounds of vermilion and a belt of wampum at that time, and three barrels of rum and three pounds of vermilion when the purchaser took possession.

The inhabitants, through a committee composed of Jacques Campau, J. Bte. Chapoton, Eustache Gamelin and Pierre Reaume, addressed a letter on May 18, 1769, to Captain Turnbull, requesting that their rights to the island be recognized, and that he communicate with General Gage and Governor Carle-

ton regarding the matter. Turnbull refused to do as the citizens requested, and on the 24th following they wrote to the "Gentlemen of Trade" at Montreal, also to Carleton and Gage, outlining their grievances, their inalienable rights to the island, as a "commons," and imploring a restitution of their rights. These letters are printed in full in the history of Belle Isle upon another page. Nothing came of them, however, and on October 13, 1769, the authorities of Detroit held a meeting with the citizens and the question was debated. The tide turned in favor of McDougall eventually and he came into full possession of the island in the spring of 1771.

Capt. George Turnbull held the post of commandant at Detroit until the latter part of 1769, and was probably succeeded for a few months by Maj. Thomas Bruce. Farmer states that the latter officer was in office from June 2d to September, 1770.

CAPT. GEORGE ETHERINGTON

In September, 1770, Capt. James Stephenson, an officer in the Second Battalion, Sixtieth Regiment, was appointed commandant, and he remained the incumbent until January 8, 1772, when he was succeeded by Captain George Etherington. Captain Etherington held the post but a few months.

Etherington had been one of the officers at the fort in Detroit when Major Gladwin became commandant in 1762. Soon after taking charge Gladwin sent Etherington to Michilimackinac, where he arrived about the middle of September.

June 2, 1763, was the day set by the Indians cooperating with Pontiac for the capture of the fort at Michilimackinac. On that day a large number of Indians appeared before the fort and engaged in a game of ball. This was no unusual occurrence and Captain Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie stood watching the game, not knowing it was but a part of the plot for the reduction of the fort. Soon the ball was knocked inside the fort, apparently by accident. Both sides rushed to recover it and in this way the savages gained entrance. The massacre immediately began and only thirteen of the garrison escaped death. Captain Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie were carried into captivity and about the middle of July they were taken to Montreal by a party of Ottawa Indians. Etherington was censured for not taking greater precautions against a surprise and for a time was assigned to duty in positions where there was not much responsibility.

MAJ. HENRY BASSETT

Of all the English commandants at Detroit, perhaps none was more energetic in trying to improve conditions than Major Bassett, who came into the position in the fall of 1772. His efforts in this direction ran chiefly toward the adjustment of disputes over land titles and in endeavoring to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians.

Soon after he became commandant, Jacques Campau applied to him for a grant of twelve arpents of land fronting on the river. In support of his application, Mr. Campau filed a statement to the effect that on the day of the battle of Bloody Run (July 31, 1763), some two hundred and fifty British soldiers found refuge at his place and robbed him of property worth about sixty pounds. Major Bassett interested himself in Campau's behalf, but as is

usual with claims against a government, there was considerable delay before he received the land.

Major Bassett, in the fall of 1772, fenced in a small area of the King's Common for a place to keep his horse. This caused a complaint from the inhabitants and on April 29, 1773, the commandant wrote to Governor Haldimand as follows:

"The King's domain joining the fort is about twelve acres. It will soon be claimed as a common if your Excellency does not order the front to be picketed. I made a small field, which met with such opposition that I had to remove the fence. I have a copy out of the Archives of Canada where it is called the 'King's Domain,' and the French commanding officers proved it and did as they thought proper. Since the English settled here, no officer that commanded (Colonel Campbell excepted) has ever given themselves much concern about it. The traders were very much displeased at the Colonel for taking in a field just where I have done. If your Excellency will allow me to picket the front of the domain I'll do it in the most frugal manner and oversee it myself, or if your Excellency will allow me £250 Sterling, I'll take it in and put up handsome, large gates. I'm very sure it will cost more, but for the convenience of the officers of the garrison I'll pay the rest out of my own pocket. It will be the saving of a fine tract of land and if this should be made a government it will be very valuable."

When it became known to the people of Detroit that the major was seeking authority to inclose the tract, about forty-two acres in all, they sent a remonstrance to Quebec, saying Bassett was trying to get possession of the land for his own use, thus defeating his project.

In the autumn of 1773 a trader from Pittsburgh named McDowell was occupying a house near the fort. He refused to sell liquor to an Indian, who became enraged at the refusal and a little while later pushed his gun through the window and shot McDowell dead. Major Bassett wrote to the governor, giving an account of the tragedy, and added:

"Trading will never be safe while the sale of rum continues; the leading chiefs complain that the English are killing their young men with spirits. They purchase poison instead of blankets and the necessities of life. They say they lose more young men by rum than they lose by war. It is not in the power of the commandant at this post to prevent, for the traders land it down the river and have a thousand tricks to deceive the commandant and cheat the poor savages."

This was not the first complaint Major Bassett had made against the traffic in rum and its effect upon the Indians. But those engaged in the fur trade considered it an important factor in their business and, as rum aided them in coining the Indian character into pounds, shillings and pence, their influence with the higher authorities was greater than that of the commandant.

One of Major Bassett's last acts as commandant was to cause a survey of lands to be made. In his report of April 21, 1774, he says:

"In consequence of repeated complaints made by several of the inhabitants that their neighbors have encroached on their farms, and that they do not actually possess the quantity specified in the primitive grants, and for which they pay rents to His Majesty; therefore, Mr. James Sterling being an experienced and approved surveyor, I have appointed him King's Surveyor at

Detroit; and for the future his surveys only shall be looked upon as valid and decisive; and all whom it may concern are hereby ordered to conform thereto."

THE QUEBEC ACT

On June 22, 1774, the British Parliament passed what is known as "The Quebec Act," for the government of all the English colonies west of New York and northwest of the Ohio River to the Mississippi. Then, for the first time, the post at Detroit came under the civil administration of England. Hitherto, the control over the town had been purely military, although the military often usurped civil authority. When Detroit was surrendered to the English in 1760, the Indians claimed all the present province of Ontario except a few small seigneuries, and the Quebec Act, as stated, was the first to provide for the civil government. It has been described as "An act which established a regime something between a feudal system and a despotism. Its object was to deprive settlers of the benefits and protection of English law, so that life in the West would be such as to discourage settlers. In substance it placed settlers under the old French law of the province in civil matters and under the English law in criminal cases. The Quebec Act was one of the offenses of Parliament that led to the Revolution."

The act was one of those referred to in the Declaration of Independence, where the King and Parliament are charged with endeavoring "to prevent the population of these states" and "for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province." By its provisions the legislative power was vested in a governor, a lieutenant-governor, who was also commander-in-chief of the military forces, and a council of not fewer than seventeen nor more than twenty-three persons, to be appointed by the King. In April, 1775, Detroit was annexed to Quebec, but none of the governors-general ever exercised any civil authority over this region, the post commandant combining the functions of military officer and civil magistrate.

JOHN CONNOLLY

John Connolly, that turbulent Tory of Revolutionary days, once had a virtual appointment as commandant over the post at Detroit, where he intended to effect a union of the British forces and the Indians, but he never filled the position. Connolly, a friend of Washington's and a relative of Colonel Croghan and Alexander McKee, was nevertheless one of the most troublesome characters produced in that class of men known as Tories. Connolly was born at Wright's Ferry, York County, Pennsylvania, the son of John and Susanna Howard (Ewing) Connolly. In his younger days Connolly obtained considerable military experience and spent much time among the Indian tribes, studying their customs and ingratiating himself with the chiefs. He first settled in Augusta County, Virginia, but in 1770 he was in Pittsburgh, practicing medicine, a profession which he had studied.

In 1772 Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, gave to Connolly 4,000 acres of land covering part of the site of the present Louisville, Kentucky, which was then a part of Fincastle County, Virginia. The possession of this land gave to Connolly the ambition in later years to set up an independent government of Kentucky, which desire, however, failed of materialization.

Connolly held various military offices in the Virginia militia in 1773-75 and took active part in the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Vir-



SOUTHEAST CORNER FARMER AND JOHN R. STREETS
House built about 1811

ginia. He usurped power over the country in and around Pittsburgh and was a practical dictator, his rule drawing forth many complaints on account of unnecessary cruelty and high-handedness.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, Connolly naturally allied himself with the British and the latter used him as a missionary, so to speak, among the Indians. He accepted this commission on several conditions, one of them being that he was given the position of major-commandant, to hold forth at the post of Detroit, where he would accomplish a conjunction of the British troops and the friendly Indians. Before he had proceeded far, though, he was captured at Frederick Town, identified, his papers discovered, and he was thrown into jail at Philadelphia. He remained in captivity until October 25, 1780, when he was exchanged for an American officer.

He immediately became active again with the English and consequently was recaptured. He was paroled some time later on the condition that he go to England. This was in 1782.

Connolly then put in claim for the property he owned in Fincastle County and other places, also for the loss of personal effects during the war. In the winter of 1787-8 he came to Detroit from Quebec, and then went to Louisville, ostensibly to see about his confiscated estate, but really to form Kentucky into an independent government, with the assistance of Spanish interests. In this undertaking, however, he was very unsuccessful and he returned to British territory, dying at Montreal on January 30, 1813. In religious matters Connolly professed the Roman Catholic faith. (The detailed story of this interesting character of the Revolution is given in the pamphlet "John Connolly, a Tory of the Revolution," by Clarence M. Burton, published in 1909.)

RICHARD BERINGER LERNOULT

Upon the retirement of Major Bassett in 1774, Capt. Richard Beringer Lernoult came to the post as commandant. The Revolutionary War began with the battle of Lexington in April, 1775, and early in June, Sir Guy Carleton, governor-general of Canada, issued his proclamation establishing martial law in the country around the upper lakes. In November of that year Capt. Henry Hamilton, of the Fifteenth Regiment, arrived in Detroit with a commission as lieutenant-governor and became the virtual commandant, though Captain Lernoult retained the title. Detroit then became the active base for fitting out Indian war parties. (See chapter on the Revolutionary War.)

When Hamilton ordered the execution of Jean Baptiste Contencineau and a negro woman in 1776, Captain Lernoult refused to act as hangman. Whether this had anything to do with his removal as commandant is not positively known, but he was ordered to Niagara. Some writers have stated that he was succeeded by Major De Peyster, but if so the latter occupied the position for a very short time, as the name of Captain Lord appears as commandant in the latter part of 1776. The name of Captain Montpasant has also been mentioned as commandant for a short period about this time.

Captain Lernoult stood high in the estimation of his superiors. When Hamilton's overbearing disposition got him into a controversy with some of the officers of the garrison, Governor Carleton wrote on September 24, 1777, to Lieut.-Col. Mason Bolton, commandant at Niagara, as follows:

"I understand that a disagreement has happened at Detroit between the officer who has commanded there in the absence of Captain Lernoult and the

Lieutenant-Governor, which must be attended with bad consequences to the King's service. I am to desire you will order Captain Lernoult to return and take command of the post, on whose judgment and discretion I can thoroughly rely to put an end to these animosities. I make no doubt he will be aiding and assisting Mr. Hamilton in all things in his department, and in forwarding everything else which may tend to the public good."

The commandant referred to in Governor Carleton's letter was the Captain Lord already mentioned. He was an officer in the Eighteenth Regiment and had been commandant at one of the posts in the Illinois country before coming to Detroit. According to John Dodge, the disagreement was caused by Hamilton's treatment of Jonas Schindler, a silversmith, who had been tried for some offense and acquitted by a jury. Notwithstanding the verdict of acquittal, Hamilton ordered Mr. Schindler to be drummed out of town. When the drums entered the citadel, in order to reach the west gate, Captain Lord ordered them to be silenced, saying: "Mr. Hamilton may exercise what acts of cruelty and oppression he pleases in the town, but I shall suffer none in the citadel; and I shall take care to make such proceedings known to some of the first men in England."

Captain Lernoult returned to Detroit in December, 1777, and during the winter he assisted Hamilton materially in organizing an expedition to move against Fort Pitt as soon as the weather would permit in the spring of 1778. When Hamilton left for Vincennes in October, 1778, Lernoult began the construction of the new fort which bore his name when it was completed. As Philip Dejean accompanied Hamilton to Vincennes, Detroit was left without a justice of the peace. Captain Lernoult appointed Thomas Williams, father of John R. Williams, Detroit's first mayor in 1824. Lernoult had no authority to make such an appointment, but he promptly notified the Quebec authorities of what he had done and in 1779 Mr. Williams was regularly commissioned by Governor Haldimand, who had succeeded Sir Guy Carleton.

On August 28, 1779, Captain Lernoult was promoted to major, by order of Governor Haldimand, who in the preceding April had expressed his pleasure "to hear of the good dispositions Captain Lernoult has made at Detroit." On the day after this promotion Haldimand ordered Lernoult to deliver the post at Detroit to Col. Arent Schuyler De Peyster and proceed to Niagara.

ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER

This Detroit commandant was born in New York City on June 27, 1736, and was the grandson of Col. Abraham Schuyler. When nineteen years of age he entered the army as a member of the Eighth Regiment and served in various parts of North America under his uncle, Col. Peter Schuyler. Before assuming command at Detroit in October, 1779, he had been commandant at Michilimackinac and other posts. At the time he came to Detroit he held the rank of colonel, which he had won by honorable promotions through his valor as a soldier and ability as a commander. He was a man of pleasant disposition, fond of congenial companionship, and he and his wife took an active part in the social life of Detroit during their stay at the post. By his tact and the adoption of conciliatory measures he kept the Indians loyal to the English cause, at the same time undertaking to keep on good terms with the French inhabitants.

In the summer of 1780, in order to improve the conditions at the post,

De Peyster resolved to encourage the cultivation of ground. On the 13th of July he wrote to Governor Haldimand, asking him to reclaim the "ground commonly known as Hog Island and appropriate it to the above mentioned purpose." This island, it will be remembered, had been sold by the Indians to Lieutenant McDougall in 1769, and De Peyster wrote: "As I wish to make Mrs. McDougall a reasonable compensation for what houses, etc., may be found upon the island, you will please appoint proper persons to appraise them and transmit to me their report." Mrs. McDougall was the daughter of Navarre, the royal notary of Detroit.

The buildings were appraised in September by Nathan Williams and J. B. Craite and were reported to be worth £334. Immediately after the appraisal De Peyster wrote to Haldimand that he proposed to settle a Mr. Riddle and his family upon the island, reserving a part of the meadow for the grazing of the King's cattle. The island was later restored to the McDougall heirs.

De Peyster often expressed his displeasure at the cruelties practiced by the Indians, and after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis in October, 1781, he urged them to bring in more prisoners and fewer scalps. In a communication to the Delaware Indians he said: "I am pleased when I see what you call live meat, because I can speak to it and get information. Scalps serve to show that you have seen the enemy, but they are of no use to me. I cannot speak with them."

Upon coming to Detroit, De Peyster followed the example of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton and appropriated a portion of the rents received for the use of lands belonging to the crown, though subsequently he was called upon to account for the money thus taken for his private benefit. On November 21, 1782, he wrote a letter of protest, claiming that he had saved the government at least ten thousand pounds, and if he should be required to refund the rents it would be quite a burden upon him, as he had "lived up to them in support of the dignity of a British commandant." He was not accused of dishonesty, having merely followed a precedent, but the government insisted that the rents should be refunded.

Colonel De Peyster was something of a poet and while in Detroit he wrote a number of rhymes relating to local customs, amusements, etc. His wife was a native of Dumfries, Scotland, and after the Revolutionary War they went there to live. He then collected his verses and other writings and published them under the title of "Miscellanies of an Officer." At the time of the French Revolution, he took an active part in organizing and drilling the "Gentlemen Volunteers" of Dumfries, of which organization Robert Burns was a member. Burns wrote the following stanza, which was published in the *Dumfries Journal*:

"Who will not sing 'God save the King'
"Shall hang as high 's the steeple;
"But while we sing 'God save the King,'
"We'll ne'er forget the people."

To this De Peyster replied and for some time the two carried on a poetic correspondence in the columns of the *Journal*. This resulted in a lasting friendship between them. A day or two before Burns' death, De Peyster sent a messenger to inquire after the poet's health and Burns wrote the poem beginning:

"My honour'd colonel, deep I feel
 "Your interest in the poet's weel;
 "Ah! now sma' heart hae I to speel
 "The steep Parnassus,
 "Surrounded thus by bolus pill
 "And potion glasses."

This was the last poem Burns wrote. He died shortly afterward and was buried with military honors. Colonel De Peyster died at Dumfries on November 2, 1832, in the ninety-seventh year of his age, and was buried in the same churchyard as Robert Burns. Although more of De Peyster's activities is written in the chapters dealing with the military history of Detroit, the following poem of his composition is here given to illustrate the light-hearted style of the verse which flowed from his pen:

"To a Beautiful Young Lady, who had on One of those Abominable
Straw Caps or Bonnets in the Form of a Bee-Hive.

"While you persist that cap to wear,
 "Miss, let a friend contrive,
 "So that the bees, when swarming near,
 "Sha'n't take it for a hive.
 "For, lest you some precaution take,
 "I'll be in constant dread
 "That, through a mouth so sweet, they'd make
 "A lodgment in your head.
 "Where such loud buzzing they would keep,
 "And so distract your brain,
 "That you'd not get one wink of sleep
 "Till they buzzed out again.
 "Wherefore, to disappoint the bees,
 "What I'd advise is this:
 "Close your sweet lips, when, if you please,
 "I'll seal them with a kiss."

JEHU HAY

Jehu Hay, the last lieutenant-governor of Detroit, was born in Chester, Pennsylvania, and in 1758 he enlisted in the Sixtieth American Regiment. In 1762 he was a lieutenant at Detroit and served here during the siege of the town by Pontiac the following year. In 1774 he was selected by General Haldimand to visit the Illinois country and report upon the conditions there. Two years later he was made deputy Indian agent and major of the Detroit militia. He accompanied Hamilton to Vincennes in 1778, was captured there and taken to Virginia as a prisoner of war. On October 10, 1780, he was paroled to go to New York, and the following year he was exchanged.

In 1782 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Detroit, but did not assume the duties of the position until more than a year later on account of objections on the part of Colonel De Peyster, who wrote to Governor Haldimand that he "did not wish to have anything to do with Mr. Hay." Later, in October, 1783, Colonel De Peyster was ordered to Niagara, but it was so late in the season that his departure was delayed until the next spring, and

Hay did not arrive in Detroit until July 12, 1784. When he did arrive he found the powers of the office much restricted. By Governor Haldimand's orders, Sir William Johnson, before his death in 1774, had made the distribution of goods to the Indians and his methods were now followed, although Hay protested that it was a usurpation of his functions. It has been stated that Hay paid a large sum of money for the appointment and was naturally disappointed when some of his perquisites were taken away from him. Hay was of disagreeable disposition and had few friends, his bearing being caused in part, however, by ill health. His death occurred at Detroit on August 2, 1785. His widow, whose maiden name was Marie Reaume, and to whom he was married January 22, 1748, died at Detroit, March 23, 1795.

In the summer of 1911 workmen employed in the excavation of a sewer on Jefferson Avenue unearthed a black walnut coffin containing a human skeleton. C. M. Burton, city historiographer, made a careful investigation of the discovery and reached the conclusion that the skeleton was that of Jehu Hay. The fact that a black walnut coffin indicated a person of importance, as the common people upon interment were seldom given the luxury of even a pine coffin, also that the body was found at the site of the "governor's gardens," wherein history records that Hay was buried, led to the almost certain identification of the remains.

MAJ. WILLIAM ANCRUM

After the departure of Colonel De Peyster in the spring of 1784, Maj. William Ancrum came to Detroit as military commandant. The Revolutionary War was over and the duties Major Ancrum was required to perform were much less onerous than those of his immediate predecessors. Soon after his arrival the Moravian Chippewa Indians removed from the Clinton (Huron) River to the Cuyahoga in Ohio. Major Ancrum and John Askin purchased their improvements for \$450 and some of the cabins were occupied by tenants for several years.

The one subject in which the British were at that time deeply interested was how to retain the friendship of the Indians. Major Ancrum exerted himself in this direction and on May 8, 1786, wrote to Lieut.-Gov. Henry Hope as follows:

"The Indians, from everything I can learn, are very much attached to our interest, and very much incensed against the Americans, particularly against Clark and the other commissioners joined with him to treat with them, and they have been for that purpose at the mouth of the Great Miamis ever since the 1st of October last until very lately. Clark himself is gone, I understand, towards Post St. Vincent to treat with the Wabache Indians, and the other commissioners are returned home.

"I have lately heard that several parties of Indians of different nations have gone out to war against the frontiers of the American States. I do not think that the Indians will ever suffer the Americans to draw their boundary lines, survey or settle any part of their country."

Several of the British commandants were in the habit of subjecting the French inhabitants to all sorts of petty tyranny. Major Ancrum was one of these and the following story, as told by the late Judge Henry H. Riley, shows how he fared on one occasion:

"About sunrise one morning Jacques Peltier was bringing a bucket of

water from the river, when Major Ancrum, the British officer commanding at the post, met him and in mere wantonness kicked the bucket over. Peltier's French blood arose at the insult and with a 'sacrege' he told him that if it were not for his red coat he would give him a flogging. The major was a boxer; off went the red coat and there, all alone, at it they went. The square-built, muscular Frenchman was too much for John Bull. Ancrum got a sound thrashing, but as he put his coat on again he said good-naturedly, 'Well, damn it, don't say anything about it,' and went away."

CAPT. THOMAS BENNETT

On July 6, 1779, Colonel De Peyster, then commandant at Michilimackinac, wrote to Lieut.-Col. Mason Bolton:

"On the 3rd inst. I received intelligence that the rebels were forming an expedition against Detroit from the Illinois, composed of 700 men, by the Wabash and Miami Indians, and 200 Horse to pass by St. Joseph. One Linctot, a Canadian trader, commands the Horse. On receiving these accounts I immediately dispatched Lieutenant Bennett with 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, 1 drummer and 14 privates, with about 60 traders and canoe men and 200 Indians to take post at St. Joseph's to watch Mr. Linctot's motions and intercept him."

This is the first mention to be found of Lieutenant Bennett, who was later to become commandant at Detroit. On August 3, 1779, he held a council with the Pottawatomi Indians at St. Joseph's and on the 15th of the same month wrote to Major Lernoult that he was ordered to return to Michilimackinac and would be unable to render any assistance at Detroit. The following December he was promoted to the rank of captain and about two years later he attended two Indian councils at Detroit—one on December 10, 1781, and the other on the 26th of that month.

On September 22, 1784, he wrote to Colonel De Peyster, requesting him to use his influence to secure for him the appointment as commandant at Detroit, but he did not come to the post until 1786 and then held the position for only a few weeks.

CAPT. ROBERT MATTHEWS

Captain Matthews was an officer in the Eighth (or King's) Regiment during the greater part of the Revolutionary war. He is first mentioned in the reports from Niagara in November, 1778, as having built a log house at that post for the use of the garrison. On May 20, 1779, Lieut.-Col. Mason Bolton wrote to General Haldimand from Niagara:

"I have received an express from Detroit with several letters and other papers, which I am forwarding by Captain Matthews, who is well acquainted with all of our transactions here, has a thorough knowledge of these posts, and is very capable of furnishing your Excellency with many particulars necessary for your information."

It seems that Captain Matthews made such a good impression upon General Haldimand that he became the governor's private secretary. He is mentioned in a letter written by Adam Mabane to Haldimand January 5, 1786, as "Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit," but he had not yet received his appointment. Early in the spring of 1787 he left Montreal to take command at Detroit and his first letter to General Haldimand after taking charge of the post was dated August 3, 1787. Captain Matthews remained at Detroit a little over a year. A

Major Wiseman is mentioned by Silas Farmer as a commandant in 1787, but if he held the position it was but for a very short interval.

MAJ. PATRICK MURRAY

On July 24, 1788, the Canadian Council created several court and land districts, one of which was the District of Hesse, on the east side of the Detroit River. The land board for this district was composed of Maj. Patrick Murray, William Dummer Powell, Alexander McKee, William Robertson and Alexander Grant. The minutes of the first meeting of the land board are signed: "Patrick Murray, Major in the Sixtieth Regiment, commanding Detroit, and first member of the land board."

Major Murray is mentioned by Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton in a communication dated April 26, 1778, as then being barrack master at Quebec. A change was made in the land board in 1790, when Murray was succeeded by Major Smith.

MAJ. JOHN SMITH

At a meeting of the land board of Hesse held on July 30, 1790, Maj. John Smith was chairman and his son, David William Smith, afterward Sir David Smith, was secretary. The former was a major in the Fifth Regiment and the son was an ensign in the same. Early in the year 1792 both were transferred to Niagara, leaving the post temporarily in the hands of Maj. William Claus until the arrival of the new commandant. Major Smith died at Fort Niagara in 1794.

COL. RICHARD ENGLAND

The last English commandant at Detroit was Col. Richard England, commander of the Twenty-fourth Regiment, who came in the early summer of 1792. Colonel England was an unusually large man and John A. McClung, in his "Sketches of Western Adventure," says:

"After his return to England, the waggish Prince of Wales, who was himself no pigmy, became desirous of seeing him. Colonel England was one day pointed out to him by Sheridan, as he was in the act of dismounting from his horse. The prince regarded him with marked attention for a few minutes and then, turning to Sheridan, said with a laugh, 'Colonel England! You should have said Great Britain.'"

Colonel England came to Detroit a few months after the defeat of General St. Clair, and the Indians were in a state of unrest, fearing another American invasion. For a year Detroit was visited by parties of Indians begging assistance from their English father. When Fort Miami was built at the foot of the Maumee Rapids in the spring of 1794, Colonel England sent nearly all his force and the greater part of his ordnance to check the advance of General Wayne. After the battle of Fallen Timbers the troops returned to Detroit. On September 1, 1794, Colonel England made a return of all the ordnance stores at Detroit; showing the condition of the post.

On June 6, 1796, when it was understood that Detroit was soon to be turned over to the United States, the commandant wrote that certain papers had not been turned over to him by his predecessor, and asked if Major Smith had sent them to headquarters. About the same time Capt. George Salmon, of the Royal Artillery, made a requisition for 200 ammunition boxes, three laboratory chests and six packing cases, preparatory to the removal of the stores to the

new post at Amherstburg. An estimate made by Colonel England for repairs to the fort, etc., amounted to £90, 10 s. 4d., but the repairs were not made. Just before evacuating the post, he ordered a board of survey to report on the condition of the barrack furniture, which was later reported "for the most part not worth removing to the new post across the river." These reports may give the reader an inkling of the condition of the post of Detroit when British domination came to an end on July 11, 1796, the details of which are given in the next chapter.

During this period the laws of Canada governed the village. Courts were established and at least one election to parliament was held here. The first and only Canadian judge appointed by the Canadian Government for Detroit was William Dummer Powell, and, although he continued to be a Canadian justice during his life and filled that position with great honor, he was an American, having been born in Boston before the Revolution. There were three members of parliament from Detroit—D. W. Smith, who lived at Niagara, but was elected in Detroit and who was subsequently surveyor-general of Canada; Alexander Grant, who was commonly called the commodore of the lakes, from his having charge of the British armed vessels on the upper lakes, and who lived at Grosse Pointe; and William Macomb, the ancestor of one branch of the Macomb family in Detroit and the uncle of Gen. Alexander Macomb.

CHAPTER IX

UNDER THE UNITED STATES

TREATY OF 1783—HOW IT WAS NEGOTIATED—COLONIAL CLAIMS TO TERRITORY WEST OF THE OHIO RIVER—BOUNDARIES—PLANS PROPOSED—THE OHIO COMPANY—ORDINANCE OF 1787—THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY—BRITISH INTRIGUE—AMERICAN OCCUPATION—TERRITORY OF INDIANA—TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN—SECOND GRADE OF GOVERNMENT—CHANGES IN BOUNDARIES—TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS—STATE OF MICHIGAN—CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—ADMISSION INTO THE UNION.

At the close of the French and Indian war, Great Britain came into possession of all that part of the present United States east of the Mississippi River, except Florida and a small part of Louisiana. She was still in possession of all this territory at the beginning of the Revolution, but the capture of the British posts in the Illinois country by Gen. George Rogers Clark gave the American colonists a basis for claiming all the country tributary to the captured posts. Accounts of these events are given in other chapters of this history.

TREATY OF 1783

In all of the history of the United States there is no subject more interesting than that of the treaty which concluded the Revolutionary war and the manner in which it was negotiated. By this treaty Great Britain acknowledged the independence of her American colonies and the western boundary of the new republic was fixed at the Mississippi River. Channing's History of the United States says:

"Already, in the winter of 1781-82, English emissaries had appeared at Paris and at The Hague, seeking the conditions upon which the war in America might be ended. No more than this could be done then because the ministers could not advise the king to acknowledge the independence of the United States until an enabling act for that purpose had been passed by Parliament. A bill giving this authorization was introduced into the House of Commons, but politics and not patriotism being uppermost, its passage took time. Franklin at Paris and Adams at The Hague had little faith in Lord North's professions of peace; but the former thought it worth while to write a friendly letter to Shelburne (principal secretary of state) with whom he had been intimate before the war."

Franklin's letter to Shelburne was dated March 22, 1782. On March 27, 1782, Shelburne sent an agent to Paris to sound Franklin. This agent was Richard Oswald, a Scotch merchant of London, whom Shelburne described as "a pacifical man and conversant in those negotiations which are most interesting to mankind." Franklin received him kindly, took him to see Count de Vergennes (the French secretary of state for foreign affairs), and suggested that the United States, France and other belligerents could better negotiate separately with Great Britain. When everything was arranged, he added, there would only

remain "to consolidate those several settlements into one general and conclusive Treaty of Pacification."

John Adams, John Jay and Henry Laurens were named by the Continental Congress to assist Franklin in the negotiations of the treaty. On April 15, 1782, Adams and Laurens had an interview at Haerlem. Laurens was then a British prisoner on parole. The day following this interview Adams wrote to Franklin and in his letter gave an account of his meeting with Laurens. "If you agree to it," he said, "I will never see another person who is not a plenipotentiary," and advised Franklin to do the same.

On the 20th of the same month Franklin wrote to Adams: "I like your idea of seeing no more messengers that are not plenipotentiaries; but I cannot refuse to see Mr. Oswald, as the minister here considered the letter to me from Lord Shelburne as a kind of authentication given that messenger, and expects his return with some explicit propositions. I shall keep you advised of whatever passes."

On May 8, 1782, Franklin again wrote to Adams regarding the negotiations, and a little later he received a letter from Laurens, dated at Ostend, May 17, 1782, declining to accept the appointment as commissioner. Jay arrived in Paris on June 23, 1782 and immediately called upon Franklin at Passy, a little village now within the city limits of Paris. Two days later Franklin wrote to Robert R. Livingston: "I hoped for the assistance of Mr. Adams and Mr. Laurens. The first is too much engaged in Holland; and the other declines serving."

To quote from Channing: "On Rockingham's death in July, his followers retired from the government and Shelburne became prime minister. Toward the end of that month, the passage of the enabling act authorized him to issue a commission to Oswald and to give him definite instructions as to the negotiation with the Americans. Unfortunately, the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney-General and other officials had betaken themselves to the country the moment Parliament was prorogued. The commission, therefore, that Oswald exhibited to the Americans was not under the great seal, and, indeed, was only a copy or exemplification of the original."

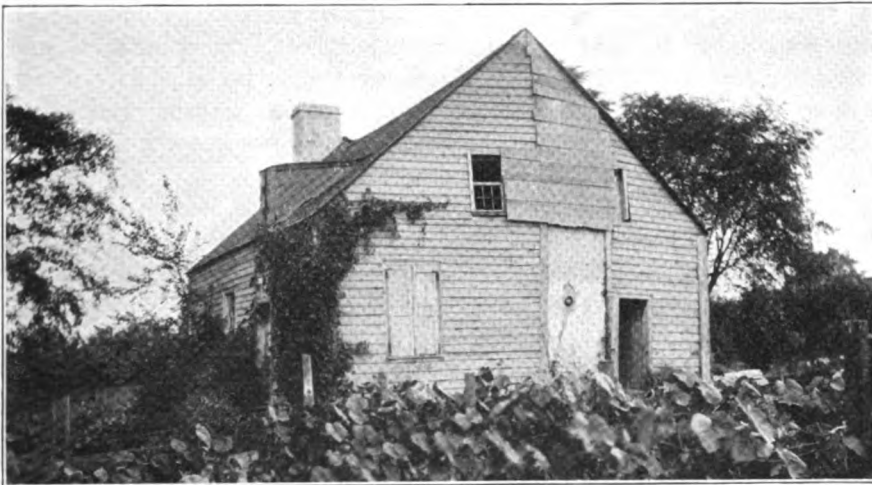
Mrs. Mercy Warren, in her "History of the Revolution," says: "When Mr. Oswald, who had been appointed to act as commissioner of peace in behalf of Great Britain, and to arrange the provisional articles for that purpose, arrived in Paris, in the autumn of 1782, it appeared that his instructions were not sufficiently explicit. They did not satisfy the American agents deputed by Congress to negotiate the terms of reconciliation among the contending powers. These were Doctor Franklin, John Jay and John Adams, esquires. Mr. Adams was still at The Hague; but he had been directed by Congress to repair to France to assist his colleagues in the negotiations for peace.

"The ambiguity of Mr. Oswald's commission occasioned much altercation between the Count de Vergennes and Mr. Jay on the subject of the provisional articles. Their disputes were easily adjusted; and the Spanish minister, the Count de Aranda, rather inclined to be acquiescent in the proposals of the British commissioner. Mr. Jay, however, resisted with firmness; and was supported in his opinions by Mr. Adams, who soon arrived in Paris."

While this controversy was going on, Count de Reyneval went to London to lay the matter before Lord Shelburne. The result of his visit was that Mr. Oswald received a new commission and definite instructions. All was now smooth sailing and the commissioners began their deliberations in earnest.



**OLD CAMPAU HOUSE, SOUTH SIDE
OF JEFFERSON AVENUE, MIDWAY
BETWEEN GRISWOLD AND SHELBY
Erected in 1813, torn down in March, 1880**



OLD HAMTRAMCK HOUSE IN 1891

The first result of their labors, which was made public on October 8, 1782, fixed the northern boundary of the United States as the forty-fifth parallel of north latitude from the Atlantic coast to the St. Lawrence River; thence to the southern end of the Lake Nipissing, and by a straight line from that point to the source of the Mississippi. The uncertainty as to the exact location of the head of the Mississippi was the cause of some delay in the conclusion of the treaty, but on November 30, 1782, preliminary articles of peace were signed by the commissioners. The preliminary treaty was confirmed by the definitive treaty of Paris on September 3, 1783.

Regarding the boundary lines of the United States under this treaty, Mr. C. M. Burton in an address before the Society of Colonial Wars, in 1907, said as follows:

"I think it is not necessary to tell you that the foundation for the history of the Northwest Territory lies largely in the unpublished documents in the British Museum and the Public Record office in London. The American papers on the subject of the Treaty of 1782 at the close of the Revolutionary war, have been collected and printed by Mr. Sparks in twelve volumes of the diplomatic correspondence of the Revolution. They have recently, within the last few years, been reprinted and added to, in the Wharton collection. But the papers on the British side, with few exceptions, are still unpublished and it is among those papers that I spent a good portion of my vacation while in the City of London. A few of them are in the British Museum, but nearly all are in the Public Record office. I had some trouble in getting in there, but succeeded through the kindness of Mr. Carter, who represents our government in London, and made as many extracts as I could pertaining exclusively to Detroit and the Northwest. While the collection there extends to every part of the United States, I was particularly interested in our own state, in our own part of the country. I refer to a few of these papers for the purpose of showing how it came about that Michigan became a part of the United States. That at first sight might seem very simple to be determined, and yet I find it very difficult to answer, and I do not know now that I have found much that would lead to a complete determination of the reason for this form of our Treaty.

"The first papers that attracted my attention I found in the British Museum. They consisted of some correspondence in French between the British government and the French government relating to the troubles that had arisen along the Ohio River, and in that matter Detroit took a very active interest about the year 1754. These papers finally ended in a proposition on the part of Great Britain to accept as the north boundary line the river that we call the Maumee, on which Toledo is situated. The country immediately south of this was to be neutral ground. This was in 1754. If that boundary line had been established; if that agreement had been accepted by the two countries, Michigan would have remained French territory, and perhaps the war which immediately succeeded would not have taken place, and in all probability Canada would still have been a French possession. In the midst of these negotiations, they were terminated. I did not know at the time why, but I found in my searches a little book which I now have, evidently written by some member of the Privy Council, telling the reasons for breaking off the negotiations, and for causing the war which terminated in 1763. This book is

entitled 'The Conduct of the Ministry Impartially Examined,' and was published in London in 1756.

"At the end of the war, the treaty of Paris gave to Great Britain all of Canada, and Canada at that time was supposed to include all of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, all of the land north and west of the Ohio River. The same year that this treaty was entered into, Great Britain established the Province of Quebec. One of the peculiar matters connected with this establishment of the Province of Quebec I shall refer to hereafter. Quebec was established in 1763 and was nearly a triangle. The south boundary line of the province extended from Lake Nipissing to the St. Lawrence River near Lake St. Francis. Michigan and all of the lower part of Canada, and all of the Ohio district, were entirely omitted; so that by the proclamation of 1763, no portion of that country was under any form of government whatever. This was likely to lead to trouble with Great Britain and with the people in Detroit, for Detroit was the most prominent and important place in the whole of that district. Within a few years after the establishment of the Province of Quebec, a man by the name of Isenhardt was murdered in Detroit by Michael Dué, a Frenchman. Dué was arrested, testimony was taken here before Philip Dejean, our justice, and after his guilt was established, Dué was sent to Quebec for trial and execution. After he was convicted they sent him back to Montreal, so that he could be executed among his friends. The matter was brought before the Privy Council to determine under what law and by what right Dué was tried at all. They executed the poor fellow, and then made the inquiry afterwards. It was finally decided that they could try him under a special provision in the Mutiny Act, but they had to acknowledge that at that time they absolutely had no control, by law, over our portion of the Northwest Territory, and that the land where we are was subject to the king exclusively, and was not under any military authority except as he directed it.

"In 1774 the Quebec Act was passed, and by that act the boundary lines of the Province of Quebec were so enlarged as to include all of the Ohio country and all the land north of the Ohio River; so that from 1774 until the close of the Revolutionary war, Canada and the Province of Quebec included all the land on which we are situated as well as the present Canada, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

"Now, when we come to the treaty of peace, or the preliminary treaty of peace in 1782, the first thing that I found of interest was the fact that Franklin, who was then in Paris, was quite anxious that some effort should be made to close up the war. There never had been a moment from the time the war first started that efforts were not being made along some line to bring it to a conclusion, but it was the efforts of Mr. Franklin in the spring of 1782 that finally brought the parties together. The man who acted at that time for the British government was Richard Oswald. He was sent from London to Paris to represent his government, and to see if something could not be done with Mr. Franklin to negotiate a treaty. Those of you who have been in Paris will recollect that the house in which Mr. Franklin lived while there was not then within the city limits. It was in Passy, a little village some three or four miles distant, but now within the city limits. The place is now marked by a tablet a little above the heads of the passersby, on Singer Street, indicating that Franklin lived there during the time of which I am speaking, 1782, and sometime later. He was sick. He was unable at various times to leave his

apartments at all, and much of the negotiations took place in his private rooms on Singer Street in Passy.

"The proceedings on the part of the American commissioners have all been published, but Mr. Oswald kept minutes of his own, and these, with a few exceptions, have not been printed. These and the papers that are connected with them, I had the pleasure of examining and abstracting, if I may use that term, during the past winter. I find that on April 25, 1782, Mr. Richard Oswald returned to Paris, and that place was named as the city for settling up the affairs of the Revolutionary war, if it was possible, with Doctor Franklin. The principal point was the allowance of the independence of the United States, upon the restoration of Great Britain to the situation in which she was placed before the Treaty of 1763. The question that came before the commissioners at once was what constituted Canada or what constituted the Province of Quebec. I think that Great Britain made a blunder, and a serious blunder for herself, in establishing the Province of Quebec within the restricted lines of Lake Nipissing, and the reason of her making this line I believe was this. She had once before taken Canada from the French, and then restored it. She did not know but what she might again be called upon to restore Canada to France. But if she had to restore it, she proposed to restore only that portion of it that she considered to be Canada, that is the land lying north and east of the line from Lake Nipissing to the St. Lawrence River. She would maintain, if the time again came to surrender Canada to France, that all the land lying below that line was her own possession, and not a part of the land she had taken from France. Now she found that in order to be restored to the situation she occupied before 1763, she must abandon the land lying below that line, and thereafter it would become part of the United States. So that one of the principal features of this new treaty was to be the restoration of Great Britain to the situation that was occupied by her before the Treaty of 1763.

"The peculiar formation of the lines that marked the Province of Quebec in the proclamation of 1763 attracted my attention, and I undertook to study out the reason for so shaping the province, and some years ago wrote out the reason that I have outlined tonight. I did not know then that there were documents in existence to prove the truth of my theory.

"In July, 1763, Lord Egremont, Secretary of State, reported to the Lord of Trade that the King approved of the formation of the new government of Canada, but that the limits had not been defined. The King thought that great inconvenience might arise if a large tract of land was left without being subject to the jurisdiction of some Governor and that it would be difficult to bring criminals and fugitives, who might take refuge in this country, to justice. He therefore thought it best to include in the commission for the Governor of Canada, jurisdiction of all the great lakes, Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan and Superior, with all of the country as far north and west as the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Mississippi, and all lands ceded by the late treaty, unless the Lords of Trade should suggest a better distribution.

"On the 5th of August the Lords of Trade submitted their plan for the Government of Quebec, a portion of which was as follows:

"We are apprehensive that, should this country be annexed to the Government of Canada, a colour might be taken on some future occasion, for supposing that your Majesty's title to it had taken its rise singly from the cessions made by France in the late treaty, whereas your Majesty's titles to

the lakes and circumjacent territory, as well as sovereignty over the Indian tribes, particularly of the Six Nations, rests on a more solid and even a more equitable foundation; and perhaps nothing is more necessary than that just impressions of this subject should be carefully preserved in the minds of the savages, whose ideas might be blended and confounded if they should be brought to consider themselves under the government of Canada.'

"Conformable to the report of the Lords of Trade, the King on September 19th, said that he was pleased to lay aside the idea of including within the government of Canada, or any established colony, the lands that were reserved for the use of the Indians.

"He directed that the commission to be issued to James Murray comprehend that part of Canada lying on the north side of the St. Lawrence River which was included within the Province of Quebec.

"The commission to James Murray as Captain-General and Governor of the Province of Quebec, which was issued November 14, 1763, bounded the province on the south by a line drawn from the south end of Lake Nipissing to a point where the forty-fifth degree of north latitude crosses the St. Lawrence River—the westerly end of Lake St. Francis.

"In settling the line of the United States in 1782, it was very convenient for our commissioners to claim that the Lake Nipissing line was the northern boundary of the new government, for it gave to England all the lands she claimed to have won by the contest with France, and this line Great Britain could not well dispute.

"I found here a letter from Governor Haldimand, and it is interesting just at this point, because it gives an idea of the American army.

"'It is not the number of troops that Mr. Washington can spare from his army that is to be apprehended; it is their multitude of militia and men in arms ready to turn out at an hour's notice upon the show of a single regiment of Continental troops that will oppose the attempt, the facility of which has been fatally experienced.' So Haldimand was writing to the home office that they must have peace because they could not contend against the militia of the United States.

"In the various interviews that Mr. Oswald reports, he says that Franklin and Laurens maintained that Canada, Nova Scotia, East Florida, Newfoundland and the West India Islands should still remain British colonies in the event of peace. Mr. Oswald reported that in all the conversations on this subject, no inclination was ever shown by the Americans to dispute the right of Great Britain to these colonies, and he adds, 'Which, I own, I was very much surprised at, and had I been an American, acting in the same character as those commissioners, I should have held a different language to those of Great Britain, and would have plainly told them that for the sake of future peace of America, they must entirely quit possession of every part of that continent, so as the whole might be brought under the cover of one and the same political constitution, and so must include under the head of independence, to make it real and complete, all Nova Scotia, Canada, Newfoundland and East Florida. That this must have been granted if insisted upon, I think is past all doubt, considering the present unhappy situation of things.'

"Well, he did not understand Mr. Franklin, because Franklin was sitting there day after day, doing a great deal of thinking and letting Mr. Oswald do the talking, and when it came to the time for Mr. Franklin to give forth

his own ideas, they were very different from what Mr. Oswald thought they were. Franklin told Oswald on July 8th that there could be no solid peace while Canada remained an English possession. That was the first statement that Franklin made regarding his ideas of where the boundary line ought to be. A few days after this, the first draft of the treaty was made, and it was sent to London on July 10, 1782. The third article requires that the boundaries of Canada be confined to the lines given in the Quebec Act of 1774, 'or even to a more contracted state.' An additional number of articles were to be considered as advisable, the fourth one being the giving up by Great Britain of every part of Canada. Oswald had formerly suggested that the back lands of Canada—that is the Ohio lands—be set apart and sold for the benefit of the loyal sufferers; but now Franklin insisted that these back lands be ceded to the United States without any stipulation whatever as to their disposal. Many of the states had confiscated the lands and property of the loyalists, and there was an effort on the part of Oswald to get our new government to recognize these confiscations and repay them, or to sell the lands in the Ohio country and pay the loyalists from the sale. A set of instructions was made to Oswald on July 31st and sent over, but the article referring to this matter was afterwards stricken out, so that it does not appear in any of the printed proceedings. The portion that was stricken out reads as follows: 'You will endeavor to make use of our reserve title to those ungranted lands which lie to the westward of the boundaries of the provinces as defined in the proclamations before mentioned in 1763, and to stipulate for the annexation of a portion of them in each province in lieu of what they shall restore to the refugees and loyalists, whose estates they have seized or confiscated.'

"But Franklin refused to acknowledge any of these debts. He said that if any loyalists had suffered, they had suffered because they had been the ones who had instigated the war, and they must not be repaid, and he would not permit them to be repaid out of any lands that belonged to the United States; that if Great Britain herself wanted to repay them, he had no objection. In a conversation John Jay, who came from Spain and took part in these negotiations, told the British commissioner that England had taken great advantage of France in 1763 in taking Canada from her and he did not propose that England should serve the United States in the same manner, and he, Jay, was not as favorable to peace as was Franklin.

"On the 18th of August, a few days later, Oswald wrote: 'The Commissioners here insist on their independence, and consequently on a cession of the whole territory, and the misfortune is that their demand must be complied with in order to avoid the worst consequences, either respecting them in particular, or the object of general pacification with the foreign states, as to which nothing can be done until the American independence is effected.' He recites the situation in America; the garrisons of British troops at the mercy of the Americans, the situation of the loyalists, and the evacuations then taking place. In all these negotiations, there was a constant determination taken by Franklin to hold the territory in the west and on the north.

"In the last of August, 1782, the commissioners set about determining the boundary lines for the new government, which they fixed in the draft of the treaty so as to include in the United States that part of Canada which was added to it by act of parliament of 1774. 'If this is not granted there will be a good deal of difficulty in settling these boundaries between Canada and several

of the states, especially on the western frontier, as the addition sweeps around behind them, and I make no doubt that a refusal would occasion a particular grudge, as a deprivation of an extent of valuable territory the several provinces have always counted upon as their own, and only waiting to be settled and taken into their respective governments, according as their population increased and encouraged a further extension westward. I therefore suppose this demand will be granted, upon certain conditions.' It seems that in the preceding April, Franklin had proposed that the back lands of Canada should be entirely given up to the United States, and that Great Britain should grant a sum of money to repay the losses of the sufferers in the war. He had also proposed that certain unsold lands in America should be disposed of for the benefit of the sufferers on both sides. (These unsold lands were those claimed as Crown lands in New York and elsewhere, considered as the private property of the Crown.) Franklin had withdrawn this proposal and now refused to consent to it, although strongly urged by Oswald, who wrote, 'I am afraid it will not be possible to bring him back to the proposition made in April last, though I shall try.'

"The preliminary articles of peace were agreed upon by Oswald and Franklin and Jay, October 7, 1782, and the northern boundary line of the United States extended from the east, westerly on the 45th degree of north latitude until the St. Lawrence River was reached, then to the easterly end of Lake Nipissing, and then straight to the source of the Mississippi. If you will remember that Lake Nipissing is opposite the northern end of Georgian Bay, you will see that the line as laid down in this draft of the treaty would include within the United States all the territory that is across the river from Detroit, all of the southerly portion of what formerly constituted Upper Canada. Mr. Franklin at this time wrote: 'They want to bring their boundaries down to the Ohio, and to settle their loyalists in the Illinois country. We did not choose such neighbors.'

"Mr. Franklin at this time was seventy-eight years of age, a very old man to put into such a responsible place. In October, Henry Strachey was sent over to assist Mr. Oswald, and in some ways I think Mr. Strachey was a sharper, brighter man than Mr. Oswald was, although Mr. Oswald was probably a very good man for the position. I think, however, that diplomatically, the representatives of the United States were the greater men. Henry Strachey was sent over to assist Oswald and particularly to aid him in fixing the boundary lines. The matter was thought to be of too great importance for one man and Lord Townshend, in introducing Strachey to Oswald, told him that Strachey would share the responsibility of fixing the boundaries, which was great, with him.

"If any of you have ever had occasion to read the treaties of 1782 and 1783 carefully, you will find that in outlining the boundary line, one line was omitted. The draft that I found of this treaty is in the handwriting of John Jay, and certainly Mr. Jay as a lawyer ought to have been sufficiently conversant with real estate transfers to have drawn a proper deed; but one line is omitted, and that is the line extending from the south end of the St. Mary's River to Lake Superior, and that omission has been copied in every copy of the treaty that has since been made, so far as I have been able to ascertain. The map that was used on the occasion was a large wall map of Mitchell, printed some years previous to 1783. I got the original map that was used on that occasion,



**EARLY VIEW OF WOODWARD AVENUE, LOOK-
ING NORTHWARD FROM CAMPUS MARTIUS**



CAMPUS MARTIUS, LOOKING SOUTH ON WOODWARD, IN THE SUMMER OF 1894

and on that I found a large, heavy red line drawn straight across the country from Lake Nipissing to the Mississippi. That was one line. The other line running as we now know the boundary, through the center of the lakes. This map I hunted for several days, but finally found it in the public record office in Chancery Lane.

"On November 5, 1782, the commissioners nearly broke off all negotiations from quarreling about the boundary lines, and were about to quit when they concluded to try it once more, and went at it. A new draft of the treaty was made November 8th, on which the boundary line was fixed at the forty-fifth degree of north latitude. That would run straight across the country through Alpena. If that line had been accepted, and it came very nearly being accepted at one time, the entire northern peninsula of Michigan, and all the land in the southern peninsula north of Alpena, would have been British possessions, while the land across the river from us here at Detroit would have been part of the United States. When this draft was sent over to England, an alternative line was the line that we know as the boundary line, along the lakes. In sending over this proposition, Strachey said that the draft of the treaty must be prepared in London, and the expressions contained in the treaty made as tight as possible 'for these Americans are the greatest quibblers I ever knew.' The above draft of the treaty was handed to Richard Jackson, and he remarked on its margin, that it looked more like an ultimatum than a treaty, and in a letter of November 12, 1782, he wrote: 'I am, however, free to say that so far as my judgment goes and ought to weigh, I am of opinion in the cruel, almost hopeless, situation of this country, a treaty of peace ought to be made on the terms offered.'

"On November 11, 1782, at 11 o'clock at night, Strachey writes that the terms of the treaty of peace have finally been agreed upon. 'Now we are to be hanged or applauded for thus rescuing you from the American war. I am half dead with perpetual anxiety, and shall not be at ease till I see how the great men receive me. If this is not as good a peace as was expected, I am confident that it is the best that could have been made.' A few days later he writes, 'The treaty is signed and sealed, and is now sent. God forbid that I should ever have a hand in another treaty.' The final treaty of peace was signed at that time, and a few days later, on the 30th of January, 1783, the treaty of peace on which it depended, that is, the treaty between the other governments of Europe and England, was signed and the war was at an end."

By the definitive treaty, signed September 3, 1783, the territory now comprising the State of Michigan became part of the public domain of the United States, though England retained possession of Detroit and the other north-western posts for more than a decade after the conclusion of the treaty. An interesting bit of history regarding this retention of the territory in the face of the treaty was given by Dr. James B. Angell, former president of the University of Michigan, in his address at the centennial celebration of American occupation of Detroit, in July, 1896. Doctor Angell said:

"The speakers who have preceded me have suggested that one of the reasons why Great Britain retained this and other frontier posts for thirteen years after the treaty of independence, was their doubt whether we were really going to be able to retain our independence. Under the weakness of our old federation this doubt on the part of the English was perhaps not unreasonable. But may I call your attention to the surprising fact that long after the

establishment of our stronger government under the constitution the English seemed to cherish the same doubt.

"In 1814, at the opening of the negotiations for the Treaty of Ghent, the very first proposition made by the British commissioners to ours, and made as a *sine qua non* of the treaty, was that we should set apart for Indians the vast territory now comprising the states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and a considerable portion of the states of Indiana and Ohio, and that we should never purchase it from them. A sort of Indian sovereignty under British guaranty was to be established in our domain. Coupled with this was a demand that we should have no armed force on the lakes. There were other demands scarcely less preposterous. (There was, however, a counter proposal to annex Canada to the United States.) Think of making such 'cheeky' demands as these to John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, James A. Bayard, Albert Gallatin and Jonathan Russell. It did not take these spirited men many minutes to send back answer in effect that, until the United States had lost all sense of independence, they would not even listen to such propositions. They threatened to go home. Castlereagh, the prime minister, happening to reach Ghent on his way to Vienna, ordered an abatement of the British demands and an honorable peace was made. But the same idea of a 'buffer state' of Indians under British influence, to be used as a means of regaining power here, was cherished at the outset as was entertained in 1790."

COLONIAL CLAIMS

Possibly the English attitude toward the United States at the close of the Revolution received some support from the conflicting claims of the colonies. Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York and Virginia all claimed territory northwest of the Ohio River and their claims so overlapped each other that all was confusion. If these disputes should result in serious conflict, Great Britain, by retaining possession, would be in a position to regain much of the territory she had lost by the Revolution.

In October, 1778, about three months after the capture of the British garrisons of Kaskaskia, Saint Vincent and Cahokia by Col. George Rogers Clark, the Virginia legislature passed an act that "all citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia, who are already settled there, or shall hereafter be settled on the west side of the Ohio, shall be included in the district of Kentucky, which shall be called Illinois County." Col. John Todd was appointed county lieutenant, or military commandant, and it appears that under his administration a court was established at Vincennes and none of the other colonies questioned the jurisdiction or acts of this tribunal. In negotiating the treaty in 1783, the British insisted on the Ohio River as the northwest boundary of the United States, but the American claims for the Lakes and Mississippi was that Clark had conquered that country and that Virginia was in possession.

The contention among the four colonies, over their respective claims and boundaries, was a great handicap to Congress, whose desire was to form a strong and permanent union of states. About two years after the erection of Illinois County, and almost three years before the final treaty of peace that ended the Revolutionary war, Congress adopted the role of peacemaker. An act was passed providing for the relinquishment of all colonial claims to the territory northwest of the River Ohio, and that the territory so relinquished, when a sufficient population had settled therein, should be divided into states, each

of which should be admitted into the Union, with all the rights, privileges and immunities of the original thirteen states. Under the provisions of this act, New York relinquished her claim on March 1, 1781; Virginia, March 1, 1784; Massachusetts, April 19, 1785; and Connecticut, except the tract known as the Western Reserve, September 14, 1786. These several cessions placed about three hundred thousand square miles of domain in the hands of Congress, to be erected into states for the common welfare of the nation. This vast territory now comprises the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, and that part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi River and a line drawn from the source of that stream due north to the boundary line between the United States and the British possessions.

PLANS PROPOSED

The Articles of Confederation, the first organic law of the United States, possessed serious defects and was not a success as a basis of government. At the close of the Revolution, many of those who had served in the colonial army grew dissatisfied with the failure of the government to make what they considered suitable reward for their services and sacrifices. As early as December, 1782, a number of army officers petitioned Congress, in behalf of the soldiers, but Congress was then unable to do anything in the way of relief, chiefly for want of funds. In April, 1783, in anticipation of the relinquishment of claims by the colonies, some of the leading generals proposed to reward the soldiers by giving them grants of land in the Ohio country. This was known as the "Army Plan."

Closely allied to the Army Plan was one proposed about the same time by Alexander Hamilton and Theodore Bland. It provided that lands should be substituted for commutation of half-pay and arrearages due the army; that a tract for this purpose be set apart in the country northwest of the Ohio; that the lands so set apart should be divided into districts, each of which might become a state when the inhabitants numbered twenty thousand or more; and that ten per cent of the land be reserved by the Government as a public domain, the rents and profits of which should be used for the erection of forts, founding seminaries, etc. This was known as the "Financiers' Plan."

On March 1, 1784, the same day Virginia ceded her title to the United States, a committee, of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman, reported to Congress a plan "for a temporary government of the territory northwest of the River Ohio." It provided: 1. For the division of the territory into states. 2. That each state should be eligible for admission into the Union when the number of inhabitants reached twenty thousand. 3. That each state so admitted should be liable for its share of the Federal debt. 4. That the government of the states thus created should be republican in form. 5. That after the year 1800 neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should be tolerated in any of the districts or states. A second report of the same committee late in March, 1784, made some changes in the boundaries of the districts and extended the time for the abolition of slavery to 1801. These committee reports were debated at length, but no act or ordinance embodying their recommendations was passed.

THE OHIO COMPANY

On January 9, 1786, Gen. Rufus Putnam and Gen. Benjamin Tupper, two of the colonial generals during the Revolution, formulated a plan for set-

ting soldiers in the country beyond the Ohio River and issued a call for a meeting to be held in Boston, March 1, 1786, to consider their plan and take the necessary steps to carry it into effect. At the Boston meeting was organized the "Ohio Company," with General Putnam, General Tupper, James Mitchell Varnum, Samuel Holden Parsons and Return Jonathan Meigs as its most active members. A large tract of land near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers was purchased, a land office under the management of General Putnam was established at the mouth of the Muskingum, where the City of Marietta now stands, and inducements were offered to immigrants, particularly veterans of the Revolution.

ORDINANCE OF 1787

The energy displayed by the Ohio Company stirred Congress to action, to provide some adequate form of government for the population which was soon to come. At the next session the reports of the Jefferson committee were again called up, debated, amended, and on July 13, 1787, was passed the ordinance "for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio." The ordinance provided that the territory should constitute one district, subject to division by Congress. It conferred on Congress the power to appoint a governor, secretary and three judges for the execution of the laws and administration of affairs in the Northwest Territory.

The governor was to be appointed for three years and the secretary for four years, unless sooner removed by Congress. Both were required to reside in the territory. The governor was also required to have a freehold of 1,000 acres of land and the secretary of 500 acres. The commissions of the three judges were to continue in force "during good behavior" and each judge was required to have a freehold of 500 acres. Other provisions of the ordinance were as follows: That where there were 5,000 free male inhabitants of full age in the district, they should be authorized to elect members of a General Assembly, to be composed of the governor and a house of representatives; that the inhabitants of the territory should be entitled to trial by jury and the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus; that the territory might be divided by Congress into not fewer than three nor more than five states, each of which should be admitted into the Union when the population numbered sixty thousand or more; that "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, otherwise than in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted," though any slave escaping into the territory might be reclaimed by the owner.

Gen. Arthur St. Clair, then president of Congress, was appointed governor; Winthrop Sargent, of Massachusetts, secretary; Samuel Holden Parsons, of Connecticut, James Mitchell Varnum, of Rhode Island, and John Armstrong, judges. Armstrong declined the appointment and John Cleves Symmes was chosen in his place, February 19, 1788. Governor St. Clair was removed by President Jefferson in November, 1802, after Ohio was admitted as a state. On June 28, 1798, Winthrop Sargent was succeeded by William Henry Harrison, who served until the erection of Indiana Territory in May, 1800, when he was succeeded by Charles W. Byrd.

BRITISH INTRIGUE

All this time the post at Detroit remained in the hands of the British, though repeated efforts had been made by the United States authorities to get

possession of the territory conceded by the treaty of September 3, 1783. In fact, one such effort was made before that treaty was concluded. On July 12, 1783, President Washington, acting upon the assumption that the British would be governed by the terms of the preliminary treaty of November 30, 1782, sent Baron Steuben to Canada to secure the delivery of Detroit. Armed with the proper credentials, the baron set out upon his mission. On August 3, 1783, he arrived at Chambly and wrote to Gen. Frederick Haldimand, lieutenant-governor of Canada, that he would arrive in Quebec in three or four days, and outlining the object of his visit. Upon his arrival there General Haldimand received him with courtesy, but instead of furnishing him with the desired order for the evacuation of the post and the necessary passports, sent him back with a letter to Washington, dated April 11, 1783, in which it was stated that the treaty was "only provisional" and that no orders had been received from London for the surrender of the posts on the upper lakes. There was therefore nothing left for Steuben to do except return and make his report.

The second effort was made after the definitive treaty had been ratified by the two governments. On May 24, 1784, Col. William Hull, afterward the first governor of Michigan Territory, set out for Quebec, where he arrived on the 12th of July. General Haldimand's excuse of a "provisional treaty" was no longer valid and he was now reduced to the extremity of making a peremptory refusal to deliver any portion of the territory, in accordance with the terms of the treaty. This he did without assigning any reason therefor.

About two years later John Adams, United States minister to England, wrote to Congress that he had made a formal demand for the relinquishment of the western posts and had been refused, the British prime minister giving as a reason for the refusal that several of the states had violated treaty obligations regarding the payment of debts.

Negotiations went on and other demands were made, but they were refused upon one pretext or another. Meantime such unprincipled English agents as Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott and Simon Girty were laboring among the Indians to induce them to stand by the British interests and inciting them to attack the American settlements. There is no doubt that the object of all this intrigue was to bring on a serious clash between the United States and the Indians, which would enable England to hold control of the valuable fur trade indefinitely, and perhaps force the American republic into a new treaty restoring to Great Britain the sovereignty over the territory.

AMERICAN OCCUPATION

Then followed the Indian wars which ended with General Wayne's sweeping victory at the battle of Fallen Timbers on August 20, 1794. The defeat suffered by the Indians in this engagement so disheartened them that they refused to listen further to English blandishments and the next demand for the evacuation of Detroit met with more consideration. Early in the year 1794 John Jay was sent to London as a special minister, to negotiate a new treaty defining the boundary lines and adjusting other disputes between the United States and Great Britain. On June 23, 1794, Jay wrote from London that the British government positively refused to surrender the posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac. When news of Wayne's brilliant achievement reached London, coupled as it was with discouraging reports from English officials in America, the ministry was more willing to listen to Mr. Jay's presentation of the case.

The result was the conclusion of a treaty on November 19, 1794, which settled a long-standing dispute. It provided for the adjustment of the boundary line between the United States and the British possessions; for the payment of claims growing out of illegal captures during the Revolution; and for the evacuation of the western posts on or before June 1, 1796.

The order for the evacuation of Detroit was dated at Quebec, June 2, 1796, and was signed "George Beckwith, Adj. Gen." Evidently the British commandant at Detroit did not receive the order for some time, as the actual evacuation was delayed for more than a month. The order directed the withdrawal of all troops and supplies belonging to the British, "except a captain and fifty of the Queen's Rangers, sent to Detroit and Fort Miami in April of the present year, who shall remain as a guard for the protection of the works and public buildings until the troops of the United States are at hand to occupy the same, when they will embark."

On July 7, 1796, Col. John F. Hamtramck, commanding at Fort Miami, dispatched Capt. Moses Porter and sixty-five men (artillery and infantry) on two small sloops, to receive the surrender of Detroit. Colonel Hamtramck followed a few days later and on the 17th wrote to General James Wilkinson, commanding the troops at Greenville in the absence of General Wayne, as follows:

"Detroit, July 17, 1796.

"Sir:

"I have the pleasure to inform you of the safe arrival of the troops under my command at this place, which was evacuated on the 11th instant and taken possession of by a detachment of sixty-five men, commanded by Capt. Moses Porter, whom I had detached from the foot of the Rapids for that purpose. Myself and troops arrived on the 13th instant.

"J. F. Hamtramck."

The British flag was lowered exactly at noon on July 11, 1796, and the Stars and Stripes hoisted in its place. Lanman's "Red Book of Michigan" says: "The retiring garrison of English troops, to show their spite against the Americans, locked the gates of the fort, broke the windows in the barracks, and filled the wells with stones." A rumor also says that they destroyed the windmills and left the key of the fort with a negro.

TERRITORY OF INDIANA

On May 7, 1800, President John Adams approved an act of Congress erecting the Territory of Indiana, which embraced all the Northwest Territory west of a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Big Miami River. This left Detroit in the Northwest Territory. Gen. William Henry Harrison was appointed governor of Indiana Territory and John Gibson, secretary.

By the act of April 30, 1802, Congress authorized the people residing in what is now the State of Ohio to form and adopt a constitution, and when admitted into the Union the region including Detroit should become a part of Indiana Territory. The constitutional convention met at Chillicothe on November 1, 1802, and remained in session until the 29th. The constitution was not submitted to a vote of the people, but it was accepted by Congress and on February 19, 1803, Ohio became the seventeenth state in the American Union. The eastern half of what is now the State of Michigan was thus automatically

added to the Territory of Indiana, which then included the present states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, and the eastern part of Minnesota.

Governor Harrison's capital was at Vincennes, four hundred miles from Detroit, through a wild region in which the only roads were the dim Indian trails. The most available method of communication was by canoe, over the Wabash, Maumee and Detroit rivers and Lake Erie. This route included the somewhat difficult portage between the Maumee and the Wabash at Fort Wayne and few undertook the journey unless it was absolutely necessary. Under these conditions the territorial officials paid but little attention to the northern part of the territory. They realized that the rapid settlement of the country would necessitate a division of the territory within a short time and left the people of Detroit largely to themselves.

It is true that Governor Harrison issued a proclamation on January 14, 1803, defining the boundaries of Wayne County, with Detroit as the county seat. At an election held on September 11, 1804, a majority of 138 voted in favor of a general assembly. Governor Harrison then issued his proclamation calling an election for the first Thursday in January, 1805, for members of the general assembly. The proclamation failed to reach Detroit in time and no election was held in Wayne County. Representatives from other parts of the territory met at Vincennes on Friday, February 1, 1805, and on the 7th selected the names of ten persons to be sent to the president, who was to choose five of the ten to constitute an upper house, or council. Among the ten names sent to the President were those of James Henry and James May, of Detroit.

TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN

In the meantime the people of Detroit grew restive over being so far removed from their seat of government and receiving so little consideration from the territorial officials. They felt that some attention was due them on account of the sinister attitude of the English, who were still working among the Indians, striving to keep alive their hatred for the United States. Large numbers of savages were frequently gathered at Malden and the trustees of the Town of Detroit kept sentries posted day and night to spread the alarm in case of danger.

On Saturday, October 13, 1804, a mass meeting was held, at which a resolution was adopted to petition Congress for the erection of a new territory. James May and Robert Abbott were appointed to prepare the petition, which was presented to Congress on December 4, 1804. On January 11, 1805, President Jefferson approved the act creating the Territory of Michigan, to include that part of Indiana Territory "north of a line drawn due east from the most southern point of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie, and east of a line passing through the center of Lake Michigan."

It was provided that the act should take effect on June 30, 1805, and on the first of March the President appointed the following officers for the new territory: Governor, William Hull, of Connecticut; Secretary, Stanley Griswold; Judges, Augustus B. Woodward, of Washington, D. C.; Frederick Bates, of Michigan, and Samuel Huntington, of Ohio. Mr. Huntington declined the appointment and John Griffin, of Indiana, was chosen to fill the vacancy. Judge Bates was designated as the territorial treasurer. No provision was made for a general assembly, the governor and judges to constitute the legislative, ex-

ecutive and judicial departments of the territorial government. The interesting story of the all-powerful governor and judges is told in another chapter.

But the American republic was young in 1805 and the early territorial governments were largely in the nature of an experiment. The futility of attempting to obtain an impartial and efficient government by this method is illustrated by the following incident: During the winter of 1808-9, Judge Woodward was in Washington most of the time. Under the supervision of Judge Witherell a number of important changes were made in the laws of the territory and forty-four new acts were passed. When Judge Woodward returned he refused to recognize the laws passed in his absence and the business of the courts was reduced to a state bordering on chaos. On August 24, 1810, Judge Witherell, who stood sponsor for the new acts, introduced the following:

"Whereas, by the most extraordinary and unwarrantable stretch of power ever attempted to be exercised by the Judiciary over the Legislature and a free government, two of the judges of the Supreme Court of this Territory, at the September term of said court in 1809, did declare and decide on the bench of said court, in their judicial capacity, that the laws adopted and published the preceding winter, by the Governor and two of the Judges of said Territory, were unconstitutional and not binding on the people of the said Territory, under the frivolous pretext that they were signed only by the Governor as presiding officer; and

"Whereas, by the said declaration and decision of the said judges, the peace and happiness, the rights and interests, of the good people of this Territory have been and are still very much disturbed and put in jeopardy; and

"Whereas, the good people of this Territory, after nearly one year and a half acquaintance with the said laws, have manifested strong wishes that the same, with a few exceptions, should be continued in operation in the said territory, in order to effect which and remove all doubt on the subject;

"Resolved, that the Governor and Judges, or a majority of them, do proceed immediately to sign such laws."

Judge Woodward managed to defeat the resolution and during the next twelve months there was almost constant bickering. Sometimes the Woodward adherents were temporarily victorious and sometimes the Witherell supporters would triumph for a brief period.

The governor and judges arrived in Detroit soon after the great fire of June 11, 1805, and devoted the greater part of their energies to the rebuilding of the town, as told in another chapter.

SECOND GRADE OF GOVERNMENT

Lewis Cass succeeded General Hull as governor on October 29, 1813, and on February 16, 1818, the people voted upon the question of adopting what was called the "second grade of government"—that is, the establishment of a legislative assembly. The proposition was defeated and the rule of the governor and judges continued.

On March 11, 1822, a meeting was held at the council house and a petition to Congress was adopted, asking for the enactment of a law "to separate the judicial and legislative power and to vest the latter in a certain number of our citizens." The petition was forwarded to Congress, but nothing was done to relieve the situation. On October 26, 1822, another meeting was held. By this time the people had grown so thoroughly tired of being governed by four

men, who much of the time could not agree among themselves, that they were more positive in the expression of their views. A "Statement of Facts" was drawn up and sent to Congress. This statement was as follows:

"The legislative board do not meet to do business at the time fixed by their own statutes for that purpose, and they have no known place of meeting; and when they do meet, no public notice of the time or place is given; and when that can be ascertained, by inquiry, they are found sometimes at private rooms or offices, where none has a right, and few except those immediately interested in the passage of the laws have the assurance to intrude themselves, or can find seats if they should. Laws are frequently passed and others repealed, which take effect from date, and vitally affect the rights of the citizens, and are not promulgated or made known to the community for many months."

This produced the desired effect, for on March 3, 1823, President Monroe approved an act authorizing the people of Michigan to elect eighteen persons, from whom the President should select nine to form a territorial council. On June 7, 1824, the first legislative council met in Detroit. By the act of January 29, 1827, the council was increased to thirteen members, to be elected by the people. Thus the territorial government gradually developed into a more republican form. Much of this progress was due to the efforts of William Woodbridge, who was the first territorial delegate to Congress, and his successor, Solomon Sibley. Under the ordinance of 1787 no territory was entitled to representation in Congress until a territorial legislature was established. Although the people of Michigan voted against the second grade in 1818, Congress removed the disability so far as the territory was concerned, and by the act of February 16, 1819, authorized the election of a delegate. Mr. Woodbridge was at that time secretary of the territory. At the election he defeated Judge Woodward, Henry Jackson Hunt, James McCloskey and John R. Williams, but owing to a popular prejudice against his holding two offices at the same time he resigned, and Solomon Sibley was elected for the unexpired term.

CHANGES IN BOUNDARIES

In April, 1816, Congress took a strip ten miles wide across the southern part of Michigan and added it to Indiana, which was then knocking at the door of the Union for admission and wanted enough of the shore of Lake Michigan for the establishment of a port. The loss of this ten-mile strip was more than offset by the act of April 18, 1818, which added to Michigan Territory the western half of the Upper Peninsula, all the State of Wisconsin and that part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi River.

On June 28, 1834, President Jackson approved an act of Congress which added to Michigan all the territory of the United States north of the State of Missouri and east of the Missouri and White Earth Rivers. By this act Detroit became the capital of a vast expanse of country, comprising the present states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota, and a large part of North and South Dakota. The Territory of Wisconsin was erected by the act of April 20, 1836, which took from Michigan all the country west of Lake Michigan, except the Upper Peninsula.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

General Hull, the first territorial governor, served from March 1, 1805, to August 16, 1812, when he surrendered Detroit to the British under Gen. Isaac

Brock, who left Col. Henry Procter in charge as commandant of the post and military governor of Michigan. Hull was nominally governor until October 29, 1813, when he was succeeded by Gen. Lewis Cass, who served until August 6, 1831. George B. Porter was then governor until July 6, 1834; Stevens T. Mason, secretary and acting governor from July 6, 1834, to September 10, 1835, when he was removed for his activity in the Toledo War; John S. Horner, territorial secretary, then acted as governor until November 1, 1835, when Mason was reinstated as governor of the state. He held the office until Michigan was admitted into the Union and was the first state governor.

STATE OF MICHIGAN

On January 26, 1835, acting-Governor Mason approved an act of the legislative council authorizing the people of Michigan Territory to hold an election on the first Saturday in April for delegates to a constitutional convention, to meet in Detroit on the second Monday in May. Of the eighty-nine delegates, seventeen were apportioned to Wayne County, viz: Louis Beaufait, John Biddle, Ammon Brown, J. D. Davis, George W. Ferrington, Caleb Harrington, Charles F. Irwin, John McDonnell, John Norvell, Asa H. Otis, Amos Stevens, Theophilus E. Tallman, Conrad Ten Eyck, Peter Van Every, Alpheus White, John R. Williams and William Woodbridge.

The convention met on May 11, 1835, and completed a constitution on the 24th of June. It was submitted to the people at an election held on the 5th of the following October and was adopted by a substantial majority.

The same year the constitution was framed and adopted occurred the controversy between Michigan and Ohio over the boundary line, both claiming a parcel of land containing about four hundred and seventy square miles. This controversy is described as the "Toledo War." Notwithstanding Michigan's vigorous protests against the surrender of the disputed territory, Congress passed an act, which was approved on June 15, 1836, providing for the admission of Michigan on condition the state would accept a boundary line giving it to Ohio. Another act, approved by President Jackson on June 23, 1836, accepted all the propositions of the Michigan Constitutional Convention except the one relating to the boundary line.

Many people in Michigan were so bitterly opposed to the proposition submitted by Congress, that they expressed themselves in favor of continuing as a territory, rather than accept such terms of admission. To settle the question, the Michigan Legislature was assembled and on July 20, 1836, passed an act calling an election for delegates to a convention to act upon the subject. Delegates were elected on the 12th of September and the convention met at Ann Arbor on the 26th of the month. Wayne County was represented by Louis Beaufait, Eli Bradshaw, Ammon Brown, Titus Dort, Benjamin B. Kercheval, John McDonnell, David C. McKinstry and H. A. Noyes.

The convention decided against accepting admission under the conditions imposed by Congress, and after a brief session adjourned. On November 14, 1836, the democratic central committee of Wayne County issued an address to the people of Michigan, urging them to elect delegates to another convention, to assemble at Ann Arbor on December 14, 1836. The circular set forth that in the September convention the decision to refuse admission was due to the vote of the Washtenaw County delegates; that the people of that county had since elected delegates to the Legislature who were in favor of accepting the

propositions of Congress; that prompt action was necessary if Michigan was to participate in the distribution of the surplus revenue, which Congress was preparing to divide among the states; and that, as a state, Michigan would receive from her percentage of the proceeds derived from the sales of public lands more than enough to compensate her for the loss of the disputed territory.

Governor Mason favored the convention and gave it his official sanction. Wayne County elected the following delegates: Marshall J. Bacon, Eli Bradshaw, James Bucklin, Reynold Gillett, Daniel Goodwin, Charles F. Irwin, Josiah Mason, Charles Moran, Elihu Morse, A. Y. Murray, H. A. Noyes, John E. Schwartz, Warner Tuttle, Ross Wilkins, John R. Williams and Benjamin F. H. Witherell.

The convention met at Ann Arbor on the appointed day and without a dissenting vote accepted the conditions of admission as prescribed by the act of June 23, 1836. There was some question as to the legality of this convention, but Congress recognized its action as a valid expression of the people's views and on January 26, 1837, President Jackson signed the act admitting Michigan as the twenty-sixth state of the Union, with its boundaries as they are at the present time.

By the constitution adopted in 1835, it was provided that Detroit should be the capital of the state until 1847, when a permanent seat of government should be determined by the legislature. On March 16, 1847, Governor Felch approved the act locating the capital at Lansing and the state offices were removed to that city in the following December. At the time the state was admitted, the population of Detroit was about six thousand. Including Hamtramck and Highland Park, which lie wholly within the city limits of Detroit, the population in 1920 was over one million, making Detroit the fourth city of the Union.

CHAPTER X

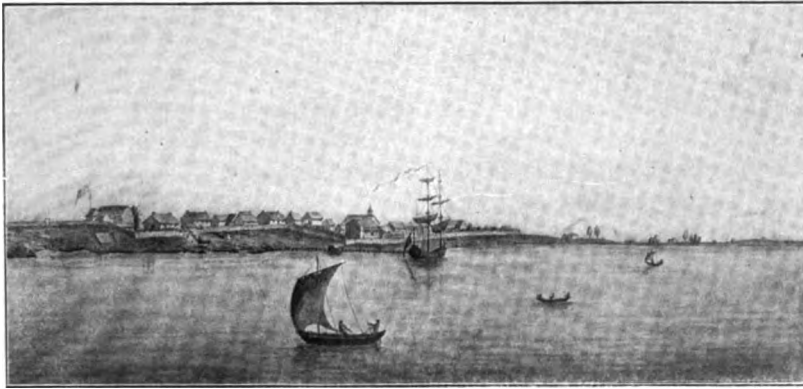
LAW AND ORDER IN EARLY DETROIT

By CLARENCE M. BURTON

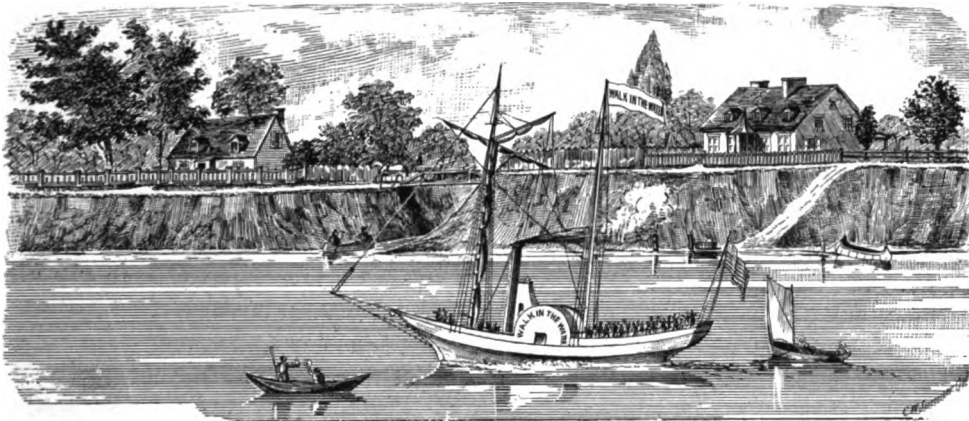
CHARACTER OF PEOPLE—THE MILITARY COMMANDANT—PRIEST AS ARBITRATOR—
CADILLAC'S AUTOCRATIC RULE—INCENDIARISM—CRIMINAL ASSAULT—MILITARY
LAWS—HIGHER COURT APPEAL—ROBERT NAVARRE—PHILIP DEJEAN: FIRST
ENGLISH JUSTICE—FIRST DETROIT PUBLIC RECORDS—DEED FROM PONTIAC—
OTHER NOTARIES—COURT FOR PETTY CASES—FIRST DETROIT ELECTION—
POWERS OF THE JUSTICE—CUILLERIER MURDER CASE—PROBATE BUSINESS—
ARBITRATORS—MARRIAGE CONTRACTS—USE OF ARBITRATION—PLEA FOR
DAMAGES—KING'S SURVEYOR—POLITICAL SITUATION IN 1774—QUEBEC ACT—
LAW OF ALLOTMENT—COURT OF COMMON PLEAS—EARLY FINANCES—MORT-
GAGES—FORECLOSURE—FRENCH VS. ENGLISH LAW—ARTICLES OF CAPITULA-
TION—NEW QUEBEC PROVINCE—EXTRACTS OF PUBLIC RECORDS—CRIME
PREVENTION—PROHIBITION FOR INDIANS—CONTENCINEAU CASE: ITS IM-
PORTANCE—INDICTMENT OF DEJEAN AND HAMILTON—HISTORICAL IMPORT-
ANCE—WATCH FOR ANTI-ROYALISTS—ARTICLE OF INDENTURE—SALES OF
SLAVES—FIRST CLAIM FOR DOWER IN REAL ESTATE—REAL ESTATE TITLES—
FIRST FUGITIVE SLAVE—DISTURBING THE PEACE.

CHARACTER OF PEOPLE

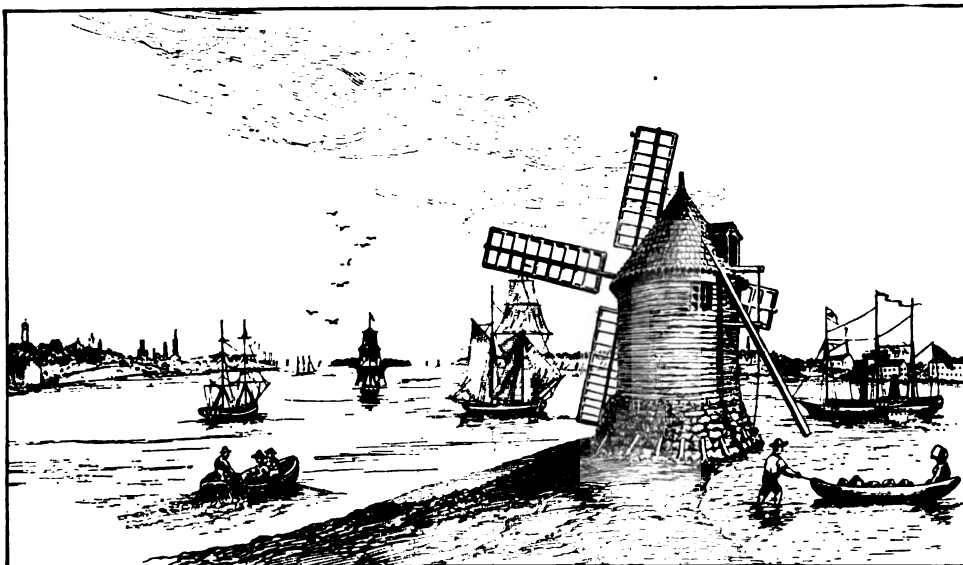
No one has ever undertaken to write that part of the early history of Detroit that pertains to its public records, its courts, judges, lawyers and lawsuits. Such a history could not well be denominated the bench and bar of Detroit, for its commencement antedates the idea of judges and lawyers and begins when the legal history of the place was in the chaotic state that finds a parallel only in those more modern localities of the West where the might of a majority of the populace is the law of the land. There is probably not an instance in the history of Detroit, in those early days, where the people took affairs into their own hands and by brute force taught culprits that it was dangerous to violate the unwritten code of morals of the community; and the reason why mob law was not resorted to was because the people themselves were, by association, temperament and early education, accustomed to walk in a path that never varied much from that followed by law-abiding citizens of other civilized communities. These people were very different from the rough element that filled the mining camps and newly erected villages of the West a few years since. Every man who came here at first came under his own name. He was not a fugitive from justice of some other state or county; he came here to make a home and to trade with the natives; his willingness to abide by the laws and customs of the place was necessary to his success and he conformed his life to that of his neighbors without question.



VIEW OF DETROIT IN 1796, SHOWING CITADEL; PRESENT WAYNE ST.; ST. ANNE'S CHURCH; BRIG *GEN. GAGE*; OLD COUNCIL HOUSE; GRISWOLD ST.



DETROIT RIVER FRONT OF JONES AND CASS FARMS, 1819



DETROIT RIVER FROM WINDMILL POINT, 1838

THE MILITARY COMMANDANT

While from the very commencement of the French settlement in Detroit it is probable that there were quarrels over property and personal differences between neighbors and fellow colonists and traders that must of necessity have been settled by authority outside of the parties in direct interest, there is no evidence that there were courts or trials by jury or before a judge, of such a nature as we find at the present day or, indeed, of anything approaching it in character.

The military commandant, under the French rule, was very powerful here, so far as we know, and his decision in matters of controversy was generally final. He was attended by his soldiers who, on all occasions, carried out his orders and directions. If at any time he exceeded what the citizens considered his proper prerogatives, they could complain to the governor-general, but the complaints were generally unheeded, as the governor-general must have considered that almost absolute authority was necessary to be vested in the local commandant, in order to keep in proper subjection the rough and unruly element he was compelled to dwell among and with whom he had to contend.

PRIEST AS ARBITRATOR

In the beginning the village priest was the arbitrator between most disputants, but it soon came to be noticed that he had allied himself with a certain clique, and thereafter his influence was greatly lessened or entirely spent, for he held no official position as arbitrator and those who did not belong to the same party as himself lacked confidence in his opinion and did not accept his decisions. Father Francois de Gueslis Vaillant, Jesuit, and Nicolas Bernadin Constantin de l'Halle came to Detroit with Cadillac in 1701. Vaillant did not remain, but left immediately for Mackinac. L'Halle was killed by the Indians June 1, 1706. He was succeeded by Father Dominique de la Marche the same year.

CADILLAC'S AUTOCRATIC RULE

The next step, and a step that was very early taken, was the enforced obedience to the will of the first commandant, Cadillac. The troubles he had with the Company of the Colony of Canada forced him to be arbitrary with the servants of that company, and he was arrested and sent to Montreal for putting one of these disobedient servants in prison. This was an attack on the government itself, and could not be overlooked by the governor-general. Cadillac kept away from Detroit for a long time, but eventually returned with his powers confirmed by the king. During his absence his little village came near being sacked and destroyed by turbulent Indians, and it was partly on this account that the home government looked with favor upon his attempt at arbitrary rule.

In 1711 Cadillac left Detroit for good and his successor got into trouble with the village priest and with many of the foremost citizens without unnecessary delay. Although the commandant was always very powerful, there were some matters that appeared to be beyond his authority to try. He could not try any cases in which he was personally interested. He could not try any capital cases or cases in which the life or liberty of the defendant was involved. He could not try these cases, but yet we find that Cadillac asserted that his authority reached to the taking of the life of any person who refused to submit to his orders. Cadillac himself was defendant in a civil suit in 1694, which was protracted

until 1703, arising out of the seizure of the goods of a trader of Michilimackinac, when Cadillac was commandant there.

The goods were seized for infraction of the laws which prohibited the sale of brandy to the Indians. The suit was for the recovery of the value of these goods, which were destroyed. The trial was held at Montreal and was decided in favor of Cadillac.

INCENDIARISM

In 1703 some one set fire to the buildings in the village of Detroit and the church was burned, as well as a large warehouse filled with furs, and several other buildings. Cadillac himself was severely burned in attempting to stem the conflagration. There was much speculation as to who set the fire. Cadillac accused the Jesuits of instigating the work. There were no Jesuits in Detroit, but he accused them of sending an Indian from Mackinac to do the work for them. There were some very bitter letters written on the subject between Cadillac and the Jesuit priests at Mackinac and Montreal, but the matter, with them, ended with the letter writing. This did not disclose the incendiary and others were suspected or accused of setting the fire. Shortly after this, in 1706, Jacques Campau accused Pierre Roquant dit la Ville of the crime. Canadian or French justice was administered in the manner that appears odd at this distance. In this case La Ville was arrested and taken to Quebec and lodged in prison. Campau was also summoned to attend the investigation as the complaining witness and most important person. The trial, or investigation, was held at Quebec December 2, 1706 before *le conseil extraordinairment* and resulted in an apparently extraordinary verdict, for not only was the defendant acquitted, but the complaining witness, Campau, was compelled to pay five hundred livres for the trouble and expense he had caused.

CRIMINAL ASSAULT

In 1705 Pierre Berge (or Boucher) dit La Tulipe, a drummer (tambour) in the company of Cadillac, committed a criminal assault upon Susanne Capelle, a little girl twelve years of age. He was convicted before the *conseil superieur* of Quebec and was sentenced to make a public confession of his crime and on his knees in the church he was compelled to ask pardon for his sins—he was then to be executed. It was almost impossible to carry out the last part of the sentence, for no one appeared willing to act as executioner. In the jail at Quebec was a man named Jacques Elie, who had been condemned to death for some offense committed at the siege of Port Royal in Acadia. Elie was promised a pardon for his crime if he would act as executioner of Tulipe and the latter was thus duly hanged on November 26, 1705. These were some of the cases the commandants were unable to deal with at home and sent to the higher courts at Montreal and Quebec for trial and disposition.

MILITARY LAWS

Another class of cases, those involving the military laws—disobedience to military orders, desertions and that class of cases, were attended to by the soldiers themselves and came before the commandant in his capacity of military officer and not as a civilian.

There is a record of one of these early trials by court-martial. During the absence of Cadillac from the village in 1705, Bourgmont had charge of the post for a time. He misbehaved himself in various ways to such an extent that the

citizens nearly rose in rebellion and the public indignation was so great that Bourgmont sought safety in flight. After Cadillac's return, he set about investigating the matter and in 1707 sent an officer named Desane, with fifteen men, to hunt up and capture Bourgmont, Jolicoeur, and Bartellemy Pichon dit La Roze, all of whom were deserters, and who were then leading an abandoned life on the shores of Lake Erie. They were also commanded to bring with them a woman named Tichenet, who was then living a scandalous life with Bourgmont and who was, in part, the cause of Bourgmont's desertion.

Apparently La Roze was the only deserter who was captured and he was tried by a court consisting of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, Francois LeGautier, Sieur de la Vallee Derasie, Pierre D'Argenteuil, Guignolet Lafleudor and Francouer Brindamour. The defendant was found guilty and sentenced "*a avoir la teste cassee jusque a se que mort sensuive*," meaning that he should have his neck stretched until he was dead. The word "teste" in old French, for modern "tete," meaning the head, was applied in this case to the neck. This sentence was duly carried out in the garrison of the Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit November 7, 1707. No appeal was taken, nor was it possible that any could be. This was the first capital case in Detroit, but not the last one, for there were several others in later years.

HIGHER COURT APPEAL

As there are no evidences of suits for small sums of money in the records of Montreal or Quebec, it is to be inferred that such cases were attended to at Detroit and by the commandant or some one deputed by him to attend to such matters. Occasionally some action of the commandant would be considered so arbitrary and unjust that a complaint would be made to the Conseil Superieur for redress, as in the case of Louis Gastineau.

This man had purchased a lot within the village enclosure of Cadillac in 1707, but he did not improve it for some time. All the lots within the village were sold upon the understanding that a house would be erected upon them, and refusal or neglect to make the improvements worked a forfeiture of the title. Cadillac notified Gastineau of the breach of contract and posted a notice to that effect upon the church door, as was customary in cases of public notices. As Gastineau paid no attention to the notice, Cadillac attempted to take possession of the land. Gastineau appealed to the authorities at Quebec. An investigation was made and the council passed judgment in favor of Gastineau.

ROBERT NAVARRE: ROYAL NOTARY

In 1730, or about that time, Robert Navarre came to Detroit as sub-intendant and royal notary. He was a man of good education and soon attained to great importance in the village. He was church and village treasurer, surveyor, school teacher and general scrivener.

Although there were no courts in Detroit under the French rule, the people never bowed abjectly to the rule of their superiors, but were always tenacious of their rights. Judge Campbell says, in his history:

"The powers of La Mothe Cadillac could not have been less than those belonging to the highest feudal lordships of France. He asserted plenary power of justice, uncontradicted. But it was not necessary to establish tribunals of any kind as long as the settlers were confined to the fort and necessarily subject to the commanding officer's governance. There was usually in every post which was proprietary and not purely military, that indispensable official in a French

settlement, a public notary. Every public as well as private transaction was made in his presence as a solemn witness and recorded. The absence of any evidence that Detroit had such an officer in La Mothe's time shows that affairs were rudimentary."

The appointment of Navarre to the post of Detroit would mark an era in legal proceedings if it were possible to obtain all the records that the officer kept. Not until recent years was even a part of these records discovered, but now a portion of them has been found, also there has been brought to light the public registry kept by Cadillac up to the time of his departure in 1711. The authority usually granted a notary permitted Navarre to act in the capacity of a judge or justice in certain cases; possessed of many well-known qualities in addition to the office of sub-intendant it is more certain that he acted in the capacity of judge during the entire period of French occupation from 1734 until 1760.

The complete absence of records in the two eastern Canadian capitals, Montreal and Quebec, of Detroit's judicial affairs, supplies evidence that all of these matters were attended to locally, and that Navarre and the different commandants governed Detroit, in these particulars, without outside assistance. No matter of local importance was taken up and discussed without the approval of Navarre. He saw that the taxes were levied and collected. He collected the tithes and church dues. He listened to the complaints of citizens against the increase of taxes or the unjust treatment of citizens by the officers. He was the judge between quarreling citizens and it was by his judgment that delinquents were forced to pay their just debts or become bankrupt. He was so universally liked and considered so just in his decisions that upon the surrender of Detroit to the British in 1760 the latter concluded to retain Navarre in his office of notary.

It was absolutely necessary to have all marriages performed by the village priest, and it appears almost as necessary that the ante-nuptial contract which was uniformly entered into by the parties should be drawn up by and executed before the notary and sub-intendant, Navarre. It might be stated that the Navarre family in later years supplied another judge, a direct descendant of the old notary in the person of Henry Navarre Brevoort, judge of the circuit court for Wayne County.

The old French commandants, justices and other officers were originally buried in the old Ste. Anne cemetery, but were reinterred in later years in the Mt. Elliott cemetery, where the graves have been practically obliterated.

In 1760 Detroit was turned over by the French to the British. Judge Cooley says that the conquest of Canada was far from being either beneficial or agreeable to the conquered people. The French rule had been arbitrary and irresponsible and the English rule was not less so.

"The British commander at once assumed supreme authority and for the purposes of the administration of justice created a series of military courts to which was given jurisdiction of all controversies, with no appeal in case of dissatisfaction, except to other military authorities, or to the commander himself."

In making this statement the historian is only partly correct. Almost the first act of Major Robert Rogers on his taking possession of Detroit in 1760 was to retain Navarre in the position he had held so long. It is not, however, to be understood that Navarre retained all the powers he had possessed under

the French rule. He was employed more for political purposes and as an intermediary between the incoming English and the discontented French.

PHILIPPE DEJEAN: FIRST ENGLISH JUDGE

The first judge, under English rule, was Philippe Dejean. It has been stated that Dejean was a bankrupt merchant from Montreal and that he came west to better his fortune by leaving his debts and creditors behind and starting a new life in an unknown country. Apparently he was a man well versed in forms of legal procedure, but it appears, also, that he was subservient to those in power and much inclined to do what was right or wrong without question, as requested by his superiors.

Such actions made him a convenient tool, but not a respected citizen. The date of his appointment as notary and justice is not known, but it was several years after the coming of the English. Philippe Dejean was a native of Toulouse, son of Philippe Dejean, who was counsellor of the king's presdial and seneschal court (an inferior court), and of Jeanne Bogue de Carberie, his wife. Philippe Dejean's (our judge) first wife was Marie Louisa Augier. His second wife was Theotiste St. Cosme, daughter of Pierre St. Cosme and Catherine Barrois, his wife. At the time of the second marriage (about July 25, 1778) Dejean had a son, Philip or Phillippe, aged four years, by the first marriage. From an article in the Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings it appears that Dejean was a friend of La Fayette.

FIRST DETROIT PUBLIC RECORDS

The public records of Detroit begin with this officer. It cannot now be determined whether these records appertained to the office of justice or notary, though they probably belong to the latter office. Dejean being both justice and notary, the records were in his possession and kept by him. The first few pages are filled with French documents that were evidently in possession of Navarre and antedated the British occupation. Then about 1767 commence the current records of the place. Deeds, notes of hand, contracts of various kinds, wills, marriage agreements and miscellaneous papers of all kinds were recorded. It was not a court docket, nor are there any evidences of law cases being carried on as we understand that kind of work. No judgments were rendered. There was no court for the probate of wills and it is difficult to tell just what effect the recording of a will among these records would have.

In the record is the will of Peter McIntyre of Toronto, April 21, 1768. He gives to George McBeath, merchant, a tract of land on the North River, above Albany, two miles above Stillwater on the east side of the river, joining on a small river or creek now in charge of Archibald Campbell, Esq., containing two hundred and fifty acres, as will appear by the deed recorded by John Smith, notary public in New York. This will was witnessed by Obidiah Robins, Edward Chichester and P. Dejean, justice of the peace.

Following this will is a deed of the same land by McIntyre to McBeath for two hundred and thirty pounds, New York currency. There are several instances of where the notary dishonored commercial paper. These records contain many odd matters that may be of sufficient interest to be mentioned. A full description would be out of place, but an occasional reference will give some idea of their contents. At this time Detroit was but a village, composed mostly of French habitants who were natives of the country, and a garrison of British

soldiers. The Pontiac War, which broke out in 1763, ended the following year but confidence on the part of the English was not restored, for there was no love lost between the Indians and the English. The Scotch, Irish and English traders were rapidly supplanting the French, and the latter were moving out of the village to the adjacent farms which they owned. The tide of immigration that had set in at the coming of Rogers in 1760 was nearly suspended in 1764 on account of the Indian troubles, but it gradually increased in the following years. The soldiers in the garrison were sufficient in number to protect the place and were paid by the government. The village was surrounded by a picket line that served as a protection against the Indians. This picket line was continually in need of repairs and the burden of performing this work was the cause of levying taxes on citizens and farmers. Even the small amount necessary to be raised for this purpose seemed a heavy burden to bear, and both those living within and those living without the palisades grumbled at the cost and complained of the amount of the taxes. There was no fire department to support, no policemen to pay, no schools to be maintained. Such things were unheard of at that time. There was no Protestant church and no minister in the place, and if the Catholics were oppressed by the collection of tithes for their church, their remonstrances were never heard of outside the walls of Ste. Anne. There was no bank in the village and the larger trading houses issued and accepted drafts on the mercantile houses of Montreal as a means of transacting the business of exchange. These drafts were not always promptly paid and when dishonored the notary was called upon to protest the paper.

One of these protested documents appears in the public records under the date of April 22, 1768. The order is drawn by Thomas Gale, of Sandusky, on Francis Stone, merchant, in favor of Obidiah Robins & Company for one hundred and twelve beavers in peltry, one buck and one lot merchantable does and beavers, or in good merchantable beaver, it being for value received for a quantity of rum bought of them. Not being paid, Philip Dejean, notary and tabillion public, "protested the paper and recorded the protest with a footnote to the effect that the original of the bill was stolen from his office on April 21, at about 9 o'clock in the morning."

DEED FROM PONTIAC

The next paper of interest is a deed from the great Indian warrior, Pontiac, to George Christian Anthon, of a parcel of land on the south side of the Detroit River, "for the good will which I bear and which is borne by the whole of the Ottawa Nation unto the said Doctor George Christian Anthon". The interest of this deed centers on the parties to the conveyance. Pontiac was the great chief of the Ottawas, a determined enemy of the English, and one of the most important and enterprising Indians known to history. His name will always be connected with the story of the siege of Detroit and will appear on the pages of history with those of Brant, Tecumseh and Black Hawk. It is hard to understand how he could have come to like Doctor Anthon sufficiently to present him with a large tract of land eight hundred feet wide on the river, but probably the doctor had rendered some assistance to the Indian for which he was grateful.

The name of Dr. George Christian Anthon is familiar to the generation of students who are now past middle age. He was a surgeon and physician in the British Army and was employed for some years in the garrison at Detroit. He was born in Germany, August 25, 1734 and came to New York as a British

prisoner of war in 1757. His first visit to Detroit was with Major Rogers in 1760. In 1761 he was appointed surgeon-mate in the Sixtieth Regiment of Royal Americans. He remained in Detroit until the retirement of Colonel Gladwin in 1764 and with the colonel he went to New York. He was again in Detroit in 1765, for the deed above mentioned is dated September 8th of that year. He did not remain long, but came again in 1767 and stayed until the close of the Revolutionary war. He was twice married, both times in Detroit and both times to members of the family of Navarre.

His first wife was Mariana Navarre, who died in 1773, leaving no children. His second wife was Genevieve Jadot, who was fifteen years of age at the time of her marriage to the Doctor in 1778. Of the issue of this marriage, three of his sons became prominent in after life. They were: John Anthon, a prominent lawyer in New York; Rev. Henry Anthon, rector of "St. Mark's in the Bowery"; and lastly the lexicographer, Prof. Charles Anthon, one of the most eminent Greek and Latin scholars that America has produced.

OTHER NOTARIES

Turning again to the old records we find the additional names of J. Bte. Campau and Gabriel LeGrand as notaries, and the latter also as judge and justice of the peace. It would seem that while the two offices might be combined in the same individual, their uniting was not a necessity and their powers and duties were dissimilar. Campau was a member of the old family by that name and had endeared himself to the Americans by furnishing the protection of his house to the soldiers who were surprised and stunned by the attack of the Indians at the battle of Bloody Run in 1763. He did not have much work to do as a notary, and the little he did was exclusively among the French citizens. LeGrand was also employed almost exclusively among the French people. He seems to have been incompetent for some reason and, not finding sufficient employment in Detroit, he wandered off to Kaskaskia to reside, and there succeeded in getting the land titles so badly mixed up that the land commissioners made loud complaint of his inefficiency. These notaries drop out of sight in the village history, but the name of Dejean is carried along for many years.

COURT FOR PETTY CASES

There is some evidence that prior to 1768 a court was appointed for the trial of petty causes, for on page thirty-two of Volume "A" of these old records is a document reading as follows:

"Detroit, May 23, 1768.

"By order of George Turnbull, Esq., captain in the Second Battalion of His Majesty's Sixtieth Regiment, commandant of Detroit, of Phillipe Dejean, Esq., justice of the peace, in consequence of sundry complaints made against him, we, the undersigned subscribers, having duly heard and carefully examined into the grievances set forth by the said Phillipe Dejean, Esq., are of opinion;

"That the fees established by the committee appointed by Major Robert Bayard on the establishment of the court of justice at Detroit, are just and reasonable and ought not to be less. That every prisoner confined in the guard-house whether for debt or misdemeanor, shall, on his being set at liberty, pay one dollar, and every batteau or canoe arriving here loaded with merchandise belonging to any person or persons not possessing property, any lot, or building within the fort, shall pay two dollars, and the moneys ensuing from thence to

be applied as in the time of the French government, to help keep in good and sufficient repair the fortifications around this town as will more fully appear on our former petition to Captain Turnbull for that purpose.

"No person having appeared before us to make any complaint against said Phillipe Dejean with respect to his public office we are of the opinion that they are ill-founded and without cause."

This document is signed by James Sterling, Colin Andrews, T. Williams, William Edgar, and John Robinson, all bearing English names, and Eustache Gamelin, St. Cosme, J. Cabasie, Cicot, F. Mollere and A. Barthe, representing the French population. Of the above names, James Sterling was a well-known trader and interpreter and the hero of the romance, "The Heroine of the Straits." Thomas Williams was the father of John R. Williams, the first elected mayor of Detroit. He was, in later years, a justice of the peace, and there is frequent mention of him later on. William Edgar was an extensive trader and for some time a member of the firm of Macomb, Edgar and Macomb, the largest trading house in Detroit. He left Detroit during the Revolution, "sent down" as he was suspected of adherence to the United States. He afterwards returned to the West and settled in Illinois, where Edgar County is named after him.

As Bayard was in command of the post in 1766, it is probable the court referred to as established by him was begun in that year.

FIRST ELECTION IN DETROIT

The first election of Detroit was held in 1768 and the public record of that event is as follows:

"May 26, 1768.

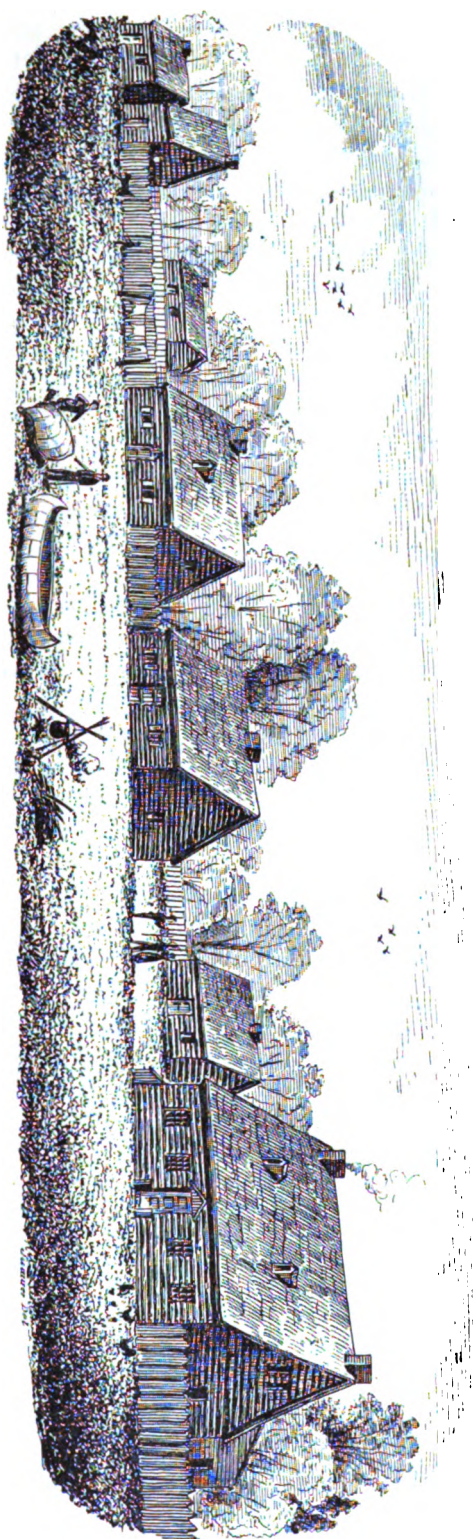
"We, the undersigned subscribers do vote for and unanimously approve of Phillipe Dejean to be judge and justice of the district of Detroit and its dependencies.

"Sam Tymes, John Steadman, David Edgar, Reaume, Hugh Mitchell, John Vicegerier, William Edgar, Isidore Chene, James Abbott, Colin Andrews, John Robinson, George McBeath, George Knaggs, Edward Pollard, James Casety, Benjamin James, Allan McDougall, John Farrell, Thomas Barber, H. Van Schaack, Thomas Williams, Richard McNeal, Thuner Vessecher, Jacob Lansing, Hugh Boyle, Samuel Kennedy, La Bute, Alex. Mercier, George Meldrum, Robert McWilliams, Louis Prigian."

The qualifications necessary for the privilege of voting on the occasion are not given, nor does it appear that any questions were asked of the proposed voters. Everyone voted who wished to and was able to sign his name, and some voted who could not write.

Some of the electors were prominently connected with Detroit in later years, such as James Abbott, who was the father of that James Abbott who lived on the site of the present Hammond Building, and was one of the early postmasters of Detroit; George Knaggs, the Indian fighter; James Casety, who in later years was a "rebel sympathizer" and was sent down to Quebec as a prisoner for that reason; Thomas Williams, referred to above, and George Meldrum, the owner of the Meldrum farm east of Meldrum Avenue and the ancestor of the Eberts family of the present Detroit.

Citizens were apparently ignorant of our modern method of voting by secret ballot, and it would seem that the paper of which the above is a copy was drawn up and carried around for the signatures, and that the system of



STE. ANNE'S STREET, NOW JEFFERSON AVENUE, DETROIT, 1800

viva voce voting, which prevailed toward the end of the Eighteenth Century, was not in vogue in 1768.

To make the election still more secure, a petition in French was also drawn up and sent to General Gage, to indicate the joy and satisfaction of all the people, both French and English, on the choice of Dejean as justice. This petition bears the names of Pierre Cosme, Stephen Lynch, Richard McNeal, Lachlan McIntosh, Medard Gamelin, Dominique Labrosse, J. Poupard, Lafleur, J. M. Legare, E. Gamelin, Claude Campau, Joseph Rouget, Isadore J. Gagnier, Charles Moran, Barthe, Marantet, Godet, Simon Campau, Antoine Gamelin and Mumford.

The names of petitioners and electors are given herein for the purpose of identifying the people of early Detroit with their descendants who are still here. Scarcely a name appears in these lists that cannot be traced to some family of the Detroit of the Twentieth Century. All of these papers, as well as the final approval of Major Bayard and the commission by Captain Turnbull, became the property of Dejean and were preserved by him in the records he kept.

POWERS OF THE JUSTICE

The commission by Captain Turnbull is of interest to show the powers and duties of the justice, and is as follows:

"By George Turnbull, Esqr. captain in Second battalion of his majesty's Sixtieth Regiment or Royal American Regiment, commandant of Detroit and its dependencies: To Phille Dejean, merchant at Detroit:

"I do nominate and appoint you justice of the peace to enquire into complaints that shall come before you, for which purpose you are hereby authorized to examine by oath such evidence as shall be necessary that the truth of the matter may be known.

"Provided always that you give no judgment or final award, but at their joint request, and which by bond they agree between themselves to abide by, but settle the determination by arbitration, which they are likewise to give their bond to abide by each, and if they cannot agree and have named two only, you are a third, and if four, a fifth, and their determination to be approved by me before put into execution.

"I further authorize and empower you to act as chief and sole notary and tabillion by drawing all wills, deeds, etc., proper for the department, the same to be done in English only, and I also appoint you sole vendue master as may happen here in the accustomed and usual manner.

"Given under my hand and seal at Detroit this 24th day of April, 1767.

"GEORGE TURNBULL."

It will be seen that the powers of the justice were very limited and consisted of little more than the ability to administer oaths to witnesses and to appoint the odd member of a court of arbitration. Seemingly there was nowhere vested any authority to carry an award into effect unless the military arm of the commandant was used for that purpose. Attached to the foregoing commission is an authorization from Major Bayard which explains duties of the justice and the object in appointing him. It is as follows:

"Whereas, it had been represented to me by the trading people and others residing at Detroit, that some temporary form of justice for the recovery of debts has become absolutely necessary, and having taken this matter into consideration and finding the utility of such an establishment, I have accordingly

granted them a temporary court of justice to be held twice in every month at Detroit, to decide all actions of debt, bonds, bills, contracts, and trespasses above the sum of five pounds, New York currency, and confiding in Phillippe Dejean for his uprightness and integrity, I do hereby nominate and appoint him the second judge of the said court of justice at Detroit.

"Given under my hand and seal at Detroit this 20th day of July, 1767.

"Robert Bayard,

"Major-Commander of Detroit."

There has been some speculation as to the meaning of the term "second judge" and Judge James V. Campbell, in his political history, is inclined to think that the commandant considered himself, on all occasions, as the first judge, and that consequently Dejean was inferior judicially to that officer, whoever he might be.

The instructions to Judge Dejean to keep his records in English were totally disregarded. He was qualified to record in both French and English, and he employed the language he was requested to use by the parties to the conveyances. The records soon came to include transfers of real estate almost exclusively, and by the year 1769 the recording of personal transactions nearly ceased. Occasionally, however, miscellaneous papers and other documents of a more general historical nature reached the hands of the judge and were entered in his records.

CUILLERIER MURDER CASE

An instance of this nature occurs in the records for 1769. In order to understand this entry it will be necessary to return to the year 1763, at the outbreak of the Pontiac War. One of the very first depredations committed by the Indians was the destruction of the houses on Belle Isle and the murder of the family of Mr. James Fisher, who was residing there. After the war was over one Jean Myer accused Alexis Cuillerier of drowning the child of Mr. Fisher on that occasion. At the time these accusations were made there was no civil or criminal court organized at Detroit capable of trying such a case, and moreover the evidence was not very conclusive; and then Cuillerier was the brother of Angelique Cuillerier, who had divulged Pontiac's conspiracy to Major Gladwin, and she was the wife of James Sterling, an influential trader in the post and military storekeeper.

All of these things served to assist Cuillerier in escaping a severe punishment for his crime and, instead of sending him to Montreal for trial or trying him in Detroit by a military tribunal, the commandant expelled him from the village and banished him from the community. Affairs afterward took on a different aspect for Cuillerier. Several witnesses appeared and testified in his behalf, and from the testimony of some of the inhabitants "concerning the infamous character of that perjured villain, Jn. Myer, who has since given himself a very glaring and but too strong proof of said testimony by premeditatedly murdering James Hill Clark, trader at the Maumee River," Cuillerier was declared to be found innocent of the crime charged to him and was recalled from banishment by Captain George Turnbull, June 4, 1769. Captain Turnbull did not act in this affair until the entire facts had been laid before General Gage and the consent of the latter had been obtained. If Myer was accused of murder, he must have been taken to Montreal for trial, for no note of his arrest or trial occurs in connection with these records.

PROBATE BUSINESS

An entry made March 13, 1773, but dated January 22, 1772, shows one of the prerogatives retained by the commandant. It has been stated that there was no court of probate at Detroit, nor does it appear that the probate court at Montreal had jurisdiction over this territory at that date. Of course, people left estates to be disposed of, and the proper application of the assets of a decedent was a matter of interest, not only to creditors and heirs, but to officials who had the welfare of the people in their charge.

In the estate of M. and Madam Chabert, both deceased, the commandant appointed Messrs. Navarre, Cicot, Lieutenant Abbott and Mr. Macomb appraisers to make an inventory of the estate for the benefit of the creditors. The warrant is in French and the appraisers apparently understood that language. Every citizen of that day must have been able to talk with the natives in order to carry on business. The appraisers were all well-known citizens. Navarre, the notary, and Cicot, the trader, were too well known to necessitate the introduction of their first name. Lieutenant Abbott was the Edward Abbott who, at a later date, was appointed lieutenant-governor of Vincennes, one of the three lieutenant-governors appointed by the British during the Revolution, the two others being Pat. Sinclair at Mackinac and Henry Hamilton at Detroit. There were three men bearing the name of Macomb; John Macomb and his two sons, William and Alexander. The one mentioned here is Alexander Macomb. The inventory was a very long one and included every object of value about the estate.

The want of courts and of a proper custodian to care for the property induced the creditors to petition the commandant to take the matter into his hands for their protection. Their petition reads as follows:

"Detroit, 24th Jany., 1773.

"We, the subscribers, being the principal creditors at this place of the late Mr. and Mrs. Chabert, on finding the above effects exposed to accidents of fire, thieves, etc., and there being no person to take care of the same, most humbly beg that you will be pleased to order them to be vendued as soon as possible, and have the moneys arising therefrom lodged in safety until you may judge proper to order a distribution to be made thereof, and with much respect.

"Sir, your most obedient and humble servants.

"William Edgar,

"James Sterling,

"George Meldrum,

"Andrews and Meldrum,

"For Campbell and Elice and Porteous,

"P. Dejean.

"To Major Henry Basset, Commandant at Detroit."

In connection with the matter of the probate of wills, there were two wills brought to light by the late Mr. John V. Moran, who came across them in the family papers belonging to his father, the late Judge Charles Moran.

The first is the will of Joseph Chapoton, a youth who had reached an age when he was dependent upon his own exertions for a living (*garçon emancipe d'age*). It is dated March 7, 1761 and begins with the statement that it is made before the royal notary at Detroit and witnesses. It is not signed. It was not probated and bears the approval of comparisons several years later, 1776, of P.

Dejean, notary. The testator was a brother-in-law of Gabriel Legrand, and the brother of Magdelaine Chapoton, Legrand's wife.

The other will is that of Magdelaine Chapoton, wife of Gabriel Legrand, who is here described as a surgeon (*Chirurgien*). This will is not dated. The testatrix declared she was unable to sign her name and that the declaration is made under the ordinance of 1762. This will is signed by two notaries, Navarre and J. Bte. Campau, and is subsequently, February 1, 1776, compared or approved by Dejean. The will is not otherwise proved or probated.

The notary, Navarre, in this and in many other cases neglects to attach his first name, laboring under the impression, perhaps, that he was too important to be mistaken for any other individual.

Magdelaine Chapoton was married to Gabriel Christoph Legrand, sieur de Sintre, about 1758 and died January 5, 1763. There is a deed dated September 2, 1772, by James Abbott and James Rankin, executors of William Graham, deceased, to Gregor McGregor, conveying a lot on Ste. Anne Street, in the fort of Detroit, on the corner of St. Peter Street. The deed is also executed by Elizabeth Graham, the widow of the deceased, and is in the form of modern deeds, except that it is not acknowledged.

On page twenty-three of volume B of the old records is an evidence of the attempt of Dejean to usurp the office of probate judge. It seems that in 1769 Alexis Chapoton made his will, in the presence of the judge and of Nicolas Lorain and Nicolas Perot; that subsequently Chapoton went to New Orleans, which is "situated on the river more than 10 leagues below Natches", and there died. His will was opened in the presence of Pierre St. Cosme and Jean Bte. Campau, and was admitted as a valid will by Judge Dejean at the request of Jean Bte. Chapoton, January 29, 1777.

The form of French conveyances is somewhat different. Under the French custom, the parties all appeared before the notary and he wrote out the agreement at their request and those who could write, attached their signatures. An explanation was made by the notary in case of illiteracy of any one or more of the parties. There were no witnesses other than the notary, and no acknowledgment was taken as in modern conveyances.

ARBITRATORS

The instructions to the justice in his appointment specified that, before he should proceed to the trial of any cause, there should be arbitrators appointed to decide the points in dispute and the contestants should agree to abide by the decision of the arbitrators and should enter into a bond containing these conditions. No instance has been found where a case was disposed of, or a dispute settled, without this arbitration, but in the case of Cabassier vs. Laferte, in 1773, the records disclose that Laferte refused to sign the bond that had been drawn up as preliminary to the arbitration.

MARRIAGE CONTRACTS

It has been mentioned above that before a marriage took place between members of the old French families a marriage contract was usually entered into between the contracting parties. This was a civil contract, wholly aside from the marriage itself, and related to the property which the parties had at the time of the marriage, and which they might thereafter accumulate. It was somewhat like the provisions of the *coutume de Paris*. The property that belonged to the

husband and wife, both that which was theirs before marriage and that which was subsequently accumulated, should, upon the death of either, go to the survivor upon the payment of the debts of the deceased. The survivor took in it only an estate for life. At the death of the survivor this property passed on to the children equally. It was, however, always the privilege of the survivor to refuse to take under this provision and then the survivor could take only such property as he or she had brought into the community at the time of the marriage. The justice of this provision is quite apparent. The husband might be so heavily in debt at the time of his decease as to quite strip the wife of all of her property, and it would be no more than equitable that if she gave up all the property that her husband had before marriage, as well as what they had accumulated jointly after marriage, she could claim and hold all that which she brought with her at the marriage. It was a marriage contract of this nature that Laferte had entered into and undertook to repudiate. Laferte and Cabassier were near neighbors.

They both lived on St. Louis Street in the village and their farms adjoined each other on the Detroit River at the present Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets. Cabassier told his troubles to the commandant and the proper bond was drawn up and two of the arbitrators were chosen, Medard Gamelin and A. Barthe. When it was ascertained that Laferte refused to sign the bond and proceed with the arbitration, the arbitrators drew up a formal notice of the fact, signed it themselves and had it witnessed by a number of prominent citizens—J. M. Legras, John Porteous, St. Martin, J. A. Portier, Pierre Gamelin, George McDougal, Z. Veauchers and B. Chapoton, and put it upon the public records as an evidence of bad faith on the part of Laferte, and as a warning to others to beware of dealing with a man who repudiated his agreements and then refused to arbitrate the matters in dispute. At this long distance it is impossible to tell what the result of this protest was, but apparently it brought the delinquent to time, for the matter does not again appear in the records.

The marriage contract is too long to be given here, but in substance it is as follows: It is dated September 21, 1771; the contracting parties were Louis Veziere dit Laferte, son of Pierre Veziere and of Marie Ann Leclair, his wife, of the one part, and Catherine L'Esprit, daughter of the late Claude L'Esprit dit Champagne, and of Angelique Bienvenue, his wife, of the other part. The father of the bride being dead, her stepfather, Joseph Cabassier, represented her on this occasion. All the relatives and friends of both parties joined in the agreement in evidence of the good faith of the proceedings. Louis agreed to take Catherine for his wife as soon as possible, and at the request of either party. All the property they possessed should be held in common, according to the *couteime de Paris*. Neither party was holden for the debts of the other contracted before marriage. The property of Louis, at that time, was estimated at ten thousand livres (a livre was worth from twenty to twenty-five cents of American money, though it must be understood that more could be purchased with money at that time than at present). He gave his expectant wife three thousand livres as a "prefix dower." This sum was to be hers if she survived her husband and had children living at that time. If there were no children, she was to have fifteen thousand livres. If, at the date of her husband's death, she desired to renounce the community of property, she was to take all the property she brought to the marriage, as well as all estate that might come to her by inheritance.

The property of Catherine consisted of a farm two and a half arpents wide, on the north side of the Detroit River, on which was a new house and an orchard, and one half of certain sites in the village. After the marriage had taken place, some question arose as to the terms of the settlement, and Laferte and his wife demanded a settlement of the accounts of Cabassier, as guardian for Catherine. Cabassier refused, or neglected, to make the accounting and without delay appealed his case to the commandant, Major Basset.

The entire family was now broken into factions and a great quarrel ensued. The witnesses to the marriage contract were summoned to testify to the circumstances connected with the signing of the agreement and to the fraud that Laferte claimed was played upon him on that occasion by Cabassier. Major Basset finally directed Cabassier to make an inventory of all property he held belonging to his ward and he was compelled to account for the entire amount.

The renunciation of the community of goods by a widow was not uncommon. One such instance is shown in the record on August 12, 1774, where Agathe Laselle, widow of the late Hyacinthe Reaume, finding the acceptance of the community more onerous than profitable, refused to take it. The refusal was duly drawn up in the presence of the notary and witnessed by William Edgar and Jehu Hay.

USE OF ARBITRATION

In a country inhabited by peace loving citizens who are without laws other than of their own making the method of arbitration is the only means by which substantial justice can be done to all parties. It is the primitive form of administering justice where all people are equal and mean to be honest.

Another instance of this method of settling disputes occurred in November of this same year, 1773. John Steadman, who lived at the carrying place at Niagara, was the owner of a lot situated in the barrack yard, called the citadel, in Detroit. He sold the lot to Alexander and William Macomb for five hundred and fifty pounds. He described his land, in his deed, as containing eighty feet front and rear by one hundred feet in depth, bounded on the east northeast by the stockade and on the west southwest by a lot belonging to Duperon Baby. After the sale was made the purchasers ascertained that the commandant, Captain George Turnbull, had taken some ten feet from the parcel in the citadel for the purpose of opening a public alley. Steadman was called upon to pay for the parcel taken for the alley, or the resultant damages. Without waiting for the appointment of the tribunal of formal arbitrators, Steadman himself appointed "James Sterling, John Porteous and George McDougall, or any other three impartial persons, to examine what loss the said Macombs may have sustained by the want of that piece of ground." He agreed to pay whatever the land was found to be worth.

PLEA FOR DAMAGES

While upon the subject of the stockade and barracks, an interesting circumstance is disclosed by a paper on file in the Dominion archives at Ottawa. It relates to William Forsyth, who was a tavern-keeper at the time noted. His wife's name was Ann. She had been married twice before becoming the wife of Forsyth. Her first husband was a Mr. Haliburton, chaplain in the first regiment, and her daughter, Alice, the only child of the marriage, married first to Sampson Fleming and secondly to Nicholas Low of New York. Ann's second husband

was a Mr. Kinzie, or McKinzie, and the only issue of this marriage was John Kinzie, the first white man in Chicago. By her third marriage, with William Forsyth, she had six sons, who became heads of families important in the annals of Detroit and in military affairs of our government. The paper referred to reads as follows:

"The Humble Petition and Memorial of William Forsyth, Tavern Keeper at Detroit.

"Sheweth:

"That your petitioner has served his Majesty fourteen years in the Sixtyeth Regiment of Foot, and in several campaigns along with your Excellency until the Reduction of Canada took place, where he was wounded in three places, which rendered him unfit for future service, but was long confined by sickness, and a great expense in his recovery of the said wounds, and being unable to gain his livelihood by hard labor, he built a Ball Alley in this town, in the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-six, with the sanction and permission of Major Averum, then commandant of this post, which cost three hundred and eighty-one pounds of New York currency.

"That when Captain Mann arrived here it was thought to obstruct the fortifications and was of consequence ordered to be pulled down without allowing any consideration and the loss it became to your petitioner, who has now a large family to support and which reduces his circumstances.

"Wherefore, your petitioner humbly prays that your excellency taking the merits of his service, his loss and the situation of his family unto consideration, will be pleased to order that your petitioner may in some manner be reimbursed for the said loss of Three Hundred and Eighty-one pounds or such part as to your Excellency may seem meet.

"And your petitioner will ever pray,

"WILLIAM FORSYTH.

"Detroit, 2nd August, 1789."

The citadel referred to, and for the enlargement of which the ball alley was pulled down, was erected just to the west of the old picket line of the post. The first portion of it was built by Israel Putnam in 1764. It extended from the present Jefferson Avenue in a northerly direction a considerable distance. It was nearly triangular in shape, surrounded by high pickets and the easterly side was the picket line of the village. It held all the troops until after Fort Lernoult was completed in 1779. During the Revolution it was used as a prison- or detention room for prisoners of war brought here from the Ohio region.

APPOINTMENT OF KING'S SURVEYOR

The boundary lines of the farms were a source of many disputes and complaints became so common that the commandant made an appointment which read as follows:

"By Henry Basset, Esqr. Major of His Majesty's Tenth Regiment, Commandant of Detroit and its Dependencies:

"In consequence of the repeated complaints made by several of the inhabitants that their neighbors have encroached on their farms, and that they do not actually possess the quantity specified in the primitive grants, and for which they pay the quit rents to His Majesty, Mr. James Sterling, being an experienced and approved surveyor, I have appointed him king's surveyor at

Detroit, and for the future his surveys only shall be looked upon as valid and decisive, and all whom it may concern are hereby ordered to conform thereto.

"Given under my hand and seal at Detroit, 21st, April, 1774.

"HENRY BASSET,
"Major and Commandant."

While this commission does not, in itself, give the surveyor any judicial authority, it probably was received by the people as conferring it. Sterling was a prominent citizen in the place. He had come to Detroit as early as 1763 and perhaps even before that date. He had married Angelique Cuillerier, a daughter of Antoine Cuillerier, one of the oldest French citizens, and his constant association with the Canadians had won for him their respect and confidence. He not only understood their language, but he was an interpreter between the English and the Indians. He was a trader, surveyor, collector of public revenues, and military store-keeper.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN 1774

Toward the end of 1767, Sir Guy Carleton sent a memorial to Lord Shelburne concerning the legal situation of Canada. The memorial is quite long and a short summary of its contents only shall be given here. The people of Canada, he wrote, are not Britons, but Frenchmen who were brought up under laws very different from those followed in England; that on the mutation of lands by sale they established fines to the king instead of quit rents. Fines and dues went to the seigneur and he was obliged to grant his lands at a very low rental. This system established subordination from the first to the lowest and preserved internal harmony until the British arrived. All this was changed in an hour and overturned by the ordinance of 1764. The laws introduced in this ordinance were unpublished and unsuited to these people, and the ordinance ought to be repealed at once. The greatest complaint arises from the delay in hearing causes and the heavy expense of the trials. Formerly the king's court sat once a week at Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers. From these courts an appeal could be taken to the council that sat once a week. Fees were very small and decisions immediate. Now the council sits three times a year at Montreal and has introduced all the chicanery of Westminster hall into this impoverished province.

Carleton suggested the adoption of the old Canadian laws with such alterations as time might render advisable. A judge should reside at each of the places above named, with a Canadian assistant, to sit at least once a month. None of the judges or other officers of court should receive any fee, reward or present from the people, but should depend solely on a salary. Officers should be versed in the French language. Sir Guy, to expedite matters, proposed not to await the action of parliament, but to pass an ordinance of the council of Canada which would put into force the old French laws so far as the tenures and inheritance of land, the making of deeds, mortgages and wills, but the ordinance proposed by him was never enacted and indeed there is no evidence that it was ever submitted to the council for action. This was the political situation of Detroit and of all Canada (for Detroit was first included in Canada at this time) in the year 1774.

General James Murray was appointed governor over the province of Quebec December 7, 1763. The governor was empowered to appoint courts of judicature and justice with the advice and consent of the assembly or council. The history

of Canada does not indicate that Murray or his successor, Carleton, ever undertook to establish a system of judiciary in Detroit or over the western country.

Sir Guy Carleton (afterwards Lord Dorchester) was the governor until after the outbreak of the Revolution, and during the period from 1760 until 1774 Detroit was omitted from the country supposed to be governed by any legal authority. It is very hard to determine just how the country was looked upon by the British. The village was under military authority always, and the troops stationed in the garrison were subject to the military authorities of Canada.

THE QUEBEC ACT

In 1774 there was introduced and passed in parliament the act commonly known as the "Quebeck act." During the passage of this act Carleton was summoned before a committee of the house of parliament to testify regarding affairs in the province of Quebec, and from his testimony it may be ascertained how little was known in England of the geography of America. Carleton said that the officers of justice should proceed farther into the interior of the government than they had and that he did not understand that the country as far as the Ohio was ever under the government of Quebec. He was then asked to inform the committee whether Detroit and Michigan were under the government. He replied, "Detroit is not under the government; Michigan is under it. There is very little inconvenience in governing them, for this reason—there are very few Europeans settled there. I do not know the settlement of Detroit very accurately. It has been established for some time. The intendant had delegates up there, but there was very little business."

Detroit, he stated, was not under civil government, and Lord North, in the debates on the same subject, stated that the distant military posts were without any government other than that of the respective commanding officers. It is possible that this ignorance of the geography of the country was the reason that Detroit was excluded from the boundaries of the province of Quebec in the proclamation of 1763 and was consequently omitted from civil government.

The Quebec Act extended the boundaries of Quebec southward to the banks of the Ohio and northward to the boundary of the Hudson's Bay Company, so that Detroit, for the first time, now came within the limits of the civil courts of Great Britain. The right of trial by jury in civil cases was not provided in the Act, but the ancient civil laws of France were to be followed. The criminal law of England was adopted.

LAW OF ALLOTMENT

In 1773 there was laid before parliament a draft of an act for the government of Quebec which recited a law enacted in 1745, under the French regime, designed to prevent the division of farms into small parcels by allotment between the children of a decedent land owner. This act provided that no dwelling house or stable of stone or wood should be built upon any parcel of land of less extent than an arpent and a half in front by thirty arpents in depth or containing less than forty-five French arpents (or English acres). If any building was erected upon any smaller parcel, the owner should pay a fine of one hundred livres, equal to four pounds ten shillings, and the building should be destroyed. The English act, to attain the same ends, provided that the oldest son or daughter should inherit to the exclusion of all the other children.

The object of these provisions was to leave the ancestral home undivided and

compel every other member of the family to seek a new parcel of land and thus bring more land under cultivation and prevent the people from living in a "mean, scanty and wretched manner upon small pieces of land which are hardly sufficient to maintain them." The plan thus presented was not adopted or enacted for the government of Canada, but, practically, at the death of an ancestor his property was divided equally between his children.

The ancient French law was carried out in another way. Upon the death of a land owner, the ancestral home, if small, was taken by some one of the children, who paid to his brothers or sisters a sum equal to the share of each in the home property, and thus the ownership of that parcel was retained in the hands of one person without division. Numerous instances of this nature could be cited, but only one, that of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, will be given here.

In this case the ancestor, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, held a large tract of land on what are now Beaubien and St. Antoine Streets. Upon his death it was concluded that the farm was too large to be owned by one son, and so it was divided by a line running northerly from the river the entire length of the farm, three miles, and one portion allotted to Lambert Beaubien and the other to Antoine Beaubien, two of the sons.

There were many other children in the family and to each of these was given a sum of money or other property by Antoine and Lambert, in satisfaction of their interests in this farm.

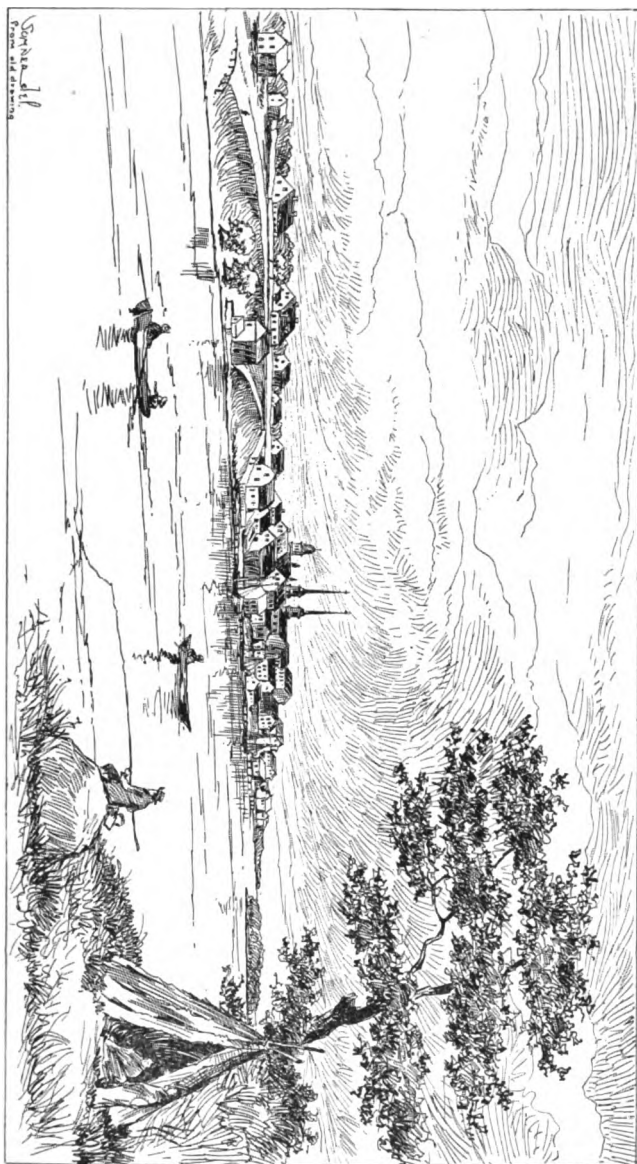
Another and quite usual method of preventing a division of the home at the death of the ancestor was for one of the sons or sons-in-law to enter into an agreement with the parents or ancestors to maintain and keep them for life upon condition that at their death the property would belong to the ones giving the support. There are many of these agreements on record, but the one best known is that of Gabriel Chene farm.

This farm was owned by Jean Baptiste Campau and when he became aged he entered into a contract with his son-in-law, Gabriel Chene, to care for him for life, and upon his death Chene was to have the farm. This land is located at the present Chene Street. There was some dispute between Chene and the children of Campau as to whether Chene had carried out his agreement, and the courts were appealed to, with the result that Chene's rights were fully confirmed and the complete title vested in him.

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS

Sir Guy Carleton was the first governor under the Quebec act and in the letter of instructions to him, January 3, 1775, he was directed to establish a court of king's bench, for the trial of criminal cases, and in order that more speedy justice might be administered he was directed to divide the province into two districts, to be named Quebec and Montreal, and in each of the said districts there should be a court of common pleas to determine all civil suits. In each of said courts there should be three judges, two of whom should be natural born subjects of Great Britain and one Canadian, also one sheriff in each district. There should also be inferior courts of criminal and civil jurisdiction "in each of the districts of the Illinois, St. Vincenne, Detroit, Missillimackinac and Gaspee, by the name of the king's bench for such district."

The judge of this court was to be an English-born subject, but he was to have a Canadian as an assistant to give advice when necessary. They had authority in civil and criminal cases, as the judges of the common pleas had in other places,



DETROIT IN 1826 FROM DRAWING BY GENERAL MACOMB

"excepting only that in cases of treason, murder or other capital felonies the said judges shall have no other authority than that of arrest and commitment to the gaols of Quebec, or of Montreal, where alone offenders in such cases shall be tried before our chief justice."

It was many years before any judge was appointed at Detroit as directed by these instructions. This delay was doubtlessly due to the outbreak of the Revolution and the consequent disarrangement of British plans. Carleton was directed to appoint a superintendent at Detroit and some of the other western posts, but not to permit other settlements to be established, as they excited the enmity of the savages. As an annual budget the governor was permitted to pay the lieutenant-governor or superintendent at Detroit two hundred pounds per year, but this sum was saved for some time, for the first lieutenant-governor of Detroit was not appointed until several years after this, and before such appointment the salary was increased to five hundred pounds. Purchases of land from the Indians were forbidden, except in cases where the entire Indian nation made the grant at a general meeting and consent to the transfer was given by the entire nation.

EARLY FINANCES

It has already been noted that there was no bank at Detroit and that the more extensive traders performed the work of bankers for their customers, but this work did not supply the place of banks of issue. There was always a dearth of bills, paper money, specie and fractional currency. Hard money could not be obtained in sufficient quantities to carry on business properly and some of the the merchants issued personal bills to aid the storekeepers. The commandant, on one occasion at least, issued a number of these bills, which passed for money for some time. When these bills came in from their use they were redeemed and destroyed. There are several items in old account books of this and of later periods, showing that these bills were taken care of in this manner. In the archives at Washington some of their paper money can be found, which was prepared but never actually issued. During the Revolution and under an earlier date, September 17, 1774, the following entry is made in the records.

"Received from James Sterling, Esq., 43 pounds 8 shillings, New York currency in Major Henry Bassett's current bills, which I have burnt in presence of the said James Sterling, conformable to Major Henry Bassett's instructions.

"Bills, one at 112.....	£5	12
"Bills, two at 100.....	10	12
"Bills, six at 60.....	18	..
"Bills, nine at 20.....	9	..
"Bills, two at 8.....	..	16
	£43	8

"R. B. Lernoult,
"Capt. comman't at the Detroit."

MORTGAGES

It was long difficult to determine how, in the absence of courts, of lawyers, and of civil officers, debts secured by mortgages could be collected. Two cases of this kind occurred in the year 1774, which indicates the method employed at that time. Perhaps the plan was not legal, but if it was not, it was certainly practicable in these instances.

The first case was that of a mortgage made by Charles Andre Barthe to Rankin and Edgar, on a piece of land on the border of Lake St. Clair, in Grosse Pointe.

The second case was another mortgage made by Charles Andre Barthe to Daniel Campbell, a merchant of Schenectady, and to Messrs. Rankin and Edgar, merchants of Detroit, on a farm known in recent years as the Brush farm, then described as being two arpents front by eighty arpents deep, bounded on the east by the lands of Jean Baptiste Beaubien and on the west by the "Domaine du Roy."

Default having been made in the payment of these mortgages, Phillipe Dejean, justice of the peace, sold both parcels at public auction to Jean Askin the first parcel bringing one hundred pounds, New York currency, and the latter two hundred and fifty-five pounds. As an evidence that the sales were considered perfectly legal and valid, one only needs to know that the last described parcel of land has, since the date of that sale, remained in the possession and ownership of said Askin and his descendants. A daughter of John Askin became the wife of Elijah Brush, who was the father of Edmund A. Brush, and his grand-daughter is Mrs. Frelinghausen, of New York. As Mr. Barthe was the father of Mrs. John Askin, we have a parcel of land the title to which has remained in one family for six successive generations.

FORECLOSURE PROCEEDINGS

An earlier case, under the French regime, of a proceeding similar to a foreclosure, occurred in 1748. Hyacinth Reaume and Agatha La Salle, his wife, were the owners of a farm of eighty arpents, which was mortgaged to Robert Leserre. Reaume also owed various other debts which he was unable to pay. He petitioned the French commandant, Joseph Lemoine, sieur de Longueuil, for permission to sell the property, and the latter ordered the notary, Navarre, to proceed with a sale and devote the proceeds to paying first, the mortgage, and then the other debts of Reaume. The proclamation of sale was made during four different days, in all the streets of the fort, by St. Sauveur, the drummer of the garrison. The first proclamation was made on Monday after Pentecost, June 3, 1748; the second on Tuesday, the second feast of Pentecost, June 4, 1748, and continued on Wednesday, the fifth day of the same month, and put off until Sunday, June 9th, on which day the farm was sold by order of the commandant to Claude L'Esprit dit Champagne, for one thousand and six livres. This sale cannot be deemed a foreclosure, for it was made at the request of the owners and not at the instance of the mortgagee. The deed of conveyance is signed by the royal notary, Navarre, and is approved by the commandant, but it is not signed by the Reaumes, nor is it witnessed.

FRENCH CITIZENS VS. ENGLISH LAW

The articles of capitulation—indeed, every official paper of the period—concedes the fact that the citizens were all French, and all Catholic, that they were entitled to their property and to maintain their religion. With the introduction of the new English citizens, it was hoped that the time would shortly come when English laws might be introduced and steps were constantly taken with this object in view.

There were no public schools, so that the Canadians could not be instructed in the new language through this medium. There were public records to be

kept and we have already seen that the register of Detroit, Dejean, was directed to keep them in the English language. The directions to Dejean to use English in his records were given by a military commandant. The use of the English language was not required by any statute.

For many years, even as late as 1820, it was no unusual matter in Detroit to call juries composed in half of English-speaking jurors and half of French-Canadians.

The most important subject of discussion in parliament concerning the government of Canada was how to treat the new subjects fairly, and yet proceed to make Englishmen of them without letting them know of the change. By Detroit is not meant the present city, but the surrounding country, which at that time was quite thickly settled and had a population, on both sides of the river, of several hundred Canadian farmers and traders. Although Detroit was the most important settlement in the new portion of the province, very little information can be derived from the printed histories regarding the place or of the methods used in governing it. The population of the Detroit district in 1773 was 1,367 and in 1782 was 2,191, as will be detailed later.

According to the treaty of 1763 and Bell's map of that date, the territory around Detroit was not located in any of the provinces or colonies known at that date. The Colony of Virginia extended westerly in a straight line to the Mississippi. The territory west of Pennsylvania, and north of Virginia, including all of the Great Lakes, and extending northerly to Lake Nipissing, was unnamed.

We know that the English people in general were ignorant of the geography of this part of the country and we have seen that Lord Dorchester, though governor of the Canadian possessions, did not know of the location of Detroit and Michigan, though he certainly knew of the existence of Detroit, for soldiers had been sent both here and to Michilimackinac, and these places were then occupied by British garrisons.

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION

The articles of capitulation of Quebec are dated September 18, 1759. One of the provisions of these articles was that citizens were not to be disturbed in their property rights until a definite treaty was signed between England and France. It was nearly a year before Montreal capitulated and the articles there entered into were dated September 8, 1760. It was in pursuance of the terms of the agreement then entered into that Maj. Robert Rogers took possession of Detroit a few weeks later.

It was provided in the Montreal agreement that if Canada, by the definite treaty of peace, should be restored to France, all officers should be returned to their respective places and the capitulation should be null and void. If Canada should remain to Great Britain, the French people who decided to remain in Canada should become British subjects and should retain their own property and be permitted to exercise their own religion, but be governed in their property rights by the laws, customs and usages theretofore established in Quebec.

NEW PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

The final treaty was concluded at Paris February 10, 1763 and France ceded to Great Britain all of her possessions in Canada. In pursuance of this treaty

a proclamation was issued October 7, 1763, establishing the Province of Quebec, having a governor, council, and assembly, with authority to pass laws and ordinances agreeable to the laws of England. Considerable confusion and difficulty arose and the proclamation became only partly operative. The main thing in which we are now interested, however, is the territorial lines of this new province.

The southern line of the Province of Quebec, under the proclamation of 1763, ran along the St. Lawrence River nearly to Lake Ontario and then, turning to the northwest, extended to Lake Nipissing. The northern boundary extended northeasterly from Lake Nipissing, so that Quebec was nearly in the shape of a triangle and did not cover a great area of western territory. None of the extreme northwest was included within its boundaries and no land south of Lake Nipissing was in the province. All of the Great Lakes and all of the adjacent territory remained outside of the province and in what was then termed the "indian country."

It is probable that the principal reason Great Britain had for making Quebec cover so small an area was that, if she should be required to return the province to France, she could insist that the land captured from France only included this comparatively small tract and that the English possessions in North America included all of the remaining portions, and had included them for all previous time. She could refer to this proclamation of 1763 as proof and also to the long list of complaints that the French at Detroit were adventurers in possession of British territory. This claim was made as long ago as when the post of Detroit was situated on the site of the present Port Huron, where it was abandoned and destroyed by Baron La Hontan in 1689 and where the two English officers, McGregor and Rosebloom, were captured by the French the same year.

A further reason for this act was that given by Edmund Burke in the debate on the Quebec bill in the House of Commons in 1774. He said that the government of France was good, but that as compared with the English government, that of France was slavery. The object then of fixing the boundary line of Canada and of Quebec so far north, in the proclamation of 1763, was for the purpose of confining the operation of the French laws to as small space as possible and yet to carry out the terms of the treaty of that year.

As time elapsed and the French became accustomed to their new masters, the laws of New York, or of some of the other colonies, would be extended over the newly-acquired territory that was south of the southerly boundary of Canada. Burke objected to the method of procedure. He proposed that the southern line of Canada should be the northern line of the colony of New York, the western line of Pennsylvania and the Ohio River to the Mississippi, and it was at his urgent request that this line was inserted in the Quebec Act of 1774, and became the legal southerly boundary of Canada.

Then, for the first time, did Detroit come under the civil government of England. Before that time it was under the military government of the king personally, over which parliament exercised no control. The old colonies never accepted the terms of the Quebec Act as fixing this line and when the Revolution ended in 1783, they claimed all the territory south of the Great Lakes as a part of their original colonial grants. The colony, or state, of Connecticut actually took possession of and sold for its own benefit a large tract in the northern part of Ohio and the states of Pennsylvania and Virginia only ceded their claims to this territory upon receiving satisfaction in some other way.

FURTHER EXTRACTS FROM THE PUBLIC RECORDS

It would be interesting to know the reasons why a public apology should become necessary from one of Detroit's foremost citizens to the notary, Dejean. Such was made in October, 1774. Perhaps a showing of disrespect to the "judge" was considered a contempt of court that was only to be condoned by a fine or an apology. No matter what the cause, or reason, the public records contain the interesting item:

"Detroit, 21st October, 1774.

"Sir:—I confess to have used you very ill in presence of the committee and several other merchants on the night of the nineteenth instant by several rash and unbecoming aspersions for which I am very sorry, and which I hope you will be so good as to forgive, as it was entirely the effect of liquor, whereof I had drank too freely. I am, Sir, your most obedient servant.

"George Meldrum.

"To Philip Dejean, Esqr."

One of the interesting items contained in these old records is to be found in the following entry in Volume A, on page 262.

"This day personally appeared before me, Henry Bassett, major in the Tenth Regiment, commanding Detroit, etc., Philip Dejean (acting) as justice of the peace for said place, who made oath on the holy evangelist of Almighty God, that one Basile Favro declared before him that he had himself murdered one St. Amour, his bourgeois, he farther declared that he did not use any violence or torture to get that confession from said Basile Favro. Sworn before me this 21st day of December 1773. -

"P. Dejean.

"Henry Bassett, major commandant."

The details of this crime cannot be determined, nor can it be ascertained whether any trial was had, nor where it was conducted if one was granted. The most important item of information to be obtained from the record is that torture of some kind was resorted to in order to obtain confessions in some instances, and that this method was unlawful. The name of Favro does not occur in the list of Detroit citizens, but that of St. Amour is found frequently. Apparently, in this case, the examination of the culprit was taken before the commandant and the result put into the form of an affidavit for use in some higher court, but recorded in this office for safekeeping on the 6th of July, 1774.

It will be noticed that the crime was committed while Detroit was in the Indian country, so that the trial should have taken place at Quebec, under the Mutiny Act.

CRIME PREVENTION

If crimes and misdemeanors could not be punished legally by the court at Detroit, they could be prevented if opportunity for legal interference was given. An instance of this kind occurred in August, 1774. Thomas Dagg was accused by John Shipboy of threatening to commit an assault upon him, and thereupon had a proceeding similar to the present "bond to keep the peace." Shipboy appeared before Dejean and made oath to the threat of Dagg and on the succeeding day, August 21, 1774, Dagg was summoned before the justice to give his version of the affair. There was no trial. Dagg denied that he ever made the threats and made an oath that he would never commit an assault upon Shipboy

in the future. Dagg had been a member of the Tenth Regiment, but had terminated his service, so that he was no longer amenable to military orders.

A few other very similar cases can be given in connection. Francois Millehomme and John Peck (or Picke) had a quarrel in which the latter was injured. Upon seeking the assistance of the justice, arbitrators were chosen to settle the differences and award damages, as required by the terms of Dejean's appointment. The result, entered in the old records at page 300, is as follows:

"Whereas, Messrs. Sterling, Baby, Porteous and Chapoton were nominated and appointed arbitrators to determine between John Peck and Francois Millehomme, for the said Millehomme having stabbed the said Peck with a knife in the stomach, and said arbitrators not agreeing in their award, William Edgar being chosen umpire, is of the following opinion, to which the aforesaid Sterling, Baby, Porteous and Chapoton have agreed, that Francois Millehomme do pay unto the said John Peck sixty pounds (New York currency) and give such security for his future behavior as the commandant may think proper.

"William Edgar,

"James Sterling,

"D. Baby,

"John Porteous,

"B. Chapoton.

"Detroit, 25th March, 1775,
P. Dejean, J. P."

In order to carry out the award and to be released from jail, Millehomme gave a bond for good behavior in the future. His bondsman was Antoine Mini, and the amount of the bond was one hundred pounds sterling. The condition was that Millehomme should not, for a year and a day from date, make any attack on the said Peck or on any of the subjects of his majesty, George III, king of Great Britain. The witnesses to the bond were Joseph Pouget and William Brown.

A similar bond was exacted from Etienne Livernois for having committed an assault upon Gregor McGregor. The bondsman was Joseph Pouget. Pierre Delorrier and Charles Levert gave such a bond in behalf of a man named Bertrand for an assault upon Mr. Hanin. This bond, unlike the others, is not signed and is more in the nature of a recognizance.

No courts were established at Detroit and all kinds of schemes were devised to avoid the complications which might arise from their absence.

In 1775 one Francois Millehomme, a minor, had a farm at Grosse Pointe, which had come to him by inheritance. His father, Francois Petit dit Millehomme, his mother Catherine Miny being dead, wished to dispose of the farm for the good of the son. He found a purchaser in William Brown, and the father executed a deed of the place to Brown. In order to insure the validity of the transaction an approval of the sale was drawn up and signed by all the relatives of the young man, and the approval was recorded with the deed. The names of those signing the approval were: Antoine Mini, Gatezan Seguin dit La Deroute, Joseph Miny, an uncle, Jean Baptiste Cuillerier Beaubien, a cousin, Pierre St. Cosme, cousin, Claude Gouin, a friend, Augustin La Foye, a cousin German, Antoine Miny, an uncle. It would seem that the relatives and friends thus became guarantors of the transaction and thus, possibly, were obliged to see that the avails of the sale were used for the benefit of the minor. No authority

of any court, nor approval of the commandant, is attached to the deed referred to here.

Violations of rules of the commanding officer could be punished by that officer after military court-martial, if the culprit was a soldier, but in case he was a civilian it is possible that other means had to be used. It is likely that an Englishman would desire to be tried by a jury, even if the punishment, if one was meted out to him, was directed by the commandant. There is a case of disobedience of the rules and regulations of the commanding officer by one Jacob Adams (the register spells the name Adhams) in 1775.

Adams, on being brought before the justice, either pleaded guilty to the charge or was convicted; the record does not indicate which was the case; and gave a bond for future good behavior in the sum of one hundred pounds, with James Rankin and Colin Andrews as sureties.

PROHIBITION FOR INDIANS

One of the oddest business agreements ever seen in connection with the colonial history of Detroit was entered into by the merchants in 1774. There had been continual complaints of the injuries resulting from the sale of liquor to the Indians. The complaints had been of long standing, both under French and British rule, and attempts to curb or prevent the traffic were continually being made with little success. The effort was new, so far as the people were concerned, but the idea had been promulgated three quarters of a century earlier by Cadillac. The effort at this time was the result of a feeling on the part of the traders that this traffic was injurious to their business interests, and not because of anything immoral in the sale of rum. The agreement is self-explanatory and so interesting that it will be given entire.

"Whereas, we, the subscribers, find the selling of rum or other spiritous liquors among the Indians at their settlements detrimental to trade and dangerous to the subjects, do hereby oblige ourselves to conform to the following regulations:

"1st. In order the better to regulate the sale of rum to the savages, and to confine it entirely to the fort, we hereby agree to establish a general rum store in this fort, for which purpose we promise to deliver into said store an equal proportion of rums and keggs necessary for that purpose, which store shall be regulated by the committee hereinafter named and appointed for that intent.

"2nd. None of us, the concerned in this agreement, shall, under any pretence whatsoever, sell, vend, or barter with any Indians or Indian, male or female, any rum or other spiritous liquors for any commodity whatsoever, which shall be brought for sale by said Indians, but every kind of skins, furs, trinkets, sugar, grease, or tallow, in short everything the savages may bring to market to dispose of for rum, the same shall be bought at the general store only, it being our true intent and meaning that no Indian or squaw shall receive directly or indirectly, either by present or otherwise, in any of our houses, more than one small glass of rum at any time during the continuance of our said general store, and that no skins or furs whatsoever shall be exchanged with Indians on any pretense.

"3d. That we will not vend or sell any spiritous liquors whatsoever to any person or persons intending to retail or otherwise disposed of the same to savages of any nation whatsoever, neither will we on our own proper account send or carry any rum or spiritous liquors among any tribe or nations of Indians, with an intent to vend the same to said Indians.

"4th. We further oblige ourselves not to vend or dispose of rum or spiritous liquors to any person or persons residing or sojourning among the savages, or to any person concerned in traffic with them in any wise whatsoever, unless the persons who purchase those liquors shall first bind him or themselves under oath properly taken before the commanding officer, or some magistrate, not to dispose of, vend, or sell by retail or otherwise, the said liquors to savages, or to any person intending to sell the same to savages.

"5th. And to prevent strangers or others not immediately bound by this agreement from reaping advantages to the detriment of the subscribers or conveying rum or spiritous liquors among the savages, in order there to sell the same, we do hereby agree that should it so happen that any person or persons shall sell rum to trade among the savages, that we will send immediately to the place sufficient cargo on our joint account that the concerned in this agreement may reap equal benefit with those who may not join them in their good intention of confining the trade of rum to the fort.

"That James Sterling, James Abbott, Alexander Macomb, and John Porteous be hereby constituted and appointed a committee to regulate and transact all affairs for the mutual concerns of the subscribers, having hereby full authority to act as such and to assemble and advise with all the members upon receiving notice of any material regarding the concerned, who shall likewise regulate the accounts, sales, transactions and rotation of serving or attending the general store.

"We also hereby bind ourselves and our heirs and executors severally to the whole subscribers in the penal sum of three hundred pounds lawful money of the province of New York, which penal sum of three hundred pounds aforesaid we bind and oblige ourselves, our heirs and executors, to pay or cause to be paid to the said subscribers for every offence or break of the aforesaid or subsequent articles, and for the better and more steady execution of this article we likewise bind and oblige ourselves to have all differences that may arise decided by the award of four indifferent arbitrators mutually chosen, who, upon their disagreeing, are hereby empowered to choose a fifth person as an umpire, whose award we oblige ourselves to abide by. We also hereby give and grant full power and authority to the committee immediately to seize or distrain the property of offenders in execution of the said award that no unnecessary delays may be caused thereby, hereby warranting and defending them for such proceedings against our heirs and assigns for any consequences therefrom arising. We further agree that the above articles shall be equally binding in every respect as if drawn up agreeable to all forms of law necessary in such cases.

"We further agree that the above mentioned articles and obligations shall take place and commence from and after the first day of May next ensuing the date hereof and shall continue of full force so long as may be thought proper to be kept up by the majority of the subscribers, not to exceed the term of two years from the commencement hereof unless mutually agreed upon. We also hereby oblige ourselves to give every information we can possibly procure at all times to the committee of every occurrence respecting the general concern.

"In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals at Detroit this fourteenth day of April in the fourteenth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George the third of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king etc. etc. in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four.

"Booty Graves.

"Wm. Forsyth,

"Signed and sealed in presence of

"McWilliams & Co.,
"Collin Andrews,
"John Porteous, for self & Co.
"Gregor McGregor,
"Jas. Sterling,
"Simon McTavish,
"A. Macomb,
"Jas. Thompson,
"Abbott & Finchly,
"Robinson & Martin,
"William Edgar,
"James Rankin,
"Gerrit Graverat,
"F. Visgar,
"Geo. McBeath,
"Jos. Cochran,
"Norman McLeod,
"Wm. Allen."

The agreement, which was understood to hold for two years, was not found to be profitable and was dissolved in the following year (June 12, 1775) when the parties acknowledged receipt of their shares of the community property and divided it among them.

CONTENCINEAU CASE: ITS IMPORTANCE

The firm of Abbott & Finchly carried on one of the largest trading establishments in the place. One of their employes was a Frenchman named Jean Baptiste Contencineau. A negro slave belonging to James Abbott was named Ann (or Nancy) Wyley. The Frenchman and the slave formed a plan to rob the storehouse of the firm and then to set fire to it in order to avoid detection. The only property they wanted was the content of the box usually kept in the storehouse, but the house was, at the time, filled with valuable furs and commodities that entailed a great loss on the firm, entirely out of proportion in value to the articles coveted by the thieves. All the testimony taken in the case was transcribed by Dejean into the old records, but it is too voluminous to be reproduced here. On June 24, 1774 the Frenchman, at the request of the woman, set fire to the building and carried away from it, as the plunder he wanted, a small box containing six dollars (piastres) of which four dollars were silver and two dollars were paper. There was some evidence that the Frenchman had, at other times, stolen some beaver skins and some small knives from his employers. The prisoners confessed their guilt, but each attempted to lay the blame upon the other.

Some of the subsequent transactions connected with this affair have not been unearthed, but the result of the case was of far-reaching and national importance.

At this time Henry Hamilton was lieutenant-governor and Philip Dejean was the justice of the peace. Dejean had long been considered the tool of Hamilton and was willing in this, as in other cases, to do the bidding of the governor. Public opinion was aroused against the Frenchman and the slave and there was a determined effort to get rid of them from the community, but it was thought best to do this with a seeming compliance with legal forms.

The prisoners were tried before Dejean, the justice, possibly with a jury, and

certainly with the approbation of Hamilton. They were found guilty and Dejean sentenced them to be hanged. Without unnecessary delay, the day of execution was set, but public sentiment had so changed that it was found impossible to get an executioner. Hamilton then agreed to free the woman from the penalty about to be inflicted upon her, if she would act as executioner on the Frenchman. Of course, she agreed and the Frenchman was accordingly swung off.

The execution of Contencineau was the final act that drove the people of Detroit to a rebellion against the illegal acts of the justice, for no matter how much the people thought the Frenchman should be punished, they wanted it done in a legal manner.

INDICTMENT OF DEJEAN

In 1778 a grand jury was called at Montreal and the facts of this and other cases were laid before the jury. Both Hamilton and Dejean were indicted for the murder of the Frenchman. The jury was composed largely of Montreal citizens, but there are a few Detroit names in the list, such as Richard Pollard, J. Grant and Ahdemar. The foreman was James McGill, a man closely allied with Detroit in business affairs and the founder of McGill University. The witnesses were, some of them, Detroit people, as William Macomb, George McBeath and Jonas Schindler.

The indictment of Dejean was a voluminous affair, covering nine closely written pages. It charged him with illegally and under color of legal authority and the administration of justice, in December, 1775, trying a man named Ellers, who was accused of murdering Charles Morin. When Ellers was found guilty of the charge, Dejean passed sentence of death upon him. Ellers was executed for this crime at Detroit in December, 1775. Then, in February, 1776, came the Contencineau case described above, for which Dejean was indicted for criminal misuse of his authority.

In June, 1776, Jonas Schindler, a silversmith, was illegally imprisoned at the instance of Dejean, and tried for issuing base metal as pure silver. He was acquitted, but he was nevertheless kept in prison by Dejean for some time and then led through the garrison of Detroit as a felon and as some heinous offender, attended with a drum and guard and drummed out of the garrison for some supposed crime, to-wit, that he had used the trade of silversmith without having served an apprenticeship thereto.

In August, 1777, Dejean rendered judgment and issued execution against Louis Prejean in the sum of ten pounds sterling. In February or March of the same year Dejean seized the goods of one Elliot under color of justice and sold the same. In the winter of 1777 Dejean fined Montague Tremble ten pounds for misdemeanors committed by Tremble's servants.

The above are the specifications in the indictment of Dejean, and the grand jury found in them "the great unfitness and inability as well as the illegal, unjust and oppressive conduct of the said Philip Dejean, acting as a magistrate and judge of criminal offenses at Detroit, is matter of great moment and concern, as well to his majesty's liege subjects as to the just and due administration of the laws and government."

At the same time the grand jury presented a true bill against Henry Hamilton, lieutenant-governor of Detroit, for aiding Dejean in his illegal acts and

suffering and permitting them to be carried out. Warrants were directed to be issued for the apprehension of both Hamilton and Dejean.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

The date of these findings of the grand jury, September 8, 1778, was at the most trying time of the Revolutionary War. Rumors of an attempt on the part of the colonial troops to take Detroit were constantly heard in the British camps and in the garrison at Detroit. Gen. George Rogers Clark, with a few soldiers, had taken Vincennes, then an important place in the Indian country, and had passed on westward to take Kaskaskia. If he could retain these places as a base he could proceed to Detroit with his army and capture that place also.

Governor Hamilton was a civil officer and ought not to have undertaken anything in the military line further than protecting Detroit. He learned of the actions of the grand jury and was afraid that a warrant was out for his arrest. He hoped to do something to win the favor of the British government in order to escape punishment for his crime. Utterly without authority and even against the expressed wishes of Governor Haldimand, he gathered all the provisions and soldiers that he could at Detroit and set off for the Indian country, not notifying Haldimand of his plans until he had started and it was too late to recall him. In a few days he reached and took Vincennes which was protected by only one officer, Capt. Moses Henry, and one soldier.

Those who wish to read the circumstances of the return of General Clark and the recapture of Vincennes and of General Hamilton, the "hair-buyer general," and of Dejean, will find a full account in Maurice Thompson's "Alice of Old Vincennes."

The consequences of this capture were that Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin became a part of the new United States in the treaty of 1783, claimed by the old colonies by right of conquest in the capture of Hamilton.

Thus it seems that to the blood of Jean Contencineau we owe, in part at least, the fact that we are citizens of Michigan in the great sisterhood of states.

The privy council of Great Britain directed that neither Hamilton nor Dejean be punished, because in the tumult of war no trial could be had where all the witnesses could be summoned. Hamilton and Dejean remained a long time in prison at Williamsburg, Virginia. The former, on his exchange, returned to England, but subsequently came back to Canada and later became governor of the Bermudas, where the city of Hamilton was founded and, it is sometimes said, named in his honor. This statement is probably erroneous, as the entire island was originally granted to the Hamilton family, more than one hundred years before Henry Hamilton visited it, and it is likely that this ancient ownership led to the naming of the city.

Dejean took the oath of neutrality and was permitted to return to Detroit, but he never afterward officiated as justice there.

In order to make a connected story of the indictments against Hamilton and Dejean, we have passed over a considerable time, for it was not until October 7, 1778, that Hamilton left Detroit, and it was some days later that Dejean followed him.

WATCH FOR ANTI-ROYALISTS

At the outbreak of the Revolution there were many of the royalists who hastened from the east and south to take up their residence in Detroit, in order

to be under the protection of the English soldiers. There were also many others who came here to avoid the war, but who were secretly in favor of the new government. A strict watch had to be maintained to prevent the Virginians, as the colonial forces in the west were called, from becoming established amidst the citizenry of Detroit. Charles Moran, a citizen of Detroit and the father of the late Judge Charles Moran, was a captain in the local militia and one of the military orders given to him by Governor Hamilton, and now in the possession of the family of Mr. John V. Moran, directs that all strangers who arrive in the place must immediately report their place of residence to the captain of militia, and the latter must report the fact to the governor within twelve hours. Every stranger and every suspected citizen was watched and his actions and sayings were reported to the governor. If the suspicions seemed to be well-founded, the suspect was brought before Hamilton and he was put under bonds to behave himself as a British citizen.

It was no uncommon circumstance that persons were unjustly suspected. On the 29th day of December, 1775, Garrett Graverat was brought before Hamilton and compelled to enter into a bond in the sum of four hundred pounds sterling, conditioned that he would not correspond with, carry intelligence to, or supply any of his majesty's enemies, nor do anything detrimental to this settlement in particular, or against any of his majesty's good subjects, for one year and one day. The sureties on the bond were William Edgar, George McBeath, James Rankin, and Simon McTavish. No list of better names could be selected from the business directory of Detroit of that day. It seems very probable that Graverat was entirely misjudged at that time, for he remained a British subject at Detroit so long as it was under British control. Philip Boyle was compelled to give a similar bond on March 6, 1777.

ARTICLE OF INDENTURE

John Simon bound himself to work for Obediah Robins for one year from October 31, 1776, for twenty-four pounds, New York currency (about sixty dollars). Simon was to work as a hired man, and was to behave himself and was honestly to obey every lawful command, and was to go with said Obediah Robins wherever he should direct him, or wherever his business required.

An entry dated October 27, 1772, is recorded on the 26th of the following July, whereby Israel Ruland (it is spelled Rouland in this place) bound himself to Garret Graverat until Ruland became of age. Ruland was born on Long Island and was to be sixteen years of age on the 2d of the following May. He agreed to serve Graverat until he became of age, and was then to receive forty pounds, New York currency, and one suit of clothes "fit for a servant of his station."

SALE OF SLAVES

Slavery existed at Detroit even later than the year 1800, but it existed legally only until the surrender of the post in 1796. There were two kinds of slaves, negro and panis. The latter were Indians originally captured by Indian tribes in their wars, the captives being reduced to servitude. There exists a bill of sale or deed, of two slaves, male and female, for two thousand livres, equal to one hundred twenty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence, New York currency. The sale was made in 1777 by Charles Langlade, interpreter for the king, to Pierre Labeille. Langlade will be remembered as one of the Canadians who took an active part in protecting the English soldiers at Mackinac in 1763.

FIRST CLAIM FOR DOWER IN REAL ESTATE

Arbitrators could be resorted to in order to settle pending differences, without the aid of the justice. Such a case occurred in 1777, between James Cassety, a farmer, and Edward Abbott, lieutenant-governor of Post Vincennes. Cassety was a well-known character in later years, but at this time he had but recently come to Detroit and settled upon a farm at Grosse Pointe. He was the owner of a lot in the village, which he sold to Abbott.

Upon examining the title to this lot, Abbott ascertained Cassety had purchased it from John Witherhead and Henry Van Schaak and had received warranty deeds, but that Mrs. Bainbouts claimed a dower interest in the lot. Thomas Williams, James Sterling, Gregor McGregor and D. Baby were chosen arbitrators, without the approval of Dejean. The arbitrators decided that Abbott should retain thirty pounds in his hand until the title to the land was perfected.

This is the first claim for dower in real estate in the post and search of the records discloses very few instances in which the wife joined in the conveyance of lands by the husband. This is not the first time mention is made of Thomas Williams. Mr. Williams was a citizen of Albany, N. Y., whose feelings led him to seek Detroit as a home during the war, either because he sided with the British or because he wished to avoid participation in the conflict. He remained at Detroit many years and became a prominent citizen. His property at Albany was confiscated by the state of New York, but was finally restored to him or his family. He married Cecelia, a sister of Joseph Campau, the first millionaire of Michigan. He had three children. The only son, the one of the children best known to citizens of Detroit, was John R. Williams, who in 1824 became the first elected mayor of the city. Gregor McGregor was also a prominent citizen and was appointed sheriff towards the end of the British rule.

REAL ESTATE TITLES

In 1778 a question was raised regarding the title to one of the parcels of land within the fortifications and in the course of the investigations the history of the lot was gone into quite fully. It appeared that one lot on St. Jacques Street, thirty feet front by sixty-five feet deep, bounded on one side by Laurent Parent and on the other by St. Germain Street, and in the rear by St. Joseph Street, was sold by Nicolas LaSalle, representing Jacques LaSalle, Jr., October 20, 1754, to Nicolas Vernet dit Bourguignon, and that another parcel on Ste. Anne Street, thirty feet front by fifty-four deep, bounded on the northeast side by the guardhouse, and on the west by a new street called St. Germain Street, and extending to St. Jacques Street, was sold by Mr. Dequindre to said Vernet on the same day. On each of said lots were buildings erected—log houses built “log on log”—as the deed describes them. From the earliest founding of the village the log houses were built of logs set on end in the ground, placed closely together, and the interstices filled with mud or clay. The newer buildings were built of logs placed upon each other lengthwise, as in the pioneer log houses of a later day.

It became appropriate for the conveyancer, Navarre, to indicate that class of building as “une maison de piece sur piece.”

The two parcels were sold by Vernet, October 19, 1760, to Francois Picote de Belestre for thirty thousand livres. Belestre was the last French com-

mandant and upon the surrender of Detroit to Maj. Robert Rogers in 1760, he was hurried off to Presque Isle with the French soldiers as a prisoner of war, and the property he left was taken possession of by the British.

When the title of these parcels of land was questioned in 1767, the then commandant, Capt. George Turnbull, appointed a court of inquiry to examine the title. The members of the court were: Lieut. Daniel McAlpine, of the Sixty-eighth regiment (president) and Lieut. John Christy of the Sixtieth regiment, and John Amiel, ensign in the Sixtieth regiment (member). Belestre claimed to own the property under the deed to him, and the commandant claimed that Belestre took the conveyance for the benefit of his government, and that with the fall of New France all government property passed to the British. Belestre testified that he bought both parcels of land for himself and that he paid taxes on them, and the king's dues, amounting to six hundred and sixty-six livres, six soldats, on the purchase of the property. One of these lots was taken by the soldiers and sold; the other lot had been in possession of his Britannic majesty for some years. The court was apparently prejudiced in favor of the king, and it is small wonder that Belestre, the poor Frenchman, got little satisfaction out of his suit.

FIRST FUGITIVE SLAVE

An entry dated May 6, 1778, signed by Henry Hamilton, lieutenant-governor and superintendent, reads, translated, as follows:

"On the representations which have been made by the mulatto woman, who belonged to the late Louis Verrat, and on the verbal depositions of different persons concerning the liberty of the said mulatto woman, I have judged proper to stop the sale of the woman, and have directed that she be sent back to Kaskaskia, in the Illinois country, consigned to Mr. Rochblave, commandant for the king at that place, for further information."

This was, apparently, either a case of abduction of a slave and an attempt to sell her at Detroit or the return of a fugitive slave. It is the first recorded instance of a fugitive from slavery, to be followed by the thousands of others, increasing each year in number until the civil war ended the slavery curse.

DISTURBING THE PEACE

The records show that the hilarious individuals who make the night hideous with their "warhoops" were not unknown to Detroit in 1778. Jean Bte. Montreuil and Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean were arrested, tried and convicted of "breaking the peace of our sovereign lord, by disturbing, in the night, the repose and tranquillity of the public," and they were put under bonds of one hundred pounds each for their good behavior for a year and a day. Pierre Desnoyers became the bondsman for Montreuil and Joseph Pouget was surety for Cerre.

(Continued in the next chapter)

CHAPTER XI

LAW AND ORDER IN EARLY DETROIT (Continued)

BY CLARENCE M. BURTON

UNCERTAIN NEWS—DEJEAN'S SUCCESSOR—REAL ESTATE SPECULATION IN 1780—
PETITION FOR MILL—PROTESTANT MARRIAGE CEREMONIES—CENSUS OF 1782—
TERRITORIAL CHANGE AFTER 1782—KING'S OWNERSHIP OF DETROIT PROP-
ERTY—MILITARY AUTHORITY OVER DEBTS—IMPROVEMENT OF RIVER LAND—
HEALTH MEASURES—REMOVAL OF RECORDS TO QUEBEC—FORMATION OF
DISTRICT OF HESSE—APPOINTMENT OF ASSESSOR—HAY AN UNPOPULAR GOV-
ERNOR—BRITISH VIEW OF DETROIT IN 1787—COURT OF COMMON PLEAS ES-
TABLISHED—OPPOSITION OF ENGLISH TO NEW COURT—FIRST JUSTICE OF
COMMON PLEAS—DIVISION OF CANADIAN PROVINCES—PARLIAMENTARY ELEC-
TION IN DETROIT—MINOR SUITS OF INTEREST—POLICE REGULATIONS—FIRE
PREVENTION—PARLIAMENTARY LAWS FOR DETROIT—PREPARATIONS FOR
SECOND SESSION—ANTIPATHY TOWARD AMERICAN SYMPATHIZERS—VISIT OF
GOVERNOR SIMCOE—SECOND SESSION OF PARLIAMENT—REGULATION OF
MARRIAGES—LEGISLATION ON SLAVERY—PROBATE AND SURROGATE COURTS—
LIQUOR LICENSE FUND FOR LEGISLATIVE SALARIES—THIRD SESSION OF FIRST
PARLIAMENT—COURT OF KING'S BENCH—FOURTH SESSION OF FIRST PAR-
LIAMENT—FIRST SESSION OF SECOND PARLIAMENT.

UNCERTAIN NEWS

In an old letter-book which was kept at Mackinac during the Revolutionary war are several interesting items. An extract from one of these letters, which is dated June 4, 1778, and written by John Askin to John (Jehu) Hay, who was the last British governor of Detroit, will be given. On reading the letter one may see how uncertain and unreliable the news was which proceeded from the seat of war at that time. The news received would equal some of the telegraph items of today. Another matter of interest in the letter is that news of all kinds from the East reached Mackinac before it did Detroit. The letter is as follows:

"The two vessels, the first canoes from Montreal and the Ottawa Indians going to war, all arrived yesterday, the latter is now dancing at my door, my things coming on shore in the greatest confusion and the Angelica preparing to sail.

"All this shall not deprive me of the writing you a few lines in answer to your obliging letter by Robertson. The news is that General Clinton, below Albany, fought and beat General Gates, in which 7,000 of the enemy and their general fell.

"Before this reaches you perhaps you'll have the account, more fully by

Niagara, great numbers of canoes are on their way here from Montreal. Lieutenant Bennett left this a few days ago for the grand portage."

DEJEAN'S SUCCESSOR

When Dejean left Detroit to follow Governor Hamilton to Vincennes, and subsequently to Williamsburg as a prisoner, Detroit was left without a justic or record-keeper. Thomas Williams was given a qualified appointment as notary and justice by the military commandant, Capt. Richard B. Lernoult, and it was expected that a proper appointment would be granted to Williams as soon as possible.

Lernoult was succeeded by Maj. Arent Schuyler De Peyster and it was to the major that Williams' commission was sent in the fall of 1779. All the records in the interval were kept by Williams, so that he may be considered as the immediate successor to Dejean.

Almost the last act of Hamilton before he left Detroit was to forward to Lieutenant-Governor Cramahe such legal papers as he had in his possession, to be delivered to the proper officers. These papers consisted of the following items:

1. Depositions taken at Mackinac before Major De Peyster.
2. Depositions taken in Detroit before Dejean and twenty-four jurors.
- 3-4. Deposition in favor of Nicholas Thibault, of Detroit, who was charged with murdering a Panis. The witness was Jean Baptiste Dumet or Dumay.
5. Examination of Michael O'Neil, a volunteer in LaMothe's company. The witnesses were Pierre LeMay and Patrick McKinley, of the same company.

The governor adds to his report that the law proceedings here were vague, and perhaps as irregular as can be, but the situation must excuse and account for it.

The troubles that had overtaken Hamilton and Dejean by reason of their illegal actions specified in the findings of the jury led Major De Peyster and Thomas Williams to exercise more caution in the village affairs. De Peyster wrote to Haldimand that he had lately heard that justices of the peace had no power to meddle in money matters, though it had been understood formerly that they could try causes where the amount involved was less than ten pounds.

"Now, if some power and for a granted sum, too," he writes, "is not given, this place will go into confusion, as it will hardly do to summon people to appear at Montreal for such trifling affairs, and if they are not there will be no recovering small debts."

The laws, however, were not changed, and Detroit was left without power to protect its citizens against dishonest debtors.

REAL ESTATE SPECULATION IN 1780

It was at this time, commencing about 1780, that the land fever struck Detroit. There had been for some time an earnest desire to have the war ended, and nearly everyone felt that it could be terminated only with the acknowledgement of the independence of the United States. There was also a feeling that a large part of Canada, certainly all that portion lying south of the Great Lakes, would become part of the new government. This feeling was shared in alike by the military officers and by the civilians. If the new government was to have control soon, each one felt that he would like to be possessed of some

fertile farm lands about the post before the change of government took place. The British government had never favored buying lands from the Indians, but the people—speculators, traders, everyone, in fact—now set about buying large tracts from the Indian tribes. It became the duty of Williams, as register, to accept and record these Indian conveyances and there are hundreds of them in these records.

The consideration generally expressed is the love borne by the Indian chief to his white friend, to whom the deed was made, but the real consideration was a little money, some trinkets, vermillion, powder, lead and a good deal of rum. If all other inducements failed, a liberal quantity of rum would serve to supply the deficiency.

All the farm lands up and down the river and on both sides, which were not already occupied by the whites, were sold by these Indians and some parcels were sold several times over.

Major De Peyster purchased a large tract in what is now St. Clair County, and the two Schiefflins bought the entire parcel upon which Amherstburg is located, as well as many square miles of land around it. De Peyster's grant was never accepted as valid by the government, and the deed to the Schiefflins was set aside by the British government as having been obtained by fraud. De Peyster left Canada after the war and went to live in Scotland, the home of his wife. He died at Dumfries, Scotland, November 26, 1822. The Schiefflins, Jonathan and Jacob, moved to New York, and some of the family went into the drug trade, becoming very wealthy. Their descendants still live in New York City, and are considered of the aristocracy. Some of them have tried to forget their Detroit ancestors, while others of the family are "every day" sort of people and are generally liked.

William Forsyth, the step-father of John Kinzie of Chicago, obtained a deed to 2,000 acres on the St. Clair River September 20, 1780.

PETITION FOR MILL

To show how thoroughly the country here was under the control of the military officers, the following is the substance of a petition of inhabitants living at Petite Cote, on the south side of the river.

The petition is dated July 1, 1780, and sets forth that, for the public good, it will be necessary to have a water mill built at that place to grind the grain of the locality. They ask that Simon Drouillard be granted permission to build a stone mill on the public domain. The petition is signed by John Bondy, J. Pouget, Charles Reaume, Rene Cloutier, Theophile LeMay, Joseph Belleperche, Antoine Lafontaine, Baptiste Dufor, Antoine Cloutier, Jean Baptiste LeBeau, Pierre Meloch, Pierre Pranez, J. B. Drouillard, J. B. Petre, George Knaggs, Charles Renot, Charles Fontaine, J. B. Bonparre, J. B. Faignant, August Peuparre, Francois Lesperance, Francois Proux, and Louis Rebeau. Upon filing the above petition, the commandant, De Peyster, granted license to Simon Drouillard to build a water mill on *la riviere aux Dindes* (Turkey Creek).

PROTESTANT MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

The following entry in Volume C, on page 99, explains itself:

"I hereby certify to have joined Thomas Williams, Esq., of Detroit, and

Miss Cecelia Campeau, daughter of Mr. Jacques Campeau, of Detroit, in the holy bonds of Matrimony; conformable to the rule of the Church of England.

"Given under my hand at Detroit, this seventh day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

"A. S. DE PEYSTER,

"Major King's Regt.

Commanding Detroit and Its Dependencies.

"Witness:

"ALEX GRANT,

"D. MERCIER, Lt. King's Rgt."

The peculiarity of this marriage certificate is that the ceremony was performed by the military commandant. There was no minister or chaplain in the garrison. Perhaps the justice of the peace was authorized to perform the marriage ceremony, for there are several signed by Dejean. Whenever persons did not wish to go before the Catholic priest, they went before the commandant, and he generally officiated. Possibly a full record of the marriages performed by him may sometime be found, but all search for such a list in every place where public records of that date are to be found has so far been in vain. We know that many marriages took place at this time, but there are no records to prove them. This one was preserved only because the husband, Thomas Williams, was the keeper of the records and so recorded his own marriage certificate.

The village priest desired to keep all of his people within the church, but he was not always able to do so. The church records were carefully kept, and whenever we know of a marriage that is not of record in Ste. Anne's or in the Church of the Assumption, we conclude that the commandant or the justice performed it. We know that James Sterling and Angelique Cuillerier were married, but there is no record extant in either of the above churches. Whenever there was doubt in the mind of the priest, Father Simplicus Bouquet, as to the propriety of a proposed marriage, he refused to perform it. Then the bride and groom had to go to the commandant or wait until the obstacles were removed. In 1775 Francois Gouin wished to marry Angelique Godet, but the priest objected because of the youth of the young lady, and also because her grandmother did not want the marriage to take place. The uncle and aunt of the bride appealed to Capt. Richard Beranger Lernoult, the commandant, and by his order the priest performed the ceremony, but he added to the record a note that if he has deferred to the decision of the commandant, it was because he feared the couple would be married in English fashion, and the scandal thus occasioned would be followed by other unnatural children.

CENSUS OF 1782

In 1782 Williams was employed by De Peyster to take the census of Detroit and its surroundings. Such a census had been taken by Dejean in 1773, and the two, for comparison, give the population as follows:

	1773	1782
Men	298	321
Women	225	254
Young Men	84	336
Boys	284	526
Girls	240	503

Young Women	58	} 72
Servants	93	
Male Slaves	46	78
Female Slaves	39	101
<hr/>		<hr/>
Total	1,367	2,191

This is exclusive of the garrison and Indians. The increase was due largely to the influx of persons desiring to avoid the war. Governor Hamilton had constantly urged the loyalists to flee from the states and come to Detroit, or to locate in some place where they could be protected by British soldiers. Hamilton had won for himself the title of the "hairbuyer general" from his offer of reward for scalps of the white people in the Ohio country, but if he wanted scalps of the "rebels," he was equally anxious for the safety of all who were loyal to King George. A proclamation of reward for scalps issued by him was found pinned to a man murdered and scalped, lying in the woods of the Ohio district and accompanying the proclamation was a letter of authority given by him to Edward Hazel, offering protection to all who would assemble at Detroit, the Miamis (near Toledo), Sandusky, and Vincennes, stating that they should receive such protection as the British arms afford to refugees. These papers have found their way into the government archives.

The result of these efforts was the assembling at Detroit of five hundred or more people who were detained as refugees and prisoners of war. Adding this number to the garrison, the total population must have exceeded three thousand persons. Not all of these people were loyal citizens and the intractable ones were sent down to Montreal for confinement for a time, but the numbers there became so great that Governor Haldimand refused to receive more, and those at Detroit were kept and set to work on the new fortifications—Fort Lernoult, afterwards Fort Shelby.

The number of refugees at Detroit became so great that Haldimand warned the commandant to watch them carefully and imprison them if he thought best. He was afraid they might become numerous enough to overpower the garrison and turn the post over to the Americans.

TERRITORIAL CHANGE AFTER 1782

The end of the war practically came in 1782, though the final treaty of peace was not signed until a year later. Detroit was included in the new territory of the United States and Congress set about governing the land. All of the land south of the Miami of Lake Erie soon came into the actual possession of the new government, but the territory north of that river was constructively part of the United States and really part of Canada, for the British troops still occupied and controlled it. All the lands north of the Ohio River formed what soon came to be called the "Northwest Territory," and the eastern states soon (with the exception of Connecticut) released their claims, so that it fell under the direct control of the federal government. Some acts were passed by Congress before the close of the war for the division of this land into states, but the earliest move of general interest to us was Jefferson's ordinance of 1784.

The ordinance was drafted by Jefferson, but it was superseded by the ordinance of 1787, and the earlier one had lost its legal importance. It is rarely found in printed form. A copy is in the American Historical Leaflets No. 32.

The original is in the archives at Washington and a photograph of it is in the Burton Historical Collection. This paper is very interesting to us historically, as showing the proposed geographical divisions of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, comprising the Northwest Territory, into ten states provided by that ordinance.

An atlas published by William McMurray, shortly after the date of this ordinance, contained a map of the new territory divided into ten states, as mentioned in Jefferson's draft, by the names of Sylvania, Michigania, Cherronesis, Assenisipta, Metropotaia, Illinois, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia and Pelisipia. There were other maps of the country engraved at that time, the one made by John Fitch, the inventor of the steamboat, being the most unique: this was engraved by himself, printed in a cider press and sold for six shillings a copy, to raise money to carry on his steamboat inventions.

Had this ordinance remained in force, the present address of our citizens would be the City of Detroit in the State of Cherronesis. The State of Michigania was located on the west side of Lake Michigan. To anticipate for some years the history of our peninsula, when Congress was searching for a name for this territory in 1805 it was proposed to call this land Huron Territory, and the present State of Wisconsin was to be called Michigan Territory, so that on two occasions Wisconsin has barely missed being christened Michigan.

KING'S OWNERSHIP OF DETROIT PROPERTY

It is not often that we find the King of England as the purchaser of a piece of property in this country, but there is a deed on record conveying a house and lot in the village of Detroit, bounded in front by St. James Street, in the rear by St. Joseph Street, sixty-nine feet wide, to "our sovereign lord, George the Third, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, etc." The house occupied by the lieutenant-governor was located nearly on the site of the present Michigan Mutual Life Insurance Company building, and the lot above described is nearly a block towards the west and a little to the north. It was probably intended to have been used for a jail, for there was no jail in Detroit at this time. Governor Haldimand did not approve of the purchase of the property, and it was returned to its former proprietors, William and Alexander Macomb.

MILITARY AUTHORITY OVER DEBTS

To show to what extent the military department exercised authority to aid in the collection of debts, there is a statement made by Gerrit Graverat which is very interesting. Graverat and John Visgar were partners in trade under the name of Graverat & Visgar. Abraham C. Cuyler, a trader from Albany, came to Detroit to collect an old debt due him from Graverat personally. Graverat refused to pay the old account, alleging that he had no property other than that belonging to the firm and that he could not take such property until the firm's creditors were first satisfied. Cuyler appealed to the military commandant, Major De Peyster, and laid the matter before him. De Peyster summoned Graverat to his house. Upon his arrival "De Peyster, in the presence of Alexander Macomb, William Edgar and John Askin, declared, and confirmed the same with an oath of seeming resolution, that if Graverat did not pay his account to Cuyler at once, that he would send Graverat down the country (to Montreal) on the vessel that was just then ready to sail."

Graverat was so thoroughly frightened by the threat that he turned over all the partnership property he had, in order to satisfy Cuyler's claim. He then entered a protest to the high-handed proceedings in September, 1783.

IMPROVEMENT OF RIVER LAND

The traveler along the River St. Clair today would hardly believe that a few years ago the borders of that river were thickly studded with pine trees, but that was the fact. Patt Sinclair, who was lieutenant-governor of Mackinac, had purchased at Pine River, the site of the present city of St. Clair, a large tract of land from the Indians. This purchase was connived by the British officers, though contrary to orders of government. At the end of the Revolution, Sinclair went to the island of Orleans, and from that place gave directions for the care of his possessions, and from these writings, now a matter of record, one derives the best information obtainable regarding the improvements made on the river.

He directed Nicolas Boulvin to take possession of his farm on Pine River, which was his property by Indian conveyance made in the presence of the commanding officer of Fort Detroit and of his majesty's Indian agent; also by letter from General Gage, then commander-in-chief, as well as by the assent of government to his rights therein since that time. Boulvin was to take charge of the stock, houses, barns, orchards, gardens and timber on said lands. No person was permitted to cut timber except for the use of the king. In later times a village called Palmer, after the father of the late Sen. Thomas W. Palmer, was located on this land. The name of the village was subsequently changed to St. Clair.

Sinclair was prominent in the affairs of the village as early as 1767 and in that year the citizens presented him with a silver loving-cup, suitably inscribed. He afterward became lieutenant-governor of Mackinac, and built Mackinac on the island. On his return to England, after the Revolution, he carried this silver cup with him and it is now in the possession of his great granddaughter, Miss H. H. Sinclair Laing.

HEALTH MEASURES IN EARLY DETROIT

The board of health of Detroit was somewhat inefficient or nearly powerless in 1782, and in order to protect the health of the people in the village, Major De Peyster made them a proposition to clean up the river front, as follows:

"Gentlemen: As the vacant spaces of ground lying between each of your lots and the water side is now occupied with all sorts of filth and become a nuisance which should be removed, if you will go to the expense of filling up the whole of them with good earth and render it an even surface, at the same time extending your lot with fences so as to leave only a passage for carts between them and the water's edge, you shall have such spaces of ground in lieu of the expenses you may be at, but if you do not choose to occupy them on these conditions, let me know and I will give them to others, for I can no longer suffer them to remain as they now are."

Until the date of this offer, June 1, 1782, the picket line of the post was in the shallow water a little south of Woodbridge Street, extending from Griswold Street to Wayne, or perhaps to Cass Street. The filling in extended the solid bank nearly to Atwater Street. The offer was taken advantage of by the

adjoining landowners immediately, and constituted one of the charges made by Jehu Hay against De Peyster, a year or two later, when the latter individual came to Detroit as its governor.

REMOVAL OF RECORDS TO QUEBEC

Williams resigned his office as keeper of the records in July, 1784, and Guillaume Monforton received a conditional and temporary appointment in his place. There is an entry in the public records showing the whereabouts of these records from this date until their return to Detroit in 1790. It is as follows:

"This record was sent down to Quebec by order of the commander-in-chief in the year 1784, where it remained until the year 1790, when it was brought up from thence by William Dummer Powell, Esq., first judge of his majesty's court of common pleas for the district of Hesse, and afterwards deposited in my office in the year 1790, in the month of May, and is now continued. During the interval the records of the district were in the hands of William Monforton, who acted as notary public, to which reference must be had.

"T. SMITH,

"C. C. Pleas. District of Hesse.

"24th May 1790."

The three volumes which contain these old records were sent by the Canadian government to Detroit some years ago. When the records were sent down to Quebec in 1784, the people attempted to enter a protest against the act, and governor (John Hay) represented to Haldimand the concern of the people over the sending out of the records, but the protest was in vain. It was at the end of the war. All work on the fortifications was stopped and the soldiers were getting ready to leave. Everything in the form of government property was taken away or was being prepared for shipment. It was not until some months after this that Haldimand was notified that it was the intention of the British government to retain possession of the western posts.

The fourth volume of these old records is now in Ottawa. The volume contains this statement: "This book belongs to C. F. Labadie and he has the right to it whenever he wants it, wherever he finds it" and "John Stuart of Windsor purchased this book of C. F. Labadie." It further appears that Guillaume Monforton, the notary and register, carried off the old record and upon his death left it to his son by the same name and that it next came by inheritance to a grandson by the same name. In 1858 the third Guillaume Monforton gave the book to Charles F. Labadie. It covers the period from 1786 to 1792 and contains 350 pages. There must be at least one other volume still missing, to carry the record to 1796. The first Guillaume Monforton became distressed in his old age and at one time was in prison for debt.

FORMATION OF DISTRICT OF HESSE

By his proclamation of July 24, 1788, Lord Dorchester added a few more districts to the Province of Quebec. The district of Nassau as then organized was bounded on the west by a north and south line intersecting the extreme projection of Long Point in Lake Erie, and the district of Hesse comprised all of the residue in the province in the western or inland parts thereof, of the entire breadth thereof, from the southern to the northern boundary

of the same. The uncertainty in fixing this western limit of the district of Hesse was so planned as to include Detroit and the lands lying west of the Great Lakes without mentioning them by name. These western lands formed a part of the new United States and any open assertion of ownership by Great Britain would have irritated the people of the country, and probably have reopened the war just closed.

APPOINTMENT OF ASSESSOR

In 1780 Governor Haldimand directed a commission to be made out for a person to act as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas at Detroit and another commission for some Canadian to act there as an assessor. He appointed Arent Schuyler De Peyster and Thomas Williams justices of the peace. The attorney-general, J. Monk, while wishing to comply with the order of the governor, did not purpose to do so without investigating the matter. He writes:

"The appointment of some Canadian to act as assessor at Detroit puts me to the difficulty and necessity of requesting you will please to obtain the governor's directions and signify to me what powers this officer is to be vested with by such commission, as it is an office new and undefined by any commission heretofore made in this government. Are the powers of the judge of common pleas at Detroit limited to any district, town or tract of any country, and what? It may be proper to express this clearly in his commission to avoid any doubt or difficulty hereafter."

In answer to the above questions the governor replied that at all posts where lieutenant-governors were stationed, provision was made for a judge and assistant or assessor. According to the instructions, the latter is to give his advice to the judge in any matter where necessary, but to have no authority or power to attest or issue any process, or to give vote or judgment in any case whatsoever. All that is meant by the general at present is to afford a temporary relief in the case of small debts at the settlement of Detroit until the legislature has leisure to take the matter up, when, undoubtedly, the limits of its jurisdiction will be assigned. Of course, appeals in all cases above the value of ten pounds sterling must be allowed.

HAY AN UNPOPULAR GOVERNOR

Two old documents written in Detroit have lately been found and they contain interesting information. The first is from the governor, Jehu Hay, to General Haldimand, dated at Detroit, October 9, 1784. Mr. Hay was not particularly well-liked either by the citizens or by his superior officers. He had been in Detroit many years as a subordinate officer in the army and in the Indian department. He was a follower of Governor Hamilton and had been made a prisoner at the surrender of Post Vincennes to Gen. George Rogers Clark. Coming back to Canada he received the appointment of lieutenant-governor of Detroit, but did not at once return there. Arent Schuyler De Peyster, the military commandant, stated that Hay was a military officer subordinate to himself and he refused to remain in command of the military department if the civil department was turned over to Hay. Hay was therefore detained at Montreal, Carleton Island and Niagara until a new place was found for De Peyster as commandant at Niagara. Hay was ill and died shortly after returning to Detroit and was buried on the site of Michigan Mutual Life Insurance Company, at Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street.

His protracted illness made him fretful and petulant with everyone he met. They reciprocated by disliking him. When he was requested to send the records, he sent them with a letter of protest. In his letter he said that he had delivered the village records to Lieutenant Smyth of the Thirty-first Regiment; that the people expressed some concern at their being sent away from the place and said that many must suffer in their private affairs for want of reference to them. In obedience to instructions from Haldimand, Hay had published permission to all persons who chose to leave Detroit to do so, and ordered those who did not intend to reside permanently to depart at once. His proclamation was torn down and another put up in its place. A reward of twenty pounds was offered for the discovery of the person who tore down the proclamation.

"I cannot conceive why anybody should do a thing of the sort, except some insolent fellow who chose to show how little he or others think of my authority here," wrote Hay, "but if the person is found and I have sufficient proof, I shall send him or her to Montreal to be dealt with as your excellency shall please to direct."

He further said that there were many persons at Detroit, who were still designated as prisoners of war, through the war had terminated more than a year before. These persons were always at liberty to leave the place, but some remained in hopes of getting their children and relatives who were detained by the Indians, and some could not go, such as orphans and women, and these still obtained provisions from the military department.

BRITISH VIEW OF DETROIT IN 1787

In another paper is a report dated August 3, 1787, made by Maj. R. Matthews to General Haldimand. Major Matthews was sent to examine the western posts and this letter is in the line of the official reports he made as the result of his investigations. He arrived in Detroit June 9, 1787. The time taken to arrange the militia and examine titles to lands delayed his departure so much that he feared he would have to return with snowshoes. In reading these letters one is forced to see American progress through British eyes, and the prospect is strange and very often untrue, or visionary. Detroit belonged to the United States, but English troops were in possession of it in a time of peace, and Great Britain refused to vacate and carry out the solemn agreement she had made in the treaty of Paris in 1783. It was very evident that she wanted to avoid carrying out the treaty which Oswald had thus made for her and would have taken advantage of any excuse. Major Matthews reports as follows:

"There are lately arrived at Post Vincennes 500 continental troops under Colonel Harmar, a very clever man, who had been long destined for the direction of affairs upon the Wabash—and it is confidently asserted that there are two other armies to co-operate from Wheeling and Muskingum upon the Ohio. The object, it is said, is to establish posts at the Miamis town (the great center and channel of the trade of this quarter), the Glaze, Sandusky and Rochedebout. Mingo they have sometime occupied as a post and built a fort.

■ "Presqu' Isle (now Erie, Pa.) they are also to occupy as a post. Though the Indians insist upon it, I have not a conception that the Americans will attempt this post (Detroit), nor do I think it would be worth our while to dispute it with them if they succeed in establishing the above posts, though I believe we have not been in better situation to do it for some years, Fort Lernoult being in

perfect repair and having six companies nearly complete; we have six companies of militia consisting of nearly 800.

"Had Mr. Oswald or even Lord Landsdown seen this delightful settlement, they surely could never have signed away the right of the nation to it. In point of climate, soil, situation and the beauties of nature, nothing can exceed it, and yet for want of good order and legal protection (which would bring respectable settlers) the trade and even cultivation are at the last gasp. Individuals possess immense tracts of land upon general grants, sell out in detail to poor wretches for £100 for three acres in front by forty deep for which the farm is at the same time mortgaged. The settler labors for a few years with only half his vigor, paying and starving all the time and, ultimately, from debts on every hand, is obliged to give up his land.

"In trade the lowest of all the professions resort to these obscure places, they are without education or sentiment and many of them without common honesty. They are perpetually overreaching one another, knowing that they are too distant for the immediate effects of the law to overtake them. The only recourse in all matters in dispute is the commanding officer, for our justices of the peace, it seems, are not authorized to take cognizance of matters relating to property, on which almost every difference arises, so that if the commanding officer is indolent or indifferent he will not hear them at all, or if he does hear and decide, his judgment, though perhaps equitable, may be very contrary to law, and hereafter involve him in very unpleasant consequences. Besides that, acting in the capacity of a judge, his whole time is so employed that he cannot pay the necessary attention to his professional duties. It is much to be wished that some mode for the prompt and effectual administration of justice were established, for the want of it is a temptation to many to take advantages and commit little chicaneries disgraceful to society and distressing to trade and individuals. In all matters where I cannot clearly decide, I make the parties refer to arbitration, binding themselves by bond to submit to the decision."

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS ESTABLISHED

Affairs had come to such a pass for want of laws and courts at Detroit that the council at Quebec took up the matter and appointed a committee of merchants at Montreal to investigate the matter and report a system of procedure. This committee, in its report, stated that Detroit and the upper posts were indebted to Montreal more than three hundred thousand pounds sterling, and that these posts should be kept in possession by the government, for if they were given up, a very great proportion of that large sum would be lost, to the hurt of the nation and the ruin of numberless individuals.

They proposed that Detroit and Mackinac should be erected into a separate district and that a court of civil jurisdiction should be established, to be called the court of common pleas. There should be one judge, whose decision should be final for all matters in dispute under fifty pounds, but in all other matters an appeal should lie to the court at Montreal. Appeals should be in the form of a new trial. Depositions of witnesses at a distance could be taken to be used at such trial. The judge should reside at Detroit, but he should go once a year, say in May, to Mackinac, and should there remain until July 25th, to hear all cases brought before him, where the amount involved did not exceed one hundred pounds. The property of fraudulent debtors could

be seized on attachment, and only released upon security being given to abide the final decision of the court.

As a further reason for the establishment of Detroit as a separate district, the committee stated that:

"Detroit is become a settlement, both of great extent and great consequence. It annually fits out a vast trade to the interior posts circumjacent to it, at which, in the course of carrying on, disputes and differences invariably arise, to determine which, for want of a judicial power on the spot, they are obliged to have resort to the courts of Montreal."

They estimated that between the date of sending for a summons from Detroit, as the commencement of a suit, fully six months would elapse before the defendant could be served properly, and in this time he could dispose of his property and leave the settlement. Not less than forty suits a year, all above ten pounds were instituted by persons residing at Detroit against others of the same place, and not above one-fourth of that number were successfully carried forward, owing to the great delay in serving processes.

"We believe a judge there would have not less than 300 or 400 causes a year to determine. For their present state, they have no means to enforce payment from their debtors, it is on their honor and honesty they must rely—a sorry dependence in a country where there is neither a power to check or restrain the most dissolute and licentious morals."

It was in response to this report that the council authorized the formation of a new judicial district, to include Detroit, which was established by Lord Dorchester July 24, 1788, and called Hesse. On the same day he appointed the following as justices of the Court of Common Pleas: Duperon Baby, Alexander McKee and William Robertson. He at the same time appointed eight justices of the peace, namely: Alexander Grant, Guillaume LaMotte, St. Martin Adhemar, William Macomb, Joncaire de Chabert, Alexander Maisonville, William Caldwell, and Mathew Elliott. The appointed sheriff was Gregor McGregor. The clerk was Thomas Smith and the coroner George Meldrum.

Every one of these names is familiar to all who have read Detroit's early history. The list is about equally divided between the Canadians and the English. Of the list, Joncaire de Chabert and George Meldrum only remained on the American side during their lives, after the British occupation ceased. St. Martin moved to Vincennes. Smith remained here many years; he became a surveyor and acted in that capacity in planning the city after 1805, but he eventually went to Canada and died in Windsor. Macomb lived in Detroit and died a short time before the evacuation in 1796. All of the others left Michigan and most of them lived along the south shore of the Detroit River in Canada.

OPPOSITION OF ENGLISH TO NEW COURT

No sooner had the news of the appointments reached Detroit than there was a popular uprising in opposition to the government. A public indignation meeting was called and a long protest drawn up, signed by the English residents. The opposition was not because of the individuals named as judges, but because they were not understood to be qualified to fill the office properly. Two of the judges-elect, Robertson and Baby, personally accompanied the protest to Quebec, and Robertson read it in the council chamber in that city

on October 24, 1788. Some of the important points in this protest were as follows:

Canadians, with the exception of Mr. Baby, were not concerned in trade and were, consequently, very little concerned in the courts of law. Mr. Baby did not think it proper that he should sign the protest as he was named as one of the judges. He explained the method of arbitration in common use at Detroit by saying that a general arbitration bond was entered into and every person who signed it bound himself to abide by the decisions of the arbitrators. (They sat in rotation). Those who submitted their differences to the arbitrators could not be compelled to abide by their decisions, yet the dread of the consequences of refusing to submit to those determinations gave force to their awards, for those who would not obey could not recover debts and the commanding officer refused to grant them passes for their canoes to the Indian country. Yet still there were people who refused to abide by their decisions, not from unreasonableness nor the injustice of their awards, but from a want of inclination to pay their debts. It was agreed by those who signed the general arbitration bond to pay each an equal portion of the expenses of any suit of law which might be carried on against any of them in consequence of their decision in this arbitration court. People who lived in Detroit were compelled to submit or live there as outlawed. Robertson said further that some of the persons who were named as justices of the peace were ignorant and illiterate. Maisenville and Elliott could mechanically sign their names, but they could neither read nor write. Caldwell had not a good education.

There were four thousand people in and about and dependent upon Detroit. The remedy advised by Mr. Robertson was the establishment of a Court of Common Pleas with a judge who lived in Detroit and who might visit Mackinac once a year to hear causes there. The judge ought to be versed in the law and receive a salary and devote his entire time to his official duties.

In reply to a question as to the public buildings in Detroit or Mackinac, Mr. Robertson said that there were none at Mackinac, but at Detroit there were two French churches (one on each side of the river) but no English church, for the English never had a church in the upper country. There were no barracks. Fort Lernoult, the government house where the commanding officer usually resided, the council house, where the Indians assembled and delivered their speeches, the block-houses at the different angles of Detroit within the pickets and the water side, the naval dockyard and the necessary buildings belonging to it without the pickets, on the east side of the town. These were the public buildings of Detroit.

It was deemed necessary for the English Government to retain possession of Detroit if it wished to hold the fur trade. As a conclusion to the investigation, it was sought to ascertain how, in the past, laws had been administered in Detroit, and in answer to the question Robertson said:

"Before the conquest (1760) if any laws were followed or administered, they necessarily must have been those of France or what prevailed in the rest of the province; from the conquest to the passing of the Quebec Act (1774) I have understood from the people there, it was the English law that had been considered as the rule of decision, but I believe there have been few instances since the conquest to the present time of any law whatever having been administered there."

At the conclusion of the investigation a draft of a report was drawn up by

the council and submitted to Lord Dorchester. It was the opinion of the council that a competent person for judge could not be found in the district, and that when the proper person was found and appointed, he should receive a salary of five hundred pounds, without fees. They reported against the project of arbitration as formerly carried on.

As two of the judges who had been appointed had resigned, it became necessary to select another person to fill the vacancy and the purpose this time was to select one judge instead of the three who had been appointed, but who had never acted. Lord Dorchester, in discussing the qualifications necessary for the position in a letter to Lord Sydney, said:

"At Detroit, where much property is circulated in commercial transactions in the Indian trade, cases are more complicated and increased by the mixture of Canadian and British settlers and the diversity of these customs. The administration of justice in that district will, therefore, require talents which may be difficult to find without a more ample encouragement than what may be sufficient in the other parts of the province. The commandant at Detroit had hitherto ordinarily been under the necessity of interfering for the preservation of order in the settlement."

FIRST JUSTICE OF THE COMMON PLEAS

Early in 1789, Lord Dorchester appointed William Dummer Powell the first justice of the common pleas in the district of Hesse, and directed him to proceed to Detroit as soon as the season would permit, to make that place his home. He also appointed a land board to consist of Major Clere, or the officer commanding at Detroit, William Dummer Powell and any one of the following named justices of the peace, Duperon Baby, Alexander McKee, William Robertson, Alexander Grant, and St. Martin Adhemar. Concerning the choice of Judge Powell, Dorchester said that the appointment did not take place until the persons originally appointed among the principal inhabitants of the district had declined the trust, nor until the necessity of a professional man to preside in the court had been fully ascertained. He said that Mr. Powell was of the Middle Temple in 1776 and had borne arms under General Gage at Boston, that he was a considerable sufferer by his loyalty and cut off from the prospect of a valuable family inheritance, that he came to Canada in 1779, recommended by the Secretary of State. In conclusion Dorchester said:

"A man of confidence and abilities is very desirable for that distant part of the province, and I know of no character at the bar here (Quebec) better qualified or more likely than he is to do justice to the trust reposed in him."

DIVISION OF CANADIAN PROVINCES

It was proposed in 1789 to divide the Canadian possessions into two provinces to be termed Upper and Lower Canada. Each province was to have a legislature to be composed of a council, of which the members were chosen for life, and a house of assembly, to be elected. In Upper Canada there were to be not less than seven members of the council, to be appointed by the king. The lower house was to contain not less than sixteen members to be returned by districts, the limits of which were to be fixed by the governor. Members were to be elected by citizens who were landowners or rentpayers. They were to hold office for four years unless the assembly or parliament should be sooner prorogued by the governor.

The legal division of the two provinces took place on December 26, 1791, but the parliamentary elections did not take place until the following year. In the meantime Lord Dorchester had left Canada for England and the direction of government was left with the lieutenant-governor, Alfred Clarke.

One of the important points under discussion in the formation of the two new provinces was the description of the territories embraced in each province. This matter was one of great interest to the English government at this date. Mr. Grenville stated that "if the line of demarcation was that mentioned in the treaty of 1783, Detroit, which the infraction of the treaty on the part of America has induced his majesty to retain, would be excluded from the upper province, while if it was included, by express terms, by an act of the British parliament, it would probably excite a considerable degree of resentment among the inhabitants of the United States and might provoke them to measures detrimental to our commercial interests. The proper solution of this difficulty would be to describe the upper district by general terms as—all the territories possessed by and subject to his majesty west of the boundary line of Lower Canada."

Between the date of the appointment of Powell and the division of the province, the affairs of the upper country were conducted under the act which gave the governor the appointment. The act for the division of the province omitted to make any provision for the management of affairs during the interval between the passage of that act and the first meeting of the legislative council. John Graves Simcoe was appointed lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, and he issued a proclamation, dated July 9, 1792, for the care of the province in this interval. He directed that the "judges, justices and all other of our civil officers, who, on the 26th day of December last (1791) held offices or employments, judicial or ministerial, within that part of our late province of Quebec, which now constitutes the province of Upper Canada, should continue in their respective offices and employments." The proclamation, of which the foregoing is an excerpt, was sent up to Detroit by D. W. Smith, enclosed in a letter which will be copied in full.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION IN DETROIT

The letter relates to one of the most interesting incidents that ever took place in Detroit, the election of a member of parliament. This is the only excuse for including so long a document. David William Smith, the writer of this letter, was born September 4, 1764, and was the only son of John Smith and Anne, daughter of William Waylen of Rowde Hill, Wiltshire, England. The elder Smith was commandant at Niagara, Canada, and died there in 1795. David was an ensign and subsequently captain, in the Fifth Foot. He was an attorney, or barrister, in Upper Canada and was also surveyor-general. He was a member of the first three Canadian parliaments and speaker of the house. He was created a baronet in 1821. The letter is as follows:

"Niagara 26 July, 1792.

"My Dear Sir: The governor's proclamations are arrived dividing the upper country. The N. county is called Essex, and is bounded on the east by the carrying place from Point au Pins to the River La Tranche (Thames) bounded on the south by Lake Erie and on the west by the River Detroit to Maisonville's mill, from thence by a line running parallel to the River Detroit and Lake St. Clair, at the distance of four miles until it reaches the River La

Tranche, thence up the said river to where the carrying place from Point au Pins strikes that river. This said county of Essex, with the adjoining county of Suffolk (in which there are no inhabitants) sends one member. Those who have certificates (for lands) only, I understand, can vote. This tract comprehends the new settlers on Lake Erie (Amherstburg) who have generally certificates, Monforton's company, who have none except they have recorded them since my departure, and Maisonville's company to the mill, in this last place there are inhabitants on twelve acres front just above the church, who will vote by reason of their having French deeds 'en roture' and those settled on the South side of River La Tranche, a few of whom have certificates and where I myself am a freeholder. This damned election business seems to bind me to the county, for you know I am not fond of deserting any cause I undertake, and that of the public is most dear to me. Should I be returned without an undue election or the appearance of party or bribery, I shall be most happy, and in that case I beg an ox be roasted whole on the common and a barrel of rum be given to the mob, to wash down the beef. You will draw on me for the amount. I should have great pleasure in helping to frame laws for lands which I have had so much pleasure in laying out. Mr. Pollard who is appointed sheriff, is returning officer. The writs are issued this day and returnable the 12th Sept. I depend a good deal on your goodness, favor and affection in this business and hope I need not make any apologies on that score. As I have begun the canvas I am determined to go through with it, and should I succeed I hope to support my character afterwards. We shall not certainly have the province there four years, so that wherever the seat of government may be, or whatever may be the destination of the regiment, I make no doubt that I shall be able to attend the council and assembly yearly. My having done the settlers' business without emoluments from any quarter, should be some inducement to them, on the score of gratitude, to return me. I rather think that it is intended that the people who have French grants on the garrison side should vote, as the description of the county of Kent comprehends a great deal and sends two members. It is said to contain all the country (not being territories of the Indians, and not already included in Essex and the several other counties described) extending northward to the boundary line of Hudson's Bay—including all the territory to the westward and southward of the said line to the utmost extent of the county commonly called or known by the name of Canada.

"Should candidates to represent this county go a begging and you find I have no chance for Essex, I shall be proud to be returned for this county, but as the French people know little of me I have not any hopes on that score. I am very ill at present, myself, or I would certainly go up to Detroit, but if the people are sincere, that is unnecessary and this will give it a fair trial. You will do me a service by delivering to Mr. Pollard the names of those capable to vote, which you can get from a small register in the land office, marked or rather indorsed, 'Certificates granted' and another indorsed 'French grants en roture.'

"If any Monforton's or Maisonville's company have received certificates since my departure, I will be thankful to you to use your influence with them. Col. McKee has promised me his interest, so has the commodore (Alexander Grant) and I think I may depend upon Capt. Elliot, George Leith and a few others. When I wrote you last it was expected that Grosse Ile, River Raisin and Rouge would have voted with the new settlers, but that is not the case.

"Jacques Parent, Lourent Parent, Claude Rheaum, Bapt. Le Duc and John

Bapt. Hortelle, just above the Huron church (Sandwich) may probably ask for an explanation of my letters to them. They had lands 'en roture' formerly granted to Mons. Longuett and they, of course, have indisputably votes. I have therefore addressed them separately.

"These are the only French deeds acknowledged by the 'Tableau des Terres en roture' on that side of the water.

"I am sure you will forgive me for sending so large a paquet to you. The most of them are for the freeholders on Lake Erie, all whose names I could recollect. The others you will have great goodness by putting in train for their destination. The governor arrived this day.

"God assist you, prays,

"D. W. Smith."

The old question of the boundary lines of the British possessions is brought up by this letter. It was not certainly known whether Detroit was in the new county of Essex or Kent, but in whichever county it might be located, Smith was willing to sacrifice himself for the public good. This letter, as were several others on the same subject, was written to one of the most influential men at Detroit, John Askin. There can be no doubt that Mr. Askin exerted himself to the utmost in favor of his friend, but Mr. Smith was not exceedingly sanguine of success in the coming election. A few days later there was another letter in which he wrote:

"This is the situation for a disappointed candidate who is fed up with hopes from those who wish him well. As I am a little better nothing prevents my setting off for Detroit immediately, but the coming of the prince. He is to be here about the 25th. My fate is to be determined the 28th.

"Leith tells me you have written to me, but the opposite party have got hold of the letter because they guessed its contents. Have proper booths erected for my friends at the hustings, employ Forsyth to make large plum cakes, with plenty of fruit, etc., and be sure let the wine be good and plenty. Let the peasants have a fiddle, some beverage and beef. If my absence merely should be mentioned as a bar to my election, you may assure the world that if there is time between the returns being made and the meeting of the assembly, I will come up to take the sentiments of the county, and I will annually pay Detroit a visit before I go to meet the assembly."

Truly, a century has not greatly changed the character of the politician. Mr. Patrick McNiff, a surveyor residing at Detroit, told Smith there was little hope of his success, but other friends gave him more encouragement and Smith wrote, on August 8th:

"Everything must now be left to fate and providence will naturally direct for the best. I am so pestered with a fever, headache, want of appetite and withal so weak that nothing else prevents me from setting out for Detroit express. I would kick up such a dust in Essex as never was there before—and I would scrutinize every vote nor allow of any but such as were permitted by the act of parliament—that is if the people on Lake Erie and on the south side of the river La Tranche were unanimous for my election. What with crossing the water and half a dozen masters to serve exclusive of God and Mammon, ill health and all together I am completely fagged."

Smith was still doubtful of the result and sent Lieut. S. Selby up from Niagara to assist in the election. A few days before the election the latter wrote to Askin:

"In case Mr. Smith is likely to be hard run, I have some votes to bring for-

ward at short notice, but I would rather avoid their appearing, unless it was absolutely necessary, of this you will be able to judge in sufficient time to send me information."

The election took place at the appointed time and Mr. Smith and William Macomb were chosen to represent this district. The assembly, or parliament, met at Newark (subsequently called Niagara) on the 17th of September and the house of representatives consisted of the following fifteen members: John McDonell (speaker), John Booth, Mr. Baby, Alexander Campbell, Peter Van Alstine, Jeremiah French, Ephraim Jones, William Macomb, Hugh McDonell, Benjamin Rawlin, Nathaniel Pettit, David William Smith, Isaac Swayzy, Mr. Young and John White. Philip Dorland was also elected, but being a Quaker, he refused to take the oath of office and hence was not given his seat and Peter Van Alstine was elected in his place.

MINOR SUITS OF INTEREST

In order to make a continuous narrative of the first, and only, parliamentary election in Detroit, we have passed over a period that developed other interesting local legal matters.

An unrecorded deed of land made by Gregor McGregor, sheriff, of the district of Hesse, dated March 25, 1791, running to John Askin, of a parcel of land situated on the River Raisin, was a sale by virtue of a levy on an execution against Etien Laviölet. The tract of land contained one hundred and sixty acres and with a house and barn sold for fifteen pounds twelve shillings six pence. The object in referring to this deed is to show that the boundaries of the district were supposed to include the River Raisin, and other documents show that the Miami country, northern Ohio, was also claimed to be in the district of Hesse.

Among other minor suits and trials of this period are a few of interest. On July 29, 1791 John Chase (gunner), John McEvoy, Michael Morisey, Thomas Flavell and William Straight deserted from the Snow Chippewa, intending to go to the colonies. On Monday, August 1st, William Fleming, with a party of soldiers of the Twenty-sixth Regiment, captured the deserters, and they were tried in Detroit a few days later and committed to jail. The prisoners were all discharged from the navy and turned over to the civil authorities to be tried. The punishment could not have been greater than imprisonment, for they had committed no capital crime at civil law.

George Schelsted, tanner, complained that the notorious Simon Girty, on Sunday, August 21, 1791, assaulted him as he was riding on horseback near Captain Lamothe's on the King's Highway (now Atwater Street, at the foot of Randolph Street). Schelsted managed to escape, when Girty threw stones at him and struck him in the head, wounding him severely. A warrant for Girty's arrest was sworn out by Schelsted and placed in the hands of Joseph Elim, constable. Girty was arrested and brought before the justice for trial, but no trial ever took place as there is indorsed on the back of the warrant "settled by the parties."

POLICE REGULATIONS

The village authorities had some powers of passing rules and regulations for the government of the village, though it is not certain what these rules were, whence derived or how enforced. Among the unpublished documents of that period is the following:

"Report to the commissioners of persons presented to me as having trespassed against the regulations of the police, Detroit, August 23, 1791.

"Mr. William Scott, two of his cows found in the street by Lieutenant Allison.

"Mr. J. Welch, two of his cows found in the street by Lieutenant Allison.

"Mr. Cotie, two of his cows found in the street by Lieutenant Allison.

"Mr. Girardin, one of his cows found in the street by Lieutenant Allison.

"Mr. Dolson, one of his cows found in the street by Lieutenant Allison.

"Mr. Smith, T. K., one of his cows found in the street by Lieutenant Allison.

"Mr. Hands, one of his cows found in the street by Lieutenant Allison.

"Mr. Whitten, one of his cows found in the street by Lieutenant Allison.

"Mr. G. McDougal, leaving his cart in the street at night.

"Mr. Fraro, prentice boy, galloping through the streets.

"Mr. Baby, no ladders provided for Mr. Ross Lewen nor his own house.

"N. B.—A number of hogs are daily running in the streets to the great detriment of the public.

"James May, O. P..

Possibly police regulations were those instituted by the garrison, though James May was not in the army. He was a prominent character in Detroit for many years. A brief sketch of his life is copied here from the family bible of the late Alexander D. Frazer:

"Judge James May died Monday, January 19, 1829, aged 73 years. A native of Birmingham, England, he emigrated to Montreal during the revolution, was present at the capture of Ethan Allen, and in 1778 removed to Detroit. Ever after the surrender of Detroit to the Federal Government, Mr. May continued to hold civil and military offices. He was the first chief justice of the court of common pleas, marshal of the territory, justice of the peace, colonel of militia, etc. His body is buried in A. D. Frazer's lot in Elmwood cemetery, Detroit. He was married to Margaret Labadie, September 30, 1797, she being then 18 years of age. Their eighth child Augusta Caroline, was married to Alexander D. Frazer, by the Rev. Gabriel Richard of the Roman Catholic church at Ste. Anne's church January 3, 1829, she being then 15 years and 2 month old. Alexander D. Frazer was born at Dochgarroch, parish of Inverness, Scotland, January 20, 1796, and died in Detroit in 1877."

FIRE PREVENTION

Another instance of police control is shown by a document entitled "List of inhabitants' names whose chimneys are condemned, and such as are in a dangerous condition—agreeable to the survey made September 14, 1791." The delinquents are as follows:

"Mr. Burbank, house of William Macomb, chimney in a dangerous state.

"Joseph Edge, house of Mrs. Baby, chimney, new, condemned.

"Thomas Smith, T. Keeper, his own house chimney in a dangerous state.

"Dr. Holmes, house of William Macomb. The hearth in the upper room dangerous.

"J. Whitehead, house of James Donaldson, chimney condemned.

"J. Welch, his own house, chimney condemned by himself.

"William Scott, his own house, chimney and stovepipe dangerous.

"John Cornwall, house of Mr. Douler, chimney condemned.

"Lieutenant Hill, government house, chimney in kitchen dangerous.

"Robert Gouie, house of William Macomb, fireplace in room dangerous.

"Rev. J. Fritchett, public house, chimney dangerous.

"Carsen, soldier, house of N. Williams, chimney condemned.

"Fife major, house of D. Robertson, chimney condemned.

"John Martin, his own house, hearth in upper room dangerous.

"House in back street occupied by a soldier and owned by Joseph F. Jean, chimney condemned.

"Two houses in back street occupied by soldiers and owned by government, chimney condemned.

"James May, O. P."

One would think from the above that nearly all the chimneys in town were defective. The village consisted only of four or five streets running east and west, located between the present southerly line of Jefferson Avenue and the northerly line of Larned Street and from Griswold Street on the east to Wayne Street on the west. The picket line had been extended on both the easterly and westerly sides northwardly to include the fort, which was situated nearly on the site of the postoffice building, but the land between the fort and Larned Street was low, the little creek running through it, and not fit for residences. Nearly all the buildings were one story in height and built of logs. There were, however, some two-story buildings as will appear by the above list of condemnations.

The houses were very closely huddled together and there were very few vacant lots. There were no brick or stone buildings in the village. There was an engine house, but if there was a fire apparatus it must have been of the most simple kind. There was no fire department and if a building should catch on fire the almost inevitable result would be the destruction of the entire village, a calamity that actually occurred in 1805. We cannot wonder, then, that a great deal of attention was paid by the police powers to the matter of chimneys. Stoves, as we know the term, were not in use at that time. They had been invented but a few years before this, and it is very doubtful if one was ever brought to Detroit before the coming of the Americans in 1796. Every house had its fireplace and sometimes there were fireplaces in different rooms of the same house. Wood was exclusively used for fuel, as coal was unknown at that date. On the reverse of the above quoted documents is the following indorsement:

"We acknowledge to have seen the enclosed list concerning our chimnies and the circular letter from the magistrate concerning them.

"Detroit, Sept. 20, 1791.

"William Macomb.

"James Donaldson.

"William Scott.

"John Martin.

"William and David Robertson.

"Thomas Smith.

"N. Williams."

The notice referred to was drawn up by a committee of prominent citizens, but whether at the request of some public gathering, or of the military department, or of their own motion, cannot now be determined. The notice is as follows:

"To the occupiers of those houses in the town of Detroit whose chimnies, according to the late survey, stand in need of repair.

"Gentlemen—You will see by the enclosed report that the chimnies of your

respective houses have been examined in conformity to the regulations of the police and that many, though not dangerously bad, are yet in want of repairs. You will therefore please order that the repairs necessary to render them sound and sufficient be accomplished betwixt — — and 10th October next, otherwise you will be liable to the penalties annexed to the regulations in that behalf made.

"We are, gentlemen, your humble servants,

"John Askin, J. P.

"George Meldrum.

"Alex. Grant.

"Geo. Leith.

"Geo. Sharp.

"Wm. Macomb.

"Detroit, 19th Sept. 1791."

The list referred to is among these old records. It contains a number of names of householders of that day not found in other places, and as the list is interesting it will be given in full. In the original the owners and tenants are distinguished by a numeral; those numbered one (1) being proprietors, and those numbered two (2) being tenants. The list follows:

"Report of the chimneys in the Town of Detroit, agreeable to the survey made September 14, 1791, by Perot, Wheaton, Fraro and Cocillyard, by profession, masons and carpenters.

"Black Dinah (2) kitchen fireplace, wants repairs.

"Mrs. Bourbank (2) chimney in dangerous condition.

"Joseph Edge (2) chimney condemned as being unfit for use.

"Couteaur, the cooper, (2) chimney wants repairs.

"Jacques Pilquey (1) kitchen fireplace wants repairs.

"Thomas Smith (1) kitchen chimney very dangerous, unfit for use.

"Doctor Holmes (2) kitchen wants repairs, one harth in the upper room in a very dangerous condition.

"Provencal, blk smith (1) chimney wants repairs.

"John Whitehead (2) chimney condemned.

"John Welch (1) chimney condemned.

"William Scott (1) kitchen chimney very bad, the pipe of the stove only 1½ inches from the woodwork.

"John Cornwell (2) chimney in bad order, mason work done with clay, condemned.

"Mathew Dolsen (1) kitchen chimney wants repairs.

"Francois Roucour (1) kitchen chimney wants repairs.

"Augustin Lafoy (1) kitchen chimney wants repairs.

"Lieut. Hill (2) kitchen chimney in a dangerous condition.

"William Hands (2) the top of his chimney in bad order.

"Walter Roe Esq. (1) kitchen fireplace wants repairs.

"George Leith Esq. (1) kitchen fireplace wants repairs.

"Robert Gouie (2) fireplace in the room very dangerous.

"George Sharp, Esq. (1) kitchen fireplace wants repairs.

"James Allen (2) kitchen fireplace wants repairs.

"Rev. Mr. Fritchett (1) kitchen fireplace in a very dangerous condition.

"—Carsen, soldier (2) brick chimney in kitchen condemned.

"Jacque Baby, bake house chimney wants repair.

"Geo. MacDougall (2) kitchen chimney wants repair.

"Mr. Baby (1) kitchen chimney wants repair.

"William Forsyth (1) kitchen fireplace wants repair.

"Thomas Reynolds (1) kitchen fireplace wants repair.

"Mrs. Ford (2) ditto ditto

"Lieut. R. Lewen (2) ditto ditto

"John Askin Esq. (1) ditto ditto

"Fife Major (2) chimney condemned.

"William Park Esq. (1) kitchen chimney wants repairs.

"John Martin (1) the harth in the upper room fronting the street in a dangerous condition.

"Three houses opposite Doctor Holmes, occupied by soldiers, the chimneys all in bad condition.

"We, the subscribers, having duly inspected the chimneys in the Town of Detroit, have found and do declare the before mentioned chimneys to be exceptionable as herein stated.

"Detroit Sept. 15, 1791.

"Louis Perault.

"Francois Frero.

"Alexis Ceraït.

"Jno. Wheaton.

"James May O. P."

There was no printing press, nor any method by which the above report could be readily reproduced, and the making of a copy of it for each delinquent was quite a task—too much of a task, in fact, to be undertaken unless it became necessary. In order to avoid such a work, the original notice and report was taken to each of the persons named above, and each signed a statement that he had seen the original. The paper was then sent to Lieutenant Smith by the magistrates and the entire matter certified to by Walter Roe.

Mr. Roe was a lawyer who resided at that time in Detroit and became of considerable local importance. After 1796 he removed to the Canadian side of the river and ended his days there.

There was no law applicable to Detroit which would permit the enforcement of penalties necessary to protect the place against fires. The examination and report of the magistrates made it manifest that such a law was a necessity, for a fire, once started, would destroy the village in short order. A public meeting was called, the state of affairs laid before the citizens and a memorial addressed to the legislature to pass laws applicable to the situation. This memorial was forwarded to Mr. Smith, who presented it to the governor at Niagara.

Governor Simcoe assembled the first provincial parliament of Upper Canada at Newark (Niagara) September 17, 1792, and a few days later the petition of the citizens of Detroit was laid before the lower house. The first information we have on the subject is derived from a letter of Mr. Smith's, dated September 24, 1792. He writes:

"Your petition from the merchants has been handed to the governor. Mr. Macomb and I cannot yet answer the merchants' letter formally. When we are certain as to the result you shall hear. I fear, however, from the silence observed on the occasion of the memorial that it does not augur well. I am working day and night to effect a police bill for you in such a manner as to prevent and obviate all your difficulties and my struggles shall not be wanting to bring it to maturity."

The chief difficulty was to so word the text of the law that while it would be applied to Detroit, it should not mention that place by name. The old trouble of passing laws for the government of the territory they were wrongfully in possession of still bothered the Canadians, and came to the surface on this occasion. While the police bill was being discussed, other matters of general importance came before the assembly. On the 24th Smith wrote.

"We have done little as yet; one grand bill for the general settlement of the laws of the land will, I expect, pass, and we have passed a jury bill in general terms through one house, with some difficulty—a bill to enable two justices to try 40s without appeal, is in great forwardness—ways and means seem the great difficulty. One or two committees for that purpose have proved nearly abortive. I proposed that every land holder should pay one farthing per acre per annum for all lands above 200 acres, which I conceive would not burden the settler, but the court party and the popular party were both against me, and I stood alone in the house. However, I am still of opinion that a land tax, whether it goes by that name or not, must eventually take place. I act from principle, altho' I value the world's opinion somewhat. I cannot conceive that one farthing raised by the house of assembly can be deemed onerous, when the magistrates in quarter session will probably have power to raise much greater sums."

PARLIAMENTARY LAWS FOR DETROIT

On the 15th of October parliament was prorogued. The acts passed at this session are contained in eight chapters comprising five pages of printed matter. Each chapter would be considered a separate act as our laws are published. The acts were as follows:

First, repealing the ancient law of the Dominion which required the use of Canadian or French laws for the government of the province.

Second, establishing trial by jury.

Third, establishing a system of weights and measures.

Fourth, abolishing summary proceedings in court actions under ten pounds.

Fifth, an act to prevent accidents by fire.

Sixth, an act for the speedy recovery of small debts.

Seventh, an act to regulate tolls in mills.

Eighth, an act for building a court house and jail in every district.

There is no doubt that some of these laws were passed at the instance of Detroit persons and were applicable to Detroit more than any other place.

The first chapter sets forth that the old Canadian laws were adapted to the French, but that since the Dominion was divided and Upper Canada formed, the number of Englishmen exceeded the number of Frenchmen and the laws should be altered to meet the new condition. This change in nationality certainly had not taken place in Upper Canada if Detroit was excluded, for that place was the most important above Montreal and the great influx of English people had been at that place. It may be noted that chapter five, "an act to prevent accidents by fire in this province," was passed at the request of Detroit citizens. The substance of this act was that—

"It shall be lawful for the magistrates of each and every district in this province, in quarter sessions assembled, to make such orders and regulations for the prevention of accidental fires within the same, as to them shall seem meet and necessary, and to appoint firemen or other officers for the prevention of accidental fires, or for the purpose of extinguishing the same, when such may happen, and

to make such orders and regulations as to them may seem fit or necessary, in any town or towns, or other place or places in each district within this province, where they may be 40 storehouses and dwelling houses within the space of half a mile square."

The assembly might as well have mentioned Detroit by name in this bill, for there was no other place to which the law could be applied, but here again it became necessary to pass a general law in order to avoid openly claiming Detroit as a British possession.

The act to regulate the toll to be taken at mills was prepared in the interest of the millowners of Detroit. It permitted the taking of one-twelfth of the grain as toll for the grinding, thus regulating the amount for the province.

Chapter Eight changed the name of the district of Hesse to the Western District, and provided that "a gaol and court house" should be built "as near the present court house as conveniently may be." This phrase is somewhat uncertain, because there was, at this time, no court house in Detroit and the jail was located near the corner of Wayne and Larned streets. It was not the intention to erect public buildings in Detroit and under this act the court house and jail were subsequently erected in Sandwich.

What parliament did not do at its first session is quite as interesting to learn as what it did do. A few days before the adjournment Mr. Smith wrote:

"I have had several confabs with the chief about the continuation of the court of common pleas (in Detroit) but I find the law will admit of it, for reasons hereafter to be explained to you."

It would appear from this that there was doubt as to the propriety of maintaining this court on the North side of the river. It certainly was continued in Detroit for a period somewhat later than this. He continues:

"The bill for 40s which I brought into the house will, I hope, obviate the difficulty you mention of debtors under £10 not being subject to imprisonment."

It will be remembered that for many years later than this, imprisonment for debt was the proper way of collecting accounts and that the first process in an action for debt was the *capias*.

PREPARATIONS FOR SECOND SESSION

Already were preparations being made for the meeting of the second session. These preparations consisted in formulating bills which were rejected at the first session, to be introduced in the second session, that would suit Smith's constituents. His letter of October 2, 1792 contains the following:

"I proposed a bill to enable the magistrates in quarter sessions to levy county rates, but it has been thrown out. I have been of opinion also that the magistrates in quarter sessions should choose the different county, town and parish officers, but that, it seems, cannot succeed either, most of the members being for a town meeting and that these officers should be elective. However, as I conceive these meetings to have been the cause of the late unhappy rebellion (the Revolutionary war) and must always be attended with riot and confusion, it does not meet my ideas. I think the majesty of the people should never be called together, but to choose their representatives for the house of assembly, and perhaps to assemble them without an instrument from the governor may be illegal, and to force that instrument from him by law may be an infringement of his prerogative."

Here is shown the "spirit of '76" cropping out in the Canadian settlements.

The town meeting was the cause of all the trouble that arose between the colonies and Great Britain, and if it was once introduced into Canada, that colony, like the others, would soon be lost to the mother country. He continues:

"I have been working a hundred ways to get your fire bill passed, and this day I have brought something into the house which, I think, will succeed and answer the purpose. It is that whenever there shall be found in any space of half a mile square 40 houses therein, it shall be lawful, for the magistrate in quarter sessions to make regulations for the prevention of fire in that place. The great difficulty started in mentioning the name of the Town of Detroit: however, as the proclamation unquestionably, in my opinion, puts you in the county of Kent, I trust you will find no difficulty, as the bill is framed merely to secure Detroit."

On other occasions the independence of members of this first parliament annoyed the court party and, of course, Mr. Smith, who represented the party. He writes on October 2d:

"Our house of assembly for the most part have violent leveling principles, which are totally different from the ideas I have been educated with. The neighboring states are too often brought in as patterns and models, which I neither approve or countenance—I think modesty should be the characteristic of our first assembly. I conceive it prudent, political and grateful and I am confident the contrary behavior won't succeed to do the country any good. Whatever may be the future prospects of designing men, we cannot, at present, exist without the assistance of Great Britain. She has ever shown herself a foster mother to her colonies and any procedure which I conceive tends to divide the interests of the parent kingdom and all her colonies, I will oppose with all my weight."

Most of Mr. Smith's constituents lived on the American side of the Detroit River and it is possible that if this letter had been made public at the time, a number of his adherents would have been displeased with his expressions, but in the absence of newspapers and reporters he was safe for the time being. As there was never a second parliamentary election in Detroit, Mr. Smith lost no votes here on account of this letter, or of others that he wrote on political topics. He had persistently argued in favor of a land tax, even against his own material interests, for he was a large landowner. On this subject of the proposed land tax, he wrote in his letter of October 20, 1792:

"I will certainly be acquitted for having proposed a land tax having at the very time a petition before the governor and council in the name of my father and myself for 6400 acres, which is since secured, or rather ordered in council. This circumstance will be the strongest proof that I have acted from principle and should malicious reports be spread, I beg you will promulgate my sentiments, situation and concern relative to the said land business. As to news here, we have none, not even a scandalous story. I expect you will be well prepared with memoranda for me in the spring, relative to what amendments you want in the present laws."

The Canadians felt themselves insecure in the possession of Detroit and the feeling of insecurity was growing day by day, as the States were complaining of the injustice of its retention. To be sure, Harmar and St. Clair had advanced against the Indians with two armies, apparently well equipped to combat with savages, and both armies had been routed and defeated, but the defeat was not a sign that the government was vanquished. It was apparent to the English

government and to the Canadian and to the Indians themselves that the United States troops would be victorious in the end and that Detroit must, sooner or later, be turned over to the States. The military commandant at Detroit complained again and again that the fortifications could not stand the attack of even a small army and that if the Americans advanced beyond the Miami (Maumee) the British troops might as well evacuate the town, for they would be unable to hold it.

It is with Detroit alone that we are dealing now, and the formation of Wayne's army, the attempt of our government to negotiate a treaty with the Indians, the failure to effect the treaty, the advance of Wayne through the wilderness, the attempt of the British to stay his advance by building a fort on the Maumee and by aiding the Indians, the battle of Fallen Timbers and the rout and destruction of the Indians, will be narrated in another chapter.

ANTIPATHY TOWARD AMERICAN SYMPATHIZERS

At this time there was an embassy in England negotiating with that country to make a new treaty which should carry into effect the treaty of 1783, and which would result in the evacuation of the United States posts by British soldiers. This new treaty was not perfected until 1794 and in the meantime everything at Detroit which indicated the leaning of any citizen towards American interests was looked upon with suspicion and was likely to be followed with imprisonment.

The American envoys to the Indians, who sought to bring about a peace with them before Wayne began his march through the woods, were not permitted to visit Detroit, nor were they permitted to cross the Detroit River at its mouth, and not being able to effect a meeting with the Indians on the Canadian side, they were compelled to return to Congress fruitless.

Strangers at Detroit were watched and their actions commented upon. On April 2, 1793 one of the justices was approached by a citizen, John Miller, who asked permission to lay a complaint before him. The complaint was substantially as follows: Willam Erwin, "a man who lately came from the American states," formed the acquaintance of Miller and tried to persuade him to leave Detroit for the States, where he would make a gentleman of him. He asked Miller to go around the works (fortifications) with him and, as Miller refused, Erwin left the home at night and spent four or five nights in making investigations. He told Miller a large army would soon come against the place. Apparently the story, however preposterous it was, was believed by the magistrate and a warrant was issued for the apprehension of Erwin. The acquaintanceship between Miller and Erwin commenced on the 10th of March and as the complaint was not made until the 3rd of April, Erwin had an abundance of time to make a detailed plan of the village and fortifications and leave for the States before the warrant for his detention was issued.

VISIT OF GOVERNOR SIMCOE

An event of considerable local importance occurred at this time. This was a visit to Detroit of Gov. John Graves Simcoe. The threats of certain hotheads among the Americans to attack Niagara and Detroit, induced Governor Simcoe to visit the place in order to ascertain the best means of opening an uninterrupted communication between the two posts named. Governor Simcoe and suite left Niagara in February, 1793, accompanied by Capt. Joseph Brant, the great chief of the Six Nations, and a body of Indians. On the 18th of February

he reached Dolson's on the River Tranche (Thames) and was received by the entire settlement. Upon their departure they followed this river to Lake St. Clair, and thence down the lake and Detroit River to a point opposite Detroit. Crossing the river, the party was received by the garrison and citizens of Detroit. Simcoe examined the fortifications and reviewed the troops, the Twenty-fourth Regiment, and remained in the place until February 25th, when he set out upon his return to Niagara. It is said that on his return he stopped an entire day on the site of the present city of London, Ontario, examining the place and surroundings with the idea of making it the seat of government, or capital, of Upper Canada.

SECOND SESSION OF PARLIAMENT

The second session of parliament met at Newark (Niagara) May 31, 1793, and continued until July 9th of the same year. The acts passed at this session were as follows:

1. An act for the regulation of the militia.
2. An act for the election of parish and town officers.
3. An act for laying and collecting assessments and rates.
4. An act for laying out and keeping in repair highways and roads.
5. An act to confirm and make valid certain marriages heretofore contracted in the country now comprised within the Province of Upper Canada, and to provide for the future solemnization of marriages within the same.
6. An act to fix the times and places for holding courts of quarter sessions of the peace.
7. An act to prevent the further introduction of slaves.
8. An act to establish a court of probate, and also a surrogate court in every district.
9. An act to authorize the lieutenant-governor to appoint commissioners.
10. An act to establish a fund for salaries of the legislative council members.
11. Providing bounty for destroying wolves.
12. Appointment of returning officers.
13. Payment of salaries of members of the house of assembly.

Only a few of these acts were in any way interesting to the people of Detroit.

The first act adopted by parliament in its second session at Newark (Niagara) in 1793 was relative to the militia. While by its terms applicable to the entire district, it was probably confined, in its operations, to the country South of the Detroit River. Lists of militia living on that side of the river occasionally appear, but if any persons were enrolled on the Detroit side, the lists have yet to be unearthed.

The second act is of more local importance. By the terms of this act, a popular election was to be held on the first Monday of March in every year, at which time there were to be chosen a town clerk, two assessors, one collector, from two to six overseers of highways, a poundkeeper and two wardens. This election was to be called by any two justices of the peace in the district. The passage of this act clearly indicates that the New England idea of self government was instilled in the Canadians and that the court party represented by Mr. Smith, was unable to control the other members of the assembly. This bill, or one similarly worded, had been introduced in the first session and had failed of passage, being violently opposed by Mr. Smith, as indicated in his letter written on that occasion.

By the terms of this act, if any person elected to an office refused to accept the same for seven days after being notified, he should pay forty shillings as a fine for his refusal. The law for the collection of taxes was not a land tax, as we understand the term, but each individual was taxed in proportion to the amount of property he had. The entire list of inhabitants was to be divided, by the assessors, into eight groups, the lowest group including only those whose property amounted to fifty pounds or less, and each group in the scale including citizens whose property exceeded the next lower group by fifty pounds, so that the eighth group included all having property over four hundred pounds. A flat tax of two shillings six pence was levied on each one in the first class, and the amount increased in each class to twenty shillings in the eighth class.

The justices of the peace in quarter sessions were directed to appoint a treasurer to hold and disburse the taxes collected. This act also provided that members of the assembly should each receive as wages the sum of ten shillings for each day that they were engaged in attendance in the house.

Every freeholder was compelled to work at least twelve days in each year in maintaining and repairing roads, and eight hours of labor was fixed as a day's work.

REGULATION OF MARRIAGES

The fifth act, relative to marriages, was of the utmost importance to Detroit, and the measure was introduced and urged through the assembly at the request of Detroit citizens.

There was no minister of the Church of England in Detroit at this time. On some occasions a chaplain would be, for a short time, attached to the garrison, but except on these occasions, no valid marriages had ever been solemnized by the protestants at Detroit. The marriage ceremony was constantly being performed by the commanding officer of the garrison. If he declined to act, it was performed by the adjutant. Sometimes the lieutenant-governor acted. All of these marriages were clearly illegal, and an attempt was made to pass a law that should legalize the past marriages and provide for future marriages. On the occasion of this act, Governor Simcoe wrote:

"The general cry of persons of all conditions for the passing of the marriage bill was such that I could no longer withhold, under the pretense of consulting any opinion at home, having already availed myself of that excuse for delay."

The act legalized all marriages performed "before any magistrate, or commanding officer of a fort, or adjutant, or surgeon of a regiment, acting as chaplain, or any person in any public office or employment, before the passage of this act." To take advantage of this act, it was necessary for the husband and wife to make oath of their marriage, giving the date of the same, and the dates of the birth of their children, if any, and this statement was to be recorded by the clerk of the peace. That such a record was made, we are certain, for there exist copies of one or two of the certificates, but a diligent search has failed to disclose the record itself.

Justices of the peace were authorized to perform the marriage ceremony in case no protestant minister resided within eighteen miles of the residence of the persons, and the justice was directed to keep a record of such marriages.

Chapter Six fixed the time of holding quarter sessions of the peace for the Western District in the town of Detroit, on the second Tuesday of July, October, January, and April in each year, and a court of special sessions of the peace was

to be held yearly, on the second Tuesday of July, at Mackinac. The court of quarter sessions was a court composed of all the justices of the district, sitting en banc.

LEGISLATION ON SLAVERY

An act to prevent the further introduction of slaves was passed as Chapter Seven. The law permitting the importation of negro slaves was repealed. Slavery was not abolished, but in order to prevent a continuation of the system, it was provided that children born of slave mothers should abide with the master of the mother until the child was twenty-five years of age, and should then be free.

There were a large number of slaves in and about Detroit, and the agitation of freeing them excited their owners. It was necessary to make some satisfactory explanation of the proposed law to quiet the fears of the slaveholders of Detroit, and Mr. Smith explained in a letter of June 25, 1793:

"We have made no law to free the slaves. All those who have been brought into the province, or purchased under any authority legally exercised, are slaves to all intents and purposes, and are secured as property by a certain act of parliament. They are determined, however, to have a bill about slaves, part of which, I think, is well enough, part most iniquitous. I wash my hands of it. A free man who is married to a slave—his heir is declared by this act to be a slave. Fye! Fye! The laws of man and God cannot authorize it.

"A marriage bill—a wolf bill—a parish officer bill—a probate bill—a common pleas bill—and some others have gone through the house."

It is well to note that the terms of the emancipation bill as here outlined. The ordinance of 1787 provided that there should be no slavery in the Northwest Territory. As soon as Detroit was separated from Canada and was placed under the government of the United States, the Canadian slaves began to cross the river in the hope of reaching freedom. This law of Canada and Jay's treaty of 1794 were brought into play to force a return of these fugitive slaves, and both acts ran counter to the ordinance of 1787. It will be some time before we reach the period of Judge Augustus Brevoort Woodward, Michigan's first great chief justice, to whom these fugitive slave questions were submitted, and just such a man was needed to define clearly the meaning of these laws, and to construe them in conformity with each other.

On the occasion of the passage of this act, Governor Simcoe wrote:

"The greatest resistance was to the slave bill, many plausible arguments of the dearness of labor and the difficulty of obtaining servants to cultivate lands was brought forward. Some possessing negroes, knowing that it was very questionable whether any subsisting law did not authorize slavery, and having purchased several taken in war by the Indians, at small prices, wished to reject the bill entirely. Others were desirous to supply themselves by allowing the importation for two years. The matter was finally settled by undertaking to secure the property already obtained upon condition that an immediate stop should be put to the importation, and that slavery should be gradually abolished."

The census of 1782 shows that there were then 179 slaves in Detroit and that they had nearly doubled in number since the census of 1773—nine years. It is safe to conclude that in 1793 there were more than three hundred slaves in the Detroit district and there was great reason to dislike any law which would set them free and thus deprive their owners of so much property. An inventory of

the property of John Askin, made January 1, 1787, includes the following list of slaves owned by him:

Jupiter, a negro man.....	£150
Tom, a negro man.....	140
George, a negro boy.....	90
Sam, a Panis—blacksmith.....	150
Susannah, a wench, and two children.....	130
Mary, a wench.....	100
Total.....	£760

PROBATE AND SURROGATE COURTS

A court of probate for the province of Upper Canada was authorized by Chapter Eight and over this court the governor, or lieutenant-governor, was to preside, but the governor was authorized to appoint "an official principal of said court" and a register and other officers to carry it on. This court could probate wills and grant administration on estates of intestates.

In addition to the provisions in Chapter Eight of the act for a court of probate, provision was also made for the organization of a surrogate court in each of the four districts of the province and for the appointment of a surrogate to preside as judge in each district. This court, also, could probate wills and issue letters of administration. When a deceased person left property in any district other than that in which he resided, the estate was to be probated in the court of probate only and not in any surrogate court.

The judge and register were to receive fees for services in connection with the probate of estates, as follows: for seal to probate of will where the estate was three hundred pounds or under, sixteen shillings; if under one thousand pounds it should be one pound; and if over two thousand pounds it should be two pounds. Seal to any other instrument, thirteen shillings four pence; caveat, six shillings eight pence; inventory, the same, and citation, three shillings four pence.

The fees of the register in the same cases were as follows: seal to probate of will in all cases, six shillings eight pence; seal to any other instrument, three shillings four pence; filing caveat and inventory, same fee; citation, one shilling; collating will, six shillings eight pence; drawing bond, same amount; searching register, one shilling each year; for copying each page of eighteen lines, six words in each, one shilling.

The fee system was carried on in our own court of probate for many years, under somewhat the same form as above mentioned.

Chapter Eleven, which provided for the destruction of wolves and the payment of a bounty for the same, contains a provision that was applicable to Detroit, and which was possibly inserted only because Detroit was in the Western district and consequently should have been excluded from the effect of all Canadian laws.

The act, after providing for bounties for the killing of wolves in the province, contains the following: "Provided always, that this act shall not extend, nor be construed to extend, to the Western district of this province, nor have any force or operation whatever therein."

LIQUOR LICENSE FUND FOR LEGISLATIVE SALARIES

The last of the thirteen acts or chapters pertains to the establishment of a fund for the payment of salaries to the members of the legislature. This fund

was to be raised by means of a license to sell liquors. Every person keeping a house of entertainment or selling liquors, was compelled to take out a license and pay therefor two pounds sixteen shillings, and to have written or printed over the door of his house the words "Licensed to sell wine and other spiritous liquors." He should also enter into a bond to keep a decent and orderly house. A failure to comply with these conditions was punishable with a fine of five shillings, "to be recovered before any justice of the peace," one half of the fine to be paid to the informer.

It was not long before this act was called into operation in Detroit. The following correspondence will fully explain itself, except that the complaining witness was Antoine Dequindre, to whom had been given the cognomen of Dagniaux, as it appears here and in other places.

"Detroit, 31st December, 1794.

"Sir: I am directed by the magistrates for the Western District to forward the subjoined case, with a request that you will favor them with your opinion thereon, as the issue awaits your determination. I have the honor to be,

"Sir

"Your most obedient and very humble servant,

"W. Roe,

"Clk. Peace,

"Western District.

"John White Esq.

"Atty-Gen., Etc., Etc.

"Case

"Dagniaux

vs

"Frazer.

"On information against def't. for retailing and selling one quart of rum on 20th. inst., and another on 21st. inst. without license.

"The fact proved on oath of Dagniaux.

"Query. Is the defendant punishable for so doing? If so, under what act, and to what amount?

"W. R., C. P."

The reply of the attorney-general was as follows:

Niagara, Jany. 19, 1794.

(Evidently misdated for 1795).

"The attorney-general laments that he is not able to give the magistrates the information they desire. Notwithstanding he was the framer of the Act, he has scarcely a vestige of it in his recollection, owing to the multiplicity of business that he had to engage his attention during the session. And the Acts being taken to Lower Canada for the signature of the late Chief Justice (as speaker of the L. Council), whose immediate departure after the prorogation occasioned that omission, he cannot refer to the Act in question to enable him to answer the cases. The basis upon which he drew it was the 26th. of G. 2 c. 31, which regulates the manner of licensing public houses in England (and was to amend and enlarge the G. 2d. C. 28, probably to be found in Burns' J.) by which any magistrate is enabled to summon upon suspicion—and is enabled to convict on the oath of one creditable witness. The A. G. conceives that (because the nature of the offence demands a summary conviction) he adopted the rule of the English law—if it is otherwise it must have been altered by the wisdom of the Houses.

While writing this he recollects that Mr. Macomb is possessed of the act, and he presumes (by receiving this case) there is no mode of conviction expressed in it. Two principles will arise on that—if the latter law is not in the negative, the summary mode of conviction in the former is not abrogated. If the last act is in the negative, and yet does not point out a mode of conviction, it becomes a misdemeanor, and of course cognizable at the session by the way of indictment. But this is advising in the dark, and the magistrates will perceive that the want of the act precludes a definite opinion. He would therefore wish that the Clerk of the Peace would transcribe the part of the Winter express for as the Acts have not yet been returned, as expected, he fears they will not arrive till the Spring. The information may be taken on oath—which will save the limitation, if any in the Act. He begs to inform the magistrates that there must be the oath of one credible witness besides the information of the informant.

“J. White,

“A. G.

“To the Worshipful, the Chairman and Magistrate of the Western District in Quarter Session Assembled.

“J. W.”

OTHER ITEMS OF 1793-4

A few more items appear in the old records and files during the years 1793 and 1794. John Haydek, a sailor, belonging to the sloop “Beaver,” absented himself from that vessel without leave of the owner or master from the 28th to the 31st of July, 1793. He was arrested, tried before John Askin, justice of the peace, convicted and sentenced to the keeper of the common gaol, “to be safely kept in said gaol for the space of 28 days” from August 7, 1793. The master of the “Beaver” was John Drake.

It seems difficult, at this time, to tell when the court of common pleas ceased to exist, as no successor was appointed. In the summer of 1793, Mr. D. W. Smith, M. P. wrote from Niagara:

“Your common pleas, I understand, is reestablished and the bench, I am told, is to be filled by the Hon. Col. McKee and W. Macomb.”

It is probable that Smith was in error, for there is no available evidence that Powell ever had a successor in Detroit. It is almost certain that Detroit had no other judge until the coming of Wayne in 1796. To prove the continued existence of the court of common pleas during this period, there is an advertisement, hand written and probably placed on some convenient post or tree, notifying the public that by virtue of a writ of execution issued out by the court of common pleas, the sheriff, Richard Pollard, would sell the property of the defendant, Joseph Mainville, “at the church door of the Parish L’Assumption le vingt deuxieme day of September next,” thus mixing his French and English to suit the natives. Attached to this notice was another that possibly had some legal significance at the time, but would scarcely be complied with under our law. It was as follows:

“All and every person having any prior claims by mortgage or other rights, are hereby required to give notice thereof in writing to the said sheriff before the day of sale.”

At the present time the purchaser takes his own risk of outstanding prior claims when he purchases at such a sale.

Robert Forsyth, acting for George Sharp, complained that John Bowers, an

engage of Sharp, had, September 26, 1794, refused to go to work as requested and stated that "he would prefer going to jail to obey his orders on that head." On this complaint, Bowers was arrested and brought before the justice. He answered that by his engagement he was not required to do farm work, such as he had been requested to do. He entered a counter complaint against Forsyth for assault, and for using abusive language. The justice' decision was: "Adjudged that Bowers return to his duty to serve out his time agreeable to his engagement, but not obliged to go to work at farmer's work, and that Forsyth gives in bail to appear at the next quarter sessions of the peace to answer for having struck said Bowers."

The postscript to the decision settled the entire matter: "The parties have come before me and made up their disputes.

"John Askin J. P."

Two suits of John Askin and Jonathan Schieffelin, co-partners, against John Askin, were tried at the court of common pleas March 31, 1794, and a verdict rendered for the plaintiff. These suits were settled by the payment of two hundred and fourteen pounds three shillings seven pence, October 11, 1794.

This letter indicates the existence of this court in March, 1794, but before October of that year, Judge Powell had left Detroit, for his letter dated October 13, of that year, is written from Mount Dorchester. Mount Dorchester does not appear on any modern map. It is situated on the Niagara River, a short distance below the falls. "The ridge of land running along the border of the Niagara district called the mountain, was, in Governor Simcoe's time, by royal proclamation named Mount Dorchester." In this letter the judge stated that he had twice been to Newark to open the court of K. B. (King's Bench). The following is an extract from Judge Powell's letter of November 14, which was in reply to an inquiry from a justice of the peace at Detroit:

"Your favor of the 21st. ulto. covering a note of costs on a penal judgment and stating a question upon the demand, I rec'd. this day. As the case is stated as a magistrate for future guidance I am less scrupulous in offering my opinion than if the reference was merely individual.

"I am unacquainted with the terms of your police regulations since I was in Detroit. I cannot speak for the letter of them, but I know of no general law which gives you power to create offences and levy the penalties. The ordinance of Quebec, under which your former regulations were made, subjected the recovery of all penalties to suit in the common pleas, where, of course, costs were given in an action of debt. But I fear on a summary conviction, before a single justice out of session, no costs were recoverable by any statute prior to the 14th. of the King, which is the epoch of our criminal code, altho, I think, by a subsequent statute, the 18th, Geo. 3d, some provision is made for costs in such cases, but it has not force of law here.

"It is a general rule of law that the jurisdiction of justices without the intervention of a jury, being contrary to the provisions of Magna Carta, must be derived from some statute, and on the same principle that the statute which gives the authority must be rigidly pursued. Therefore, in your case, if the Act, or Ordinance, makes no special provision for costs, none can be adjudged. In hazarding this statement of the law I am probably committing an impropriety should I have misconstrued your letter and you prove a party, in lieu of the justice in the business, for the appeal, in all cases, gives to the K. B., so

that, in justice to me, if you are yourself party, you will pay the costs and let the business sleep.

"Your very obedt. and humble servant,

"WILLIAM DUMMER POWELL."

THIRD SESSION OF FIRST PARLIAMENT

The third session of the first parliament met at Newark (Niagara) June 2, 1794, and was prorogued on the 9th of the following July. Only twelve acts were passed.

Through these acts and those of preceding sessions, we find the continued addition of the names of officers and offices that are not described in the acts, nor are there any provisions made for the election or choice of such officers. Their duties are not defined. We are left to suppose that the names and duties are taken from England and English laws and that the Canadians understood who they were, and did not need an act of parliament to provide for their introduction in Canada.

In the first act, relative to juries, are mentioned a clerk of the peace, bailiff, assize, nisi prius, district court, judge of assize or nisi prius and other offices and officers that are nowhere described in the Canadian laws. We know, from common usage, who these officers are, and the duty they have to perform, but it seems strange that the duties are not laid down in their early statutes.

No person was allowed to serve on more than one jury in any year.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH

The second act provided for the establishment of a superior court of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and to regulate the court of appeals. This was called the court of King's Bench, and was a court of record of original jurisdiction, to be presided over by a chief justice and two puisne justices. Court was to be held at Newark, and the four sessions were to be known as Hilary, Easter, Trinity, and Michaelmas terms. Proceedings were, of course, in the English language, but a summons in the French was to be served where the defendant was a Frenchman or French-Canadian.

The court of common pleas was abolished and the cases pending therein were transferred to the court of King's Bench. The governor, lieutenant-governor or the chief justice, together with any two or more members of the executive council of the province, were to compose a court of appeals. Appeal could be taken from the court of King's Bench to the court of appeals in all cases where the subject matter in controversy exceeded one hundred pounds. A fee bill for the attorney-general, clerk, marshal, crier and sheriff was provided by this act.

The next act provided for a district court in each district, with a judge to be appointed by commission. This court was to be held in the town where the court house was built, "excepting in the western district, where the court shall be holden in the town of Detroit." A fee bill for the attorney, sheriff, clerk, crier and judge was given in the act.

The code of procedure was supposed to be very simple and probably was simple until the learned lawyers began to copy the prolix forms of the old country in their pleadings.

Chapter Four provided that the governor might license not exceeding six-

teen persons to act as advocates and attorneys in Upper Canada. The roll of advocates should be kept among the records of the court of King's Bench.

FOURTH SESSION OF FIRST PARLIAMENT

The fourth session of the first parliament met at Newark July 6, 1795, and was prorogued August 10, 1795. There were only five acts passed at this session. The first act appointed a board of surgeons who had powers to grant licenses to practice "physic, surgery and midwifery" in the province. Persons attempting to practice without a license were fined ten pounds.

The second act was aimed at persons who had been citizens of Canada or England and who had resided in the United States as citizens and had returned to Canada and again become citizens of that country. All such persons were ineligible to either house of parliament.

The fourth act amended the law establishing the court of King's Bench by providing that this court should hear all actions brought for smuggling.

The fifth chapter established the office of register of deeds, thus preceding, by one year, a nearly similar law put in force in Detroit upon the evacuation of the place by British troops.

The laws of the two countries are very similar in many of the provisions, but there are some matters of difference. The office hours of the register were fixed at from 9 o'clock in the morning till 1 o'clock in the afternoon; a separate record book should be kept for each township; the register's fee should be one shilling for each folio of one hundred words. Conveyances were not recorded at full length, as in modern records, but an abstract only of the paper was entered by the register. In this particular, our own laws, at a later date, followed the provisions of the Canadian statutes, though, as a matter of fact, no such abstract or extract was ever recorded in Wayne County subsequent to 1796. No matter what the terms of the statute were, every conveyance was recorded at full length under our territorial and state laws. Thus ended the first parliament of Upper Canada.

The members of the legislative council of the first parliament were: William Osgoode, James Baby, Alexander Grant, Peter Russell, members of the executive council, and Robert Hamilton, Richard Cartwright and John Munro, members of the legislative council. The members of the lower house have already been given.

William Osgoode was born in England in 1754 and graduated from Oxford in 1777. He studied for the law and was called to the bar. He came to Upper Canada as chief justice in 1792. He returned to England in 1801 and died in 1824, never having married. Osgoode Hall in Toronto was named in his honor.

James Baby was born in Detroit August 25, 1763, his father, James Duperon Baby, being one of the men who rendered great assistance to the garrison at the place during the siege by Pontiac in 1763. James was an extensive trader in Detroit during the term of British occupation, and his name is frequently found in the preceding pages. He took a prominent part in the War of 1812 in the British cause, and suffered great losses in those trying times. After the war was over he was appointed inspector-general and removed to York (Toronto), where he continued to reside until his death on February 19, 1833.

Alexander Grant was another Detroit citizen. Judge R. S. Woods, of Chatham, Ontario, a grandson of Alexander Grant, says in his "Harrison Hall

and Its Associations" that Grant was the fourth son of the seventh laird of Grant of Glenmoriston, Inverness, Scotland. He came to America with General Amherst in 1757 and was appointed to the command of a vessel on Lake Champlain. He came to Detroit at a later time, and in 1774 married Therese Barthe. John Askin married a sister of Therese (Archange) and the two families were always intimate. Grant owned a farm in Grosse Pointe, Wayne County. He was given the command of the Canadian or British naval department on Lake Erie and was commonly called the "Commodore of the Lakes." He died in 1813, leaving eleven children. His only son, Alexander, died unmarried, so that the family name has become extinct, or rather the family line. John Grant was an adopted son, but reared in the family of Commodore Grant. Judge Woods says that James Baby and Alexander Grant were associates of Judge Powell in 1792, but there existed no Canadian law which provided for side judges.

Under the marriage laws of Upper Canada, as above related, it became necessary for persons who were not married by the Catholic priest, to make a sworn statement of their marriage and file a copy with the clerk of the peace. There exists the original affidavit made by Therese Barthe, of her marriage with Alexander Grant. They were married September 30, 1774. Their eldest daughter, Therese, was born February 13, 1776, and their other children living at the date of the statement, February 27, 1798, were: Archange, Phillis, Arabella, Anne, Elizabeth, Nelly, Alexander and Maria.

FIRST SESSION OF SECOND PARLIAMENT

Seven acts were passed at the session of the second parliament.

First, an act regulating coins. This fixed the value of coins of other countries and provided a punishment for counterfeiting, but did not provide for any native coining.

The second act regulated the manner of drawing juries.

The act for licensing public houses was amended, in order to permit licenses to be obtained at any season of the year, and providing a punishment for those who sold liquor without a license.

The fourth act was the only one of interest to Detroit. This act repealed the former act providing for the holding of the court of quarter sessions in Detroit and Mackinac, and provided that these courts in the western district should be held in the parish of Assumption (Sandwich) until such time as it should seem expedient to the magistrates to remove and hold the same nearer to the island, called the Isle of Bois Blanc, being near the entrance of the Detroit River. "As it seems not to be any longer expedient to hold the said court in the town of Detroit aforesaid, be it enacted that the district court shall be holden" in the same place the courts of quarter sessions are held. This act was passed in contemplation of the treaty of 1794, which, although already adopted, did not take effect until the summer of 1796.

It may not be generally known that Bois Blanc Island was, at one time, a part of the territory of the United States. In the first treaty fixing the boundary line between the United States and Canada, it was provided that the line of navigation should be the dividing line. The line of navigation was between Bois Blanc Island and the Canadian shore, and this was accepted, but subsequently—June 18, 1822—commissioners who were appointed to run the boundary line anew, concluded that the island was too near the mainland to be possessed properly by another nation, and they conceded the claim that it ought

to belong to Canada. It was given to her, but it was at the same time provided that the waters on both sides of the island should be equally free to both nations.

The law providing for bounties for killing wolves and other wild animals was repealed by the fifth act.

The sixth act provided for the regulation of commerce between Upper and Lower Canada, and the seventh and last act provided for the payment of wages to the members of the house of assembly. This ends the legislative connection between Detroit and Canada. Parliament was prorogued but a few days before the British army evacuated Detroit and the post passed under the control of the laws of the Northwest Territory.

The election of the second parliament did not take place until August, 1796, a short time after Detroit passed under the government of the Northwest Territory, and hence no member of that assembly came from Detroit. Our village, however, may make some claim to representation in this parliament, for one of its members was Thomas Smith, who, before and after the election, resided in Detroit. He was a surveyor and mapmaker of some note and a citizen of considerable importance. His daughter was the wife of John McDonell, who lived at the northwest corner of Shelby and Fort Streets, where afterwards stood the Whitney Opera House and where now stands the U. S. post-office.

We have now reached the time when Detroit ceased to be under the control of Canadian laws, and passed under the government and laws of the territory northwest of the Ohio River.

(Continued in next chapter)

CHAPTER XII
LAW AND ORDER IN EARLY DETROIT
(Continued)

BY CLARENCE M. BURTON

ORGANIZATION OF NORTHWEST TERRITORY—TERRITORIAL LAWS AND COURTS—JAY'S TREATY—WAYNE COUNTY ORGANIZED—NEW TERRITORIAL LAWS—FORMATION OF COURTS—PETER AUDRAIN—ORPHAN'S COURT—ALLEGIANCE TO GREAT BRITAIN—JOHN ASKIN'S PETITION OF ALLEGIANCE—A COUNTER PETITION—DISAFFECTION AMONG TROOPS—SENTIMENT AGAINST ASKIN—DETROIT UNDER MARTIAL LAW—LIBEL AGAINST JUDGE MAY—EXECUTION AGAINST DEBTORS' PROPERTY—EARLY ESTATES OPENED—QUARREL IN COMMON PLEAS COURT—SECOND GRADE GOVERNMENT INSTITUTED—GRAND JURY REPORT—COURT FEES—DIVISION OF NORTHWEST TERRITORY—SECOND ASSEMBLY ELECTION—CISSNE PROTEST AGAINST MCDUGALL ELECTION—MEETING OF SECOND ASSEMBLY—BILL TO ALTER BOUNDARIES—ITS AMENDMENT—INCORPORATION OF DETROIT—APPOINTMENT OF TOWN OFFICERS—CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATES—FORMATION OF MICHIGAN TERRITORY—GOVERNMENTAL APPOINTMENTS—FIGHT FOR TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION—LAND TITLES—BRITISH CITIZENS IN DETROIT—LOYAL AMERICANS IN DETROIT—GENERAL CONDITIONS, 1796-1800—JOUET'S DESCRIPTION OF DETROIT—MCNIFF'S WRITINGS—RELIGIOUS MATTERS—PUBLIC MORALS AT LOW EBB—SOLDIERS THE WORST OFFENDERS—TERRITORIAL JUDICIAL DISTRICTS—SUPREME AND OTHER COURTS—THE PROBATE COURT—COUNTY COURTS—CRANE VS. REEDER: A NOTABLE LAW CASE.

ORGANIZATION OF NORTHWEST TERRITORY

The "Territory of the United States North West of the Ohio River," generally known as the Northwest Territory, was organized under the ordinance of 1787. The legislative authority was vested in a governor and three judges, and the judicial affairs were presided over by the same three judges. The three first appointed October 16, 1787, were: Samuel Holden Parsons, James Mitchell Varnum and John Armstrong. Armstrong declined the appointment and John Cleves Symmes was chosen in his place February 19, 1788. General Varnum had sought the Ohio climate for his health, which had been undermined by his soldier's life in the Revolution, but he soon died and William Barton was appointed to succeed him. Barton declined and George Turner took his place by appointment September 11, 1789. General Parsons met his death by drowning and on March 31, 1790, Rufus Putnam succeeded him and he in turn was succeeded by Joseph Gilman. Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., was appointed in place of George Turner, who resigned February 12, 1798.

The governor and judges could not enact laws, but they could adopt laws from any of the original thirteen states to meet their requirements. Whatever

laws they thus adopted had to be submitted to Congress and the acts were to remain in force unless and until disapproved by the national body. The governor and judges did not comply strictly with the provisions of the ordinance, but enacted many new laws, and they undertook to defend their actions on the ground of necessity, as they claimed they could not find laws already enacted in the thirteen states, which were adapted to all of their needs. Trial by jury was provided by the ordinance of 1787, in all cases where demanded.

TERRITORIAL LAWS AND COURTS

A code of laws was established in 1788 which practically covered the needs of the territory. Only a few of these adopted laws will be referred to here.

The governor was authorized to appoint all necessary justices of the peace, and from these appointments he was directed to select not less than three nor more than five in each county to form the quorum for the court of quarter sessions of the peace. The justices of the county, or any three of them, at least one of whom must be of the quorum, could hold court.

Misdemeanors were to be tried before the justices. All other criminal trials, less than capital cases and criminal cases where imprisonment for more than one year was the penalty, were to be tried before the quarter sessions.

The County Court of Common Pleas was established in each county to hear all civil cases. The governor was to appoint not less than three nor more than five judges in each county to preside over this court, which should be a court of record. A single judge of the court of common pleas could hear and determine cases where the amount involved did not exceed five dollars.

A judge of a court of probate was to be appointed for each county, to have charge of estates, probate wills and appoint guardians to minors. The probate judge could call to his assistance two of the justices of the court of common pleas, and the three judges constituted the probate court and could render final decrees. The probate judge should record all wills. A clerk was provided for the probate court to keep the records of the office.

The general court for the territory should be presided over by the judges appointed by the President. This court was termed the supreme court. Marriages could be performed by the judges of the general court (supreme court) or of the court of common pleas, minister of any denomination, or by the Society of Quakers in their public meetings. It was not until August 1, 1792, that justices of the peace could perform marriages. A certificate of the marriage was to be sent to the register of the county and entered on his records within three months after the marriage.

Every county should have a courthouse, jail and pillory, whipping-post and stocks. In the jail there should be separate compartments for confining debtors and criminals.

A schedule of fees fixed the compensation of public officers. One of the provisions of this act permitted the person to whom a fee was to be paid to demand a quart of Indian meal as an equivalent for each cent of the fee; thus, if the fee was one dollar the officer could demand one hundred quarts of Indian meal in lieu of the money, but he could not be compelled to accept anything except specie.

The justices at the court of quarter sessions were authorized to divide the county in which they were located into townships and to appoint a constable in each township. The justices were presumed to have their clerk enter their

proceedings on the docket of the court. The justices of the court of quarter sessions were to appoint overseers of highways and township clerks.

The common law of England was declared to be in force except as modified or changed by statute.

The general court and circuit court had the exclusive right to grant divorces, and there were but two grounds for absolute divorce; these were adultery and impotency.

One of the judges of the supreme court was to hold court in each of the counties of the Territory and this court was termed the circuit court.

The court presided over by the judges of the supreme court was called the general court, and an appeal would lie from the courts of quarter sessions and from any other court to this body.

Imprisonment for debt was permitted, but was limited unless the debt was fraudulent, or the debtor concealed his property.

These, in brief, were the laws that related to the formation of the courts which were in force at the time of the admission of Detroit to the government of the Northwest Territory.

JAY'S TREATY

Detroit was in the territory which was conceded to belong to the United States under the treaty of 1783, but the British continued to hold possession of it in contravention of our treaty rights. This was a constant source of annoyance to both governments, and a subject of heated discussion which occasionally led the nations to the verge of war.

In 1794 John Jay was sent to England in order to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of the differences between the nations and the surrender of the post still held by Great Britain. Jay's treaty was signed November 19, 1794, and was conditionally ratified by Congress June 24, 1795. England agreed to withdraw all of her troops within the boundaries of the United States by June 1, 1796. All settlers and traders within the United States could retain their property unmolested and were at liberty to remain, or remove, from the country at their pleasure. The provisions of the treaty relating to citizenship read as follows:

"And they shall make and declare their election within one year after the evacuation. And all persons who shall continue there after the expiration of the said year without declaring their intention of remaining subjects of his Britannic majesty, shall be considered as having elected to become citizens of the United States." (In this connection see the several cases of *Crane vs. Reeder* in Michigan Supreme Court Reports.)

Jay's treaty did not take effect until the formal surrender of the posts, which, in Detroit, was on June 11, 1796. The American troops took possession at once and the rule of our federal government commenced.

WAYNE COUNTY ORGANIZED

Winthrop Sargent, secretary of the Northwest Territory (and claiming to be acting governor), came to Detroit and on the 15th of August, 1796, organized the County of Wayne. Sargent was authorized to act as governor only in the event of the absence of the governor from the territory. Arthur St. Clair, the governor, was not absent from the territory on the day that Sargent proclaimed the organization of the new county. An extract from a letter of Governor St.

Clair, dated at Pittsburg, August 13, 1796, fully explains the illegality of Sargent's action in this case. In this letter to Secretary Sargent, he writes:

"Yesterday I met with Capt. Pierce, from Fort Washington, and by him I learned that you were gone to Detroit. Should the object of that journey be of a public nature, I have to wish that it had not been undertaken, for tomorrow I shall be in the territory, and then the powers of the governor, which devolve upon the secretary in his absence, will cease as to you, yet it may happen that both you and me are discharging the duties of that office at the same time and, of course, the acts of one must be void."

From the above letter it appears that St. Clair was in the Territory before August 15th and that consequently the organization of Wayne County by Winthrop Sargent, as acting governor, was illegal. However, General St. Clair afterwards recognized the county formation and appointed officers in it. The new county was named after Gen. Anthony Wayne, and Detroit was selected as the county seat. It was the largest county in existence in the United States. It included the northern parts of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, all of Michigan and all of Wisconsin bordering upon the streams which emptied into Lake Michigan. Its eastern boundary was the Cuyahoga River, which runs through the present City of Cleveland.

As already stated, the legislative body of the Northwest Territory of 1796 consisted of Governor St. Clair and Judges Symmes, Turner and Putnam. In that year Putnam resigned to become surveyor-general, and Joseph Gilman was appointed in his place December 22, 1796. The next year Judge Turner resigned and he was succeeded by Return Jonathan Meigs, who was appointed February 12, 1798. It is said that Symmes and Meigs held court in Detroit, but there was never a general court held here, that is, a court where all three judges were present at the same time. There was no further change in the office of these judges until after the admission of Ohio in 1803. Governor St. Clair remained in office until his removal in 1802, and from that date Charles Willing Byrd, secretary, acted as governor until the Territory of Indiana was formed.

NEW TERRITORIAL LAWS

The only laws published by the governor and judges after Michigan became de facto a part of the Northwest Territory, are included in a little volume of thirty pages, printed at the time, and are ten in number. They are as follows:

1. Providing for the formation of corporations.
2. Punishment for maiming.
3. Vesting powers in justices of the peace in criminal cases.
4. Distributing estates of deceased persons.
5. Improving breed of horses.
6. Mode of procedure in civil cases.
7. Fixing fees of officers.
8. Taxing unimproved real estate.
9. Acknowledgement of deeds.
10. Establishing a land office.

The above are all the laws published, but in Chase's statutes is another act, repealing a former act of the same legislative body. The above acts were of doubtful validity and were not enforced until they were reenacted by the first legislative council. None of the above acts are of any great importance to De-

troit, save, perhaps, number three, which gave justices of the peace the right to punish by fine all persons found guilty of assault and battery, and to arrest and hold to the higher court affrayers, rioters and disturbers of the peace.

FORMATION OF COURTS

The names, formation and jurisdiction of the various courts in Detroit were necessarily the same as in the other parts of the Northwest Territory. There were the supreme court, the circuit court, the court of common pleas, probate court, justice court, and court of quarter sessions of the peace. A few days after the organization of the county, the court of quarter sessions and the probate court were organized (September 29, 1796). The first court of quarter sessions was held October 8, 1796, and the clerk was directed to notify the justices of the peace that such a court would be held, the first Tuesday in December. This court was to divide the county into districts and name commissioners and constables. The historian, Lanman, says that court was opened by proclamation December 10, 1796, and the commission appointing the judges and civil officers read, appointing Louis Beaufait senior justice, and James May, Charles François Girardin, Patrick McNiff and Nathaniel Williams as associate justices, and George McDougall, sheriff. It is certain that Mr. Lanman is in error as to the date of the appointment of some of the officers. Nearly all of the earlier records have been so carelessly used that they have disappeared; only a few remain.

The earliest remaining file in the court of common pleas is David Acheron vs. John Bowyer, lieutenant in the army, and the case was begun October 10, 1796, showing that the judges must have been appointed before that date. The business of the court of common pleas soon fell into the hands of two of the justices, Louis Beaufait, "president of the court of common pleas," and James May, associate justice.

Among the appointments made at this time were Herman Eberts, coroner, and Peter Audrain, prothonotary, clerk and judge of probate.

On the 23d of December, 1796, George McDougall, sheriff, and Herman Eberts, coroner, entered into an agreement by which Eberts agreed to perform, for one year, all the duties of sheriff and to relieve McDougall. Eberts was to receive, as compensation for his work, two-thirds of the fees of the office, viz.: the taxable costs of each suit, and he was further to save McDougall harmless from damages for escapes of prisoners in his custody and for all moneys he might receive as sheriff. To secure McDougall for thus relinquishing his office, Eberts gave him a bond of four thousand dollars, with Robert Gouie and Charles F. Girardin as sureties.

During the year above mentioned, Eberts signs himself as "acting sheriff," but at the end of that time he signs "High Sheriff of Wayne County." It is probable that he received the appointment of sheriff in 1797. Lewis Bond was named sheriff by Governor St. Clair August 20, 1798.

PETER AUDRAIN

The most important official of this time was Peter Audrain. He was born in France in 1725, and came to Pennsylvania, where he became a citizen of the United States October 2, 1781. He lived for a time in Pittsburg. It is not known when or where he learned to read and write the English language, but probably some years before he came to Detroit, for upon his arrival here he was

appointed prothonotary and judge of probate, and the early records of the settlement, which are nearly all in his handwriting, show a great familiarity with the English language for a foreigner, and his handwriting is a wonder to the student who reads it today. His peculiar, small penmanship is never forgotten when once seen, and the many pages of the records kept by him are as clear as print, and nearly as perfect in formation as copper plate. The wonder is how a person with a quill pen, such as was in use in that time, could write so beautifully. Mr. Audrain's wife was Margaret Moore. They were married before coming to Detroit. There is a fragment of the journal of Audrain, printed in the "Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections," in Volume Eight, which indicates that he was in Pittsburg in July, 1796, and must have, a few days later, accompanied General Wayne's army on the march to Detroit. Wherever he journeyed he was received as a guest, which indicates that he occupied some place of importance with the army corps, though not an official position.

On the 27th of July, 1796, General Wayne met Secretary Winthrop Sargent at Greenville, and together they proceeded to Detroit, and there established, as we have seen, Wayne County and the county courts. The office of prothonotary was of more real importance than any other in the new county. At least, Mr. Audrain made the office of importance, for he kept all the records, was register of deeds, judge of probate, clerk of the courts, and general scrivener of the community. He retained offices of importance nearly all his life, but in his old age, when he was ninety-four years old, the lawyers complained that the records of the supreme court were in great disorder through his neglect, and he was removed in 1819. He died the following year, October 6, 1820, and his remains were buried in the cemetery of Ste. Anne's Church.

ORPHAN'S COURT

The orphans' court, occasionally referred to in the early territorial records, was established by the act of June 16, 1795. Apparently nearly all of the records have been lost or destroyed, and very little information can be obtained regarding it. The justices of the court of quarter sessions of the peace were empowered to hold this court, the duties of which were to oversee and have control of estates in general. The judge of probate was to submit copies of the records of his office to the orphans' court for examination. The court had supervision over minors and their estates. It had authority to bind a minor out to learn a trade. It could probate wills, and grant letters of administration. Its powers were very large, but in practice it was nearly useless, as very little work was done under it. The judges of this court in 1800 were Joseph Voyten, Jean Marie Beaubien and George McDougall. The court was abolished in 1811.

The recorder's office was established under an act of June 18, 1795 and the official in charge was called the "recorder." The office was opened for business in Detroit on the 10th day of September, 1796, and the first deed recorded was from Marie Petit, widow of Hiacinthe Deaitre, to Laurent Maure, conveying a farm on the Huron River of Lake St. Clair, now called the Clinton River. Audrain was the prothonotary or recorder or clerk who recorded this deed and all other conveyances for some years.

The court of common pleas was first held in Detroit under British rule. There was no provision under the treaty of 1794 for the continuing of the courts, but as the new American court bore the same name, there was an incli-

nation, on the part of some of the parties, to continue the old cases in the new establishment. There are certainly some cases that were begun under the British rule that were completed after the Americans came in.

There were no statutes of limitation for the recovery of debts, and obligations of many years standing, some twenty or more years old, were sued in the territorial courts.

The lawyers whose names are found in these old records were Ezra Fitz Freeman, John S. Wiles, Solomon Sibley, Elijah Brush, and Walter Roe.

ALLEGIANCE TO GREAT BRITAIN

The transfer of allegiance in pursuance of the terms of Jay's treaty created a peculiar state of affairs at Detroit, which is difficult to understand and still more difficult to explain. The treaty had provided a method by which persons might become citizens of the United States, but no mode was pointed out by which they could stay in Detroit and remain British subjects.

Only one person, so far as the records show, took the oath of allegiance. This was William McClure, gentleman, who took his oath "as a residenter of Detroit" in conformity to the provisions of Jay's treaty. It was not, however, at this time supposed to be necessary to take any formal action whatever in order to become naturalized. It was decided by our state supreme court, in the case of Crane vs. Reeder, that if a person resided in Detroit at the time this treaty took effect and did not file a remonstrance against becoming a citizen, he became naturalized by virtue of the treaty.

JOHN ASKIN'S PETITION OF ALLEGIANCE

There was considerable discussion over the proper method to be followed by those who wished to remain British subjects. As the year passed by, this subject was more and more discussed. A faction was rapidly growing that hesitated to become naturalized. The leader in this faction was John Askin, whose name has been frequently mentioned in the preceding pages. Askin drew up a statement or notice to the effect that the signers did not wish to become citizens of the United States, but desired to remain subjects of Great Britain, and he took this paper around to the people living in the neighborhood of Detroit and succeeded in getting many of them to sign it. He then sent a copy of this list to Peter Russell, who was administrator of Upper Canada in the absence of the governor, and gave the original to Peter Audrain to be recorded in his office. Four of these notices were recorded in the registry office.

The actions of Askin in procuring the notices above mentioned had made him an object of suspicion to the authorities. He was a man of great influence, a trader on a large scale, an officer in the Canadian militia, and to some extent the "Warwick" of the west, for if he did not hold important offices, he dictated who should hold them.

The peace which was declared by the treaty to exist between the United States and England, was more a peace of the mouth than of the heart, for each country was suspicious of the other. War existed between France and England, and the French government had sent emissaries through the United States to sound the French residing there or in Upper Canada on their feelings towards England. It was thought that an effort would be made to rouse the French-Canadians to a rebellion. Both the United States and Canada were excited over this affair. Francis Baby, deputy lieutenant for the County of Essex,

then residing at Sandwich, was called hastily to Niagara, the seat of government, and from that place he issued the following secret circular:

"Niagara, October 23, 1796.

"Intelligence of a very serious nature having reached me from lower Canada, which may require the exertion of his majesty's faithful subjects in this province, I am to request that you will recommend it to the officers and soldiers of militia battalions and independent companies under your command to provide themselves with proper arms and a sufficiency of ammunition forthwith and you will be pleased to make a report to me without loss of time of the number of muskets and quantity of ammunition which you may want, to supply those who are absolutely incapable from poverty, or other causes, to supply themselves.

"Francis Baby,
"Dep. Lt. C. E."

Mr. Askin, then living in Detroit, was lieutenant-colonel of the Canadian militia, and to him one of these orders was directed. He undertook the collection of the details of the militia as requested and sent out orders to all captains and other militia officers to report to him at once the state of the companies. Many of these officers reported as requested and copies of their reports were forwarded to Niagara. The conduct of Askin would have been subject to censure on the part of the government if it had ever been discovered. It is even possible that it might have been considered treasonable. It is certain that suspicion rested upon him, but it is very probable that most of his actions were concealed from the authorities.

A COUNTER PETITION .

It was at this time also that the papers prepared by Askin for those who did not wish to become citizens of the United States were given to Audrain to be recorded. These petitions, or certificates, caused a counter petition to be drawn up and forwarded to Secretary Winthrop Sargent, of which the following is a copy:

"Detroit, 12 July, 1797.

"Sir:—We, the undersigned, magistrates and sheriff of Wayne County, in the territory of United States of America, impressed with every degree of attachment to the government of the United States and most sincere wishes for the safety of this country and its inhabitants, have sincerely to regret its present situation, and for its safety disagreeable apprehensions from the dangers that at present menace its tranquility from an approaching enemy as well as from internal and increasing factions.

"Twelve months ago we knew of no more than ten of the inhabitants that were avowed British subjects, they remaining here for one year after the evacuation of the place by the British, during that period they, with some other emissaries, found means by indirect insinuations and circulating papers, to corrupt the minds of the inhabitants and alienated their affections from the government of the States to such a degree that it was with difficulty that the sheriff could procure a jury of real citizens to attend the last sessions, or bailiffs to do their duty. Some scores (it is said some hundreds) of the inhabitants having signed the said circulating papers declaring themselves British subjects, which gives us reason to fear that little or no dependence can be put on the militia of the country if called upon. This being truly the state of the country we feel the

greatest anxiety for its safety. We therefore conceive it our duty to transmit you every part of our apprehension and the causes exciting them, hoping that you will see the propriety of vesting sufficient power in the commander-in-chief here or the commanding officer for the time being, to take such steps as may check the progress of the present prevailing faction and prevent a further complaint of the inhabitants, we, by experience, finding it out of the power of the civil authority at present, to do it.

"James Abbott, Jr., "James May, "Nathan Williams, "Charles F. Girardin, "Joseph Voyer, "Patrick McNiff, "Herman Eberts, "John Dodemead "Joncaire Chabert, "Antoine Beaubien, "Robert Abbott, "Daniel Sawyer."	 	"Esqrs."
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These were exciting times in Detroit. A newspaper in the place would have been filled with interesting reading matter concerning local events. But no such paper existed, and the history of the times must be collected from a variety of sources and pieced together to make a story of the times. It cannot be wondered if some of the important events are omitted, because we do not know where to search for the information.

The French government, through General Collot, was striving to create dissensions among the French of Canada, had visited the Ohio country and planned to visit Detroit. He had the surrounding country mapped, also the Detroit River mapped and sounded for his use for military purposes.

An attempt was made to obtain the entire northern part of Ohio west of Cuyahoga River (Cleveland) for John Askin and others who claimed ownership under deeds from the Indian tribes. They likewise set up claim under similar conveyances to the lands along the Miami (Maumee) River, and were urging their claims before members of Congress and others of influence in the East.

The same John Askin, with Ebenezer Allen and others, had prepared a petition to be allowed to purchase the entire lower peninsula of Michigan, and believing that they could obtain their desires by corrupting Congress, they undertook to bribe some of the members. In this they were detected, their plans disclosed, and failure followed as a matter of course.

DISAFFECTION AMONG TROOPS

The feelings between the American and British soldiers stationed along the borders of the Detroit River were not the most cordial and deserters were passing from one side to the other to the annoyance of the authorities of both sides. All of these affairs were coming together to make up a period of excitement never exceeded in the history of the village before that time.

In the orderly books kept at the post by General James Wilkinson are evidences of disaffection among the troops, promoted possibly by Askin's petition. Under date of July 12th is the following general order:

"The desertion of the troops may be ascribed chiefly to the scenes of drunkenness produced by the unrestrained sales of liquor which have been permitted, and to the seductive arts of persons ill disposed to the government of the United States. To remedy evils replete with consequences so destructive to the natural interests and so subversive of subordination and discipline, all persons are hereby prohibited selling liquor of any kind to the troops, except under the written permission of Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Strong."

It was also stated that "any person detected in attempting to inveigle a soldier from his duty, or in advising him to desert, shall receive 50 lashes and be drummed out of the fortifications."

The continued desertions from the American and British troops occasioned an additional order on the same subject on July 15th, as follows:

"The soldier who deserts his colors, of whatever country or nation, forfeits the protection of all good men. To discourage so foul an offense the commander-in-chief orders all deserters from the corps of his Britannic majesty to depart the town in 24 hours. He forbids positively the enlisting of deserters from the troops of any nation, and he assures all persons of this character that they will find no asylum within the sphere of his authority. But as it has been represented to him that several privates seduced from the service of the United States when in the state of intoxication by designing, vicious persons, have repented of the foul transgression, and are deterred from returning to duty by the fear of punishment only—now to give to all absentees a fair opportunity of testifying their contrition, and to make atonement for their crimes, he hereby offers full pardon to all such as may surrender themselves to some officer of the troops of the United States within 30 days from these presents."

General Wilkinson, on the 16th of July, sent a long letter to the magistrates of the western district of Canada, requesting them to prevent desertions from the American Army as far as possible and to assist him in maintaining the standing of his army, as well as of their own, in opposition to their common foe—the French—and to preserve order along the border. The Canadian magistrates, in their reply, offered a hearty cooperation with General Wilkinson as far as their powers would permit, and stated that the general's communication should at once be laid before the administrator of the province.

SENTIMENT AGAINST ASKIN

Public sentiment was running strongly against Mr. Askin and his party. He was arrested, or was served with a summons as the commencement of a suit against him. Unfortunately, the files of this suit have been lost, or have not yet come to light. A letter from Mr. Askin to David W. Smith gives as much information upon the subject as can be ascertained at present. It is as follows:

"Detroit August 26, 1797.

"My dear Sir: Since writing to you I have been served with a summons, the copy of which I enclose, and beg you will make it known to his honor, the administrator, so that I may be furnished with advice how to act before the general court is held here, which I learn is to be soon. The paper alluded to—I sent you a copy of it—contained the names of a number of people who made their election to continue British subjects and carried it to the recorder to have it enregistered, for which much trouble and interruption is given to me. I have never before been called before the court about this matter and asked

if I did so or not. So clear do I feel that I had not only a right to do so, but also even advise subjects to continue under the British government (which I, however, did not meddle in) had I been so disposed that I must certainly acknowledge not only my doing so but that I was perfectly right, and that it was in conformity to the treaty."

Askin's letter was given to the Honorable Peter Russell, who at the time was performing the duties of governor of Upper Canada in the absence of the governor, and his reply was as follows:

"West Niagara 5th Sept. 1797.

"Sir: Mr. Smith has just sent to me your letter of the 26th ult. and the copy of the summons for your appearance before the General Quarter Sessions of the County of Wayne and a copy of the letter from the British inhabitants of Detroit to Peter Audrain Esq.

"I am extremely sorry that I do not feel myself competent to give you the advice you desire, as your place, or residence, is without the power of my jurisdiction, nor do I see any possibility of even the British minister's interference until you are able to state to his excellency the nature of the offense you have given to the government of the United States and the sort of notice which has been taken of it. This I presume to advise you to do without loss of time immediately from Detroit as the quickest mode of communicating with his excellency.

"I am Sir,
Your most obedient
Humble servant,
Peter Russell.

"John Askin, Esq.
"British Merchant at
Detroit."

Apparently Askin intended at this time to remove to Canada, for he obtained permission from Mr. Selby and Colonel McKee to remove his goods into a house belonging to Colonel McKee at Sandwich, which was then partly occupied by a Mr. Wheaton. However, the change in the aspect of affairs at Detroit induced him to remain in that place and face the storm, and it was not until several years later that he finally removed to the home where he died, a short distance above the modern Walkerville, at a place called by him Strabane.

The summons served on Askin was returnable before the court of quarter sessions, but a case of so much importance would ultimately find its way to the circuit court or the general court. The two latter courts were presided over by the territorial judges appointed by the President. One of the judges was required to hold court in Detroit once each year, and the court presided over by the single judge was called the circuit court and when the three judges set *en banc* it was termed the general court.

Outside of the local attorneys above named, the lawyer most famous through the Northwest was Jacob Burnet, of Cincinnati. Judge Burnet came to Detroit at every session of the circuit court held here before the admission of Ohio to statehood in 1803. The governor's son, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., was also an attorney-at-law. Askin now sought to enlist both of these men in his interest by employing them. He sent a confidential clerk, Robert Nichol, to Cincinnati with a retainer for both St. Clair and Burnet. Burnet was not at home and

consequently was not seen by Nichol, but a retainer for him was left with the governor and to the latter a full statement of the situation was made by Nichol. A letter from young St. Clair was borne by Nichol to Mr. Askin, that assisted him getting out of his difficulty. He was also greatly assisted by Mr. Elijah Brush, who subsequently married Askin's daughter, Adelaide. Arthur St. Clair's letter was as follows:

Cincinnati Sept. 23, 1797.

"Dear Sir: I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 29th. ultimo, by Mr. Nichol. I am extremely sorry for the want of harmony which is but too evident amongst you, but I flatter myself that all will yet be right. I have refused your retainer, fearful that the business to which it relates may oblige me to act in my official capacity, at the same time I would observe that I think you need not give yourself any uneasiness about the affair. Mr. Nichol had instructions to retain Mr. Burnett. He has accordingly left a fee with me for that purpose, as he is not at present here. If I shall be able, and there is any necessity I will assist him with pleasure, though the paper alluded to as containing the declaration of your intention of remaining British subjects (as at present advised) there will be little occasion of trouble.

"I am dear Sir
Yours respectfully,
A. St. Clair."

A short time after this Mr. Askin's name was placed upon the United Empire list as one of the Canadian patriots of the Revolution, and at a still later date (February, 1798) he was granted a license by Winthrop Sargent, acting governor, to maintain a ferry across the river at Detroit, thus showing that he retained the good will of the authorities on both sides of the river.

DETROIT UNDER MARTIAL LAW

The troubles General Wilkinson encountered at this time forced him to put the settlement under martial law. He issued the following proclamation for that purpose. The proclamation follows the "general order" of the same date, with some additional directions.

"By James Wilkinson, Brigadier General and Commander in Chief of the Troops of the United States.

"A PROCLAMATION

"To guard the National Interests against the Machinations of its enemies, secret or covert, Foreign or Domestic,—to baffle the Arts of Seduction which have led to numberless desertions from the Public Service and to restrain licentiousness, and the infamous habits of drunkenness encouraged among the Troops by the disorderly conduct of the venders of Ardent Spirits.

"The Commander in Chief thinks it a duty appurtenant to the high trust reposed in him, a duty of indispensable obligation to declare Martial Law within the line of the Guards and limits of the Fortifications of the place, and he hereby in virtue of his legitimate authority, in conformity to the customs of armies, and to the established principles and precedents declares that all persons resorting to or residing within the limits aforesaid from and after the date of these presents shall be considered followers of the army and treated accordingly without respect to persons or Allegiance. It is at the same time declared that

no hindrance will be opposed to the functions of the civil magistrates and the due process of the Law of the Territory.—

“Given at Head Quarters
Detroit 12 July 1797
(Signed) James Wilkinson.

“By Command
(Signed) Lt. Lovell—
Major Brigade.”

The issuance of this proclamation at once aroused the British element in the village and the following protest was sent to General Wilkinson a few days later.

“The Petition of sundry British Magistrates, Merchants and others holding property residing in and resorting to the Town of Detroit. To His Excellency James Wilkinson Esquire General and Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of America & & &

“Humbly Sheweth

“That your Petitioners having great Confidence in the Faith, Justice and Humanity of the American Government, and sensible to the Zealous Attachment of its Citizens to the Civil and Political rights, as Established by Law could not behold with indifference your Excellencys Proclamation (bearing date Detroit 12 July 1797) abridging them and your Petitioners of many invaluable priviledges flowing as well from the principles of the free Government as from the sacred sources of the public and solemn Treaty.

“That under the influence of these impressions your Petitioners indulged the pleasing hope that the public virtue of the Magistracy would have made such applications to your Excellency as might have produced some Mitigation of the Proclamation in question, disappointed however in their hopes and urged by the duty which they owe to themselves and to their Correspondents, and encouraged by the liberality and Candor of your Character, your Petitioners have ventured notwithstanding the peculiarity of their situation as Foreigners to submit to your Excellency the following Statements.

“1st—That the Town of Detroit ever since the first establishment has been generally governed by the Civil Laws of the Society to which it belonged, that Martial Law as a System has never been established therein even during the periods of Hostilities, the Acts of the Legislature of Canada prove the former, and living testimonies are not wanting to prove the latter, it becomes therefore a fair inference that the Town of Detroit enjoys at least a prescriptive Charter of rights incompatible with the Idea of Military Garrison.

“2nd—That the Laws of the United States having in great measure provided and its Constitution possessing energy sufficient ‘for guarding the Nation’s Interests’ and it follows that whatever measures Suspend or Abrogate those legal established and inherent principles of the Constitution, such Measures must so far innovate on the common rights of the Citizens, but it appears to your Petitioners that the Proclamation in Question abolishes in many important cases the free operation of these Maxims, so far therefore your Petitioners humbly conceive that the Proclamation assumes a dispensing Power.

“3rd—That by the Treaty between Great Britain and America it is provided by the 11th Article that generally the Merchants and Traders on both sides

shall enjoy the most complete protection and security for their Commerce, but subject always to the Laws and statutes of the two Countries respectively so says the Treaty, but the Proclamation declares that we are subject to Martial Law, that we are considered as followers of the Army and shall be treated accordingly without respect to persons or allegiance. Your Petitioners believing that under existing circumstances no implication favorable to the Proclamation can flow from the Laws or Statutes of the United States conclude that it of course tallies neither with the true spirit or letter of the Treaty.

"4th—That under the pressure of great public Calamity such as intestine or foreign war, natural and Civil rights are often suspended by the Legislative authority and under such circumstances, the Energy of Individuals and of constituted Authorities may be laudable and necessary.—these Acts are pardonable only from necessity, not defended upon principle; but in the moment of peace and in the vicinity of a friendly Nation, your Petitioners are sorry that they cannot divine on what principles of expediency a suspension of such rights can be justified.

"5th—That Fort Lernault, and the Citadel being the only two spots where the Military Government has generally been exercised, that your Petitioners, possessing perhaps three-fourths of all the property either of a fixed or movable nature within the Town of Detroit residing there for the purposes of their Trade under the protection and condition of a public Treaty having not injured or wished to injure the United States, cannot but contemplate their present situation in a light as repugnant to the feelings and Dignity of human nature as to the mutual harmony and friendship so strongly to be cultivated between Great Britain and America.

"Yet this Proclamation has been acted on, some have been tried by Courts Martial, some punished and others are said to be flying from their homes and property to avoid the Malice and Machinations of the vilest of mankind, Spies and Informers.

"Your Petitioners however aware of the danger arising from the General and indiscriminate permission to vend Spiritous liquors, do not consider the Garrison order ascertaining the mode of selling ardent Spirits to Soldiers injurious to their interests.

"From a review of the foregoing Statements your Petitioners indulge a hope that your Excellency will be pleased to modify and relinquish as much of the present System of Martial Law as is consistent with your prudence, wisdom and authority. They wish at the same time to be perfectly understood that nothing herein contained is meant to reflect on your Excellencys Command, or on the Government of the United States. They also have a pleasure in assuring your Excellency that nothing is nearer their hearts than respect and obedience to the Laws of the United States, and also to the cultivation of every Act of Friendship and good Will towards its Citizens and they have the Honor to be with great respect and Esteem,

"Your most obedient
Oblidged and Humble Servants
(Signed)

"John Askin,
"George Sharp,
"George Leith,
"James Leith,
"Angus McIntosh,

"Alexr. Duff,
 "John McGregor,
 "Richd. Pattinson,
 "Robt. Innis,
 "George Meldrum,
 "William Park,
 "John Reid,
 "James Fraser,
 "William Hands,
 "J. Borrel,
 "James McDonell,
 "James McIntosh."

"Detroit
 24 July 1797"

The reply of the commandant has not yet been found, but the second letter of John Askin followed at once. It read:

"Detroit 31 July 1797.

"Sir:

"We are duly honored with your answer to our Petition of 24 Current; and have to thank you for your remarks and observations thereon, its transmission to the President of the United States is a circumstance which we contemplate with the utmost complacency and satisfaction.

"Improper as it may be for us to intrude upon your time, yet we cannot but observe on an important Article; That the fifth paragraph of your answer contains matter which we are ready to do away by fair argument and proof incontestible.

"Unwilling however to shew a wide difference of opinion on almost every point of the present subject of discussion, it perhaps would better become us not to have already presumed so much but rather acquiesce in the present unpropitious system with the calm resignation of men as emulous to maintain the Tranquility and safety of the State, as ardent in the Love of all the natural, indefeasible, and defined liberties of the people with whom they live.

"We have the Honor to be with great respect

"Sir

(Signed)

"John Askin,
 "George Sharp,
 "William Harfy,
 "George Leith,
 "Alexr. Duff,
 "James Leith,
 "John McGregor,
 "Richard Pattinson,
 "William Park,
 "James Fraser,
 "James McDonell,
 "Angus McIntosh,
 "James McIntosh,
 "Wm. Hands,

"To His Excellency
 James Wilkinson Esquire General
 Commanding the Armies of the
 United States."

A petition was then made directly to the War Department and after considerable delay the following reply was made to the petitioners, Louis Beaufait, James May. Joseph Voyer and Charles F. Girardin.



JAMES MAY
Early merchant and trader

"War Department, 8 August, 1799.

"Gentlemen:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your representation relative to the conduct of the Military Commandant at Detroit.

"I can assure you it is the wish of the Government to preserve to the Civil Authority its rights everywhere throughout the Territory of the United States and in no instance to countenance encroachments upon those rights by the Military.

"That the conduct of the Commandant at Detroit may undergo a regular and due investigation, I shall refer your remonstrance to Major General Alexander Hamilton, who I have no doubt will take proper measures to insure in future a perfect propriety of conduct in the Military.

"I have however to observe that a Military Commandant has not only authority, but that it is particularly enjoined upon him to restrain the Soldierly in whatever may lead to Insubordination, endanger a Garrison or prove injurious to themselves, that with these views he may prevent a too frequent intercourse with the Citizens inhabiting at or near his post, which by affording opportunities of intemperance would produce the worst of consequences, and that generally he has a right to give and enforce on his men under his command such orders as are necessary to their well being and the good of the service.

"I enclose a copy of the rules and articles for the better government of the troops of the United States, to which is annexed several military laws, among these 'An Act for the better organizing the troops of the United States and for other purposes' passed 3rd of March last.

"The 4th section of this Act, you will observe provides an exemption from personal arrests for any debt or contract—for all non-commissioned officers privates and musicians who are and shall be enlisted, and extends the same provisions to the militia or other corps who may at any time be in the actual service of the United States.

"To prevent this law from operating injuriously to the citizens it will be incumbent upon them to avoid credit to the soldiers.

"I am &

"James McHenry.

"To Louis Boufet (Beaufait)

"James May,

"Joseph Voyer,

Esquires.

"Charles Fras Gerardin (Girardin)."

LIBEL AGAINST JUDGE MAY

I have found some evidences of another interesting episode in the local history early in the year 1797. Not being able to explain fully the affair at present, I can give only the substance of the papers that have come into my possession relating to James May, one of the judges. A holiday ball had been given on the 28th of December, 1796, which was attended by some of the judges and on account of which some of the judiciary attendants had been ridiculed. It appears that some one had posted up a notice or proclamation which was considered a libel on the court or on the members who attended the ball. As there was no printing press in Detroit or in its neighborhood, this notice must have been in writing and only a few copies could have been circulated.

Judge May accused William Smith and Robert Forsyth of publishing the libel, or of having a hand in it. Both of these men signed the declaration which John Askin passed around, declining to become citizens of the United States. Both men asserted their innocence of the libel and resolved to make Judge May prove his charge or answer for it. Each wrote a letter to the judge, and as they are nearly alike, one only need be given. It is as follows:

"Detroit Jany. 7, 1797.

"Sir:

"I have been informed that you have taken the liberty of publicly accusing me as an accomplice in a libel lately published at this place. I insist immediately to know your reasons for that presumption, otherwise I must take measures to clear my character in the eyes of those you were pleased to prejudice in it.

"Robert Forsyth.

"James May Esqr.

"Detroit."

In addition, Smith requested the judge to meet him at Mr. Dodemead's in the evening to settle the matter, and ended his letter with a statement that he would wait at Dodemead's till eight o'clock in the evening.

Dodemead's was a famous resort, inn or boarding-house, whatever it might be termed, located on St. Ann Street, near the southeast corner of the present Jefferson Avenue and Shelby Street. St. Ann Street was very narrow at this point, not more than fifteen feet, and the house of John Dodemead was located within the limits of the present Jefferson Avenue. It was here that the courts were held in later times and was the rendezvous for all the citizens who wished to spend the evening in convivial company. At this time the courts were held in the house of Thomas Cox.

Judge May was a large, heavy man, weighing more than three hundred pounds. His avoirdupois was not in excess of his dignity as a judge, and he considered it beneath his official position to reply to either Forsyth or Smith. If he was in the habit of visiting Dodemead's, he abstained at this time, even at the risk of displeasing Mr. Smith. The latter was on hand at the appointed hour and, not finding the judge, he thought the matter over for a night and the next morning sent the following note:

"Sir:

"I was not a little surprised at your non-appearance last night at Mr. Dodemead's per my request to clear up the aspersion you have unjustly said against me, that I was the writer of the libel taking off characters at the ball of 28th ult., which unjust assertion of yours I beg to have done away between this and 12 o'clock, as my character is hurt by it. Any place you will appoint between the hours before mentioned (excepting your own house) I shall repair to, with a couple of friends. As I would be sorry to doubt your being a gentleman, I hope you will pay attention to this letter, if not I shall take the liberty of exposing this and former letter to public sight, that your character may be seen into, my situation at present not permitting me to take any further action.

"William Smith.

"Saturday morning, 10 o'clock.

"James May, Esqr."

This might have been accepted as a challenge to the field of honor, not by any means the last of such challenges that were sent and accepted in Detroit.

It was not, however, accepted by Judge May, and both persons lived in Detroit many years after this event had become only a memory.

EXECUTION AGAINST DEBTOR'S PROPERTY

As an evidence that there was no exemption from levy and sale on execution, there is a paper of some interest signed by twelve men who might have been chosen as appraisers or as a jury. Mathew Dolson, whose name has been mentioned above, sued out an execution against the property of his debtor, John Embrow or Hembrow. The report of this jury of inquiry is as follows:

"Detroit February 16, 1799.

"We, the undersigned jury, are of the opinion that the house of John Hembrow is worth the sum of twenty-seven pounds, four shillings and eight pence, equal to sixty-eight dollars and eight cents, which will be more than sufficient to pay the execution of Mathew Dolson against the said Hembrow, agreeable to law.

"William Winslow,
"Matthew Donovan,
"Charles Curry,
"Israel Ruland,
"F. D. Bellecour."

EARLY ESTATES OPENED

The probate court for the Western District (Canada) went into operation before "evacuation" in 1796. The records of that court, now in Windsor, Ontario, show that but two estates were opened before June 11, 1796. The first was that of Collin Andrews and the second William Macomb. Both of these men lived and died in Detroit. As Macomb left a large estate in Michigan, his estate was subsequently probated on the American side of the river.

In a paper recorded in the Registry Office, dated July 12, 1797, are the following named as magistrates at that time: James Abbott, Jr., James May, Nathan Williams, Charles Francois Girardin, Joseph Voyer, and Patrick McNiff.

QUARREL IN COMMON PLEAS COURT

There was a quarrel between members of the court of common pleas in 1798 and some of the justices refused to sit with the others in court. One of the papers served on Justice McNiff reads as follows:

"Prothonotary's Office, Detroit 22nd (?) 1798.

"Sir: I am sorry to have to inform you, by the direction of Louis Beaufait, James May and Ch. fr. Girardin, Esquires, Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, that they are determined not to set with you on the bench next term, for reasons which you may know by applying to any of them. I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your very humble and most obedient Ser't.

"Peter Audrain, Clerk.

"Patrick McNiff, Esq."

The governor and judges of the Northwest Territory passed ten or eleven acts in 1797 after Wayne County was established. These were their final acts in that capacity. Act number three of this series was an act "vesting powers in justices of the peace in criminal cases." It would seem that the duties of

justices were confined to criminal cases and they had no jurisdiction in civil cases.

SECOND GRADE GOVERNMENT INSTITUTED

In 1798 Governor St. Clair ordered the taking of a census in the territory, to ascertain whether there were more than five thousand inhabitants. As provided in the ordinance of 1787, the territory could assume the second grade of government by electing an assembly and choosing a council to compose the Legislative Council, as soon as it contained that number of people. The census was taken in Detroit in November (St. Clair Papers Vol. 2, page 435) and the requisite number was found in the territory. Wayne County was entitled to three members in the assembly, one for each five hundred inhabitants.

Election for one member only was held in Detroit on the third Monday in December, 1798. The contestants were James May and Solomon Sibley. The contest was spirited and very earnest. Mr. Sibley was declared elected and started early in January for the seat of government at Cincinnati. This election was contested by Judge May, as will be noted later.

The election for the other two members was held in Detroit on January 15, 1799. The letters of Oliver Wiswell give some of the details of the election. The result was that Joncaire received sixty-eight votes. Visger got sixty-three. Beaufait got thirty and Wiswell thirty-seven. Oliver Wiswell and Jacob Visger were declared elected, but they did not go to Cincinnati at this time.

The letter of Lewis Bond of January 23, 1799 will explain why the election was awarded to Wiswell and not to Charles Francois Chabert de Joncaire, who had received more votes at the election.

When the representatives convened at Cincinnati February 4, 1799, they chose ten citizens of the territory whose names were to be sent to the President. From this list the President was required to select the names of five persons who, with the approval of the Senate, were to constitute the council, or upper house, of the assembly.

The ordinance of 1787 provided for the selection of the members of the council by "the Congress," but with the adoption of the Federal Constitution "the Congress" ceased to exist and the legislative rights became vested in a President, Senate and House of Representatives. To meet this change in situation an act of Congress was passed August 7, 1789 entitled "An Act to provide for the government of the territory Northwest of the River Ohio," which directed that "the President shall nominate, and by and with the consent of the Senate, shall appoint all officers which by the said ordinance were to have been appointed by the United States in Congress assembled; and all officers so appointed shall be commissioned by him."

For the council President Adams selected Robert Oliver, Jacob Burnet, James Findlay, Henry Vanderburgh, and David Vance.

The first meeting of the house of assembly on February 4, 1799 had been adjourned immediately after it had chosen the ten names for the council. No members of the council could be appointed for some time, as communication was very slow, and the assembly could not proceed to actual legislative business until the President's appointments were known and the members collected at Cincinnati.

The adjourned meeting of the assembly was called for September 16, 1799, but on that day there were not sufficient members on hand to form a quorum

and it was not until September 23d that the session opened. No members from Detroit were present at the opening session. Solomon Sibley appeared on September 28th and Jacob Visger first voted on November 18th, but Wiswell did not appear at all.

One of the laws enacted by this body on December 2, 1799 authorized justices of the peace to try cases brought for the collection of small debts. This is the only act of interest to us at this time. The council adjourned on the 19th of December.

Some of the papers connected with the election of Solomon Sibley, several being personal letters, the contest of James May, also the papers connected with this session of the assembly and the instructions to the members from Detroit, and the return of the grand jury of March 9, 1797, are very interesting and without further comment are here copied in full.

"A STATEMENT OF FACTS FOR THE COMMITTEE TO WHOM WAS REFERRED THE
PETITION OF JAMES MAY ESQ.

"1st. Undue and corrupt measures were taken by the friends of Mr. Sibley to promote his election. To establish this charge Mr. May expects to prove that spirituous liquors were provided by the friends of Mr. Sibley at different places in Detroit which were given out liberally to all those who could vote, or procure votes for Mr. Sibley. That several persons were taken to the houses where these liquors were provided, and induced to drink till they became intoxicated, and in that state were taken to the poll and their votes received for Mr. Sibley, and that some of these persons have since declared that had they known what they were doing at the time they would have voted for Mr. May. He expects also to prove that evident partiality was used in the mode of receiving the votes, by admitting all those who declared in favor of Mr. Sibley to give in their votes with but little and in some cases with no examination and by exercising an improper rigor in scrutinizing the qualifications of all those who offered in favor of Mr. May. In support of the same charge he expects also to prove that a number of discharged soldiers, some of them armed with clubs, resorted to the place where the election was held and behaved with such insolence that it became disagreeable and even dangerous for his friends to attend the election.

"2nd. There was a greater number of illegal votes taken for Mr. Sibley than the majority returned in his favor.

"3rd. Several persons possessing the legal qualifications of voters were denied the privilege of voting after having declared themselves in favor of Mr. May.

"4th. Mr. May has been informed that Mr. Sibley does not possess a freehold estate sufficient to qualify him for a seat in the House of Representatives, but as a negative cannot be proved he requests that Mr. Sibley may be called on to show his qualifications in this respect."

"Detroit, 23rd Jan., 1799.

"No. 1.

"Solomon Sibley Esq.,

"Sir:

"I have to inform you that the second election and of which you had knowledge before you left this place, ended considerably different from what I expected. You will recollect that a meeting was held, by a few of the Citizens of this Town the night before you left this place, in which it was thought proper to support Col.

Shibert (Chabert) and Jacob Visger, as Candidates in the then approaching election. This premature meeting gave universal offense to the English people.

"The inhabitants of River Rouge, on whom solely depended the Count of the election (the other settlements not being able to attend) thought it unjust that they should be bound by the Act of a very few, to support Candidates by no means agreeable to their wishes. They therefore held a meeting at said River, and firmly resolved that unless they could vote for one person of their liking, they would not vote at all.—Their reasons were these:

"They said they had already chosen one person who was agreeable to their wishes, and in whose integrity they had the fullest confidence; that if they could elect another person of their wishes, they would be content, and also join with almost any party in electing a third, trusting that the exertions of two would always be able to counteract those of only one.

"The next morning after their meeting I was consulted by a committee from said meeting to know if I would serve if I was chosen, as I was the person in whom they were, to a man, united.

"I gave them for answer that, notwithstanding there appeared the greatest inconsistency in supporting Col. Shibert, (he labouring under the same difficulty as Mr. May) I did not wish to put myself in opposition to so good a man; nor would I do it, but told them that they were at perfect liberty to do as they pleased respecting me, and that if I was elected by the free suffrage of the people I would serve them to the best of my abilities. The first day of the election but 25 votes were given to all the candidates, who were Col. Shibert, Mr. Visger, Bofait Jun'r (Beaufait) and myself. The R. Rouge did not vote the first day.

"The second morning of the election I wrote the Judges of Election the following words verbatim 'Gentlemen, Notwithstanding the gross absurdity in supporting Col. Shibert, the subscriber has no inclination, nor is it his wish, to be considered a candidate in the present election, but is entirely willing that the Election, as respects one member, should (as he sincerely believes will) fall to the ground.' Signed, Wiswell.

"However the people of R. Rouge were determined to persevere, and to carry their point with greater certainty, agreed with Bofait's friends to support him if in return they would support me and as a proof of such agreement, two or three of the R. Rouge did actually vote for me and Bofait. Visger finding that the votes were going against him, requested of several of the principal persons of R. Rouge to give their votes to him and not to Bofait and that in return he would give all his influence to me, deeming it useless to vote for Col. Shibert, as he would not be eligible if elected. This being known C. Clemens and myself, with much difficulty prevailed upon them to give the other vote to Visger, which they did with reluctance, by which means he got his election, whereas had they thrown their votes away on some other person, I should undoubtedly led him in votes, and he would have had to contest either Bofait or Shibert. In return from Mr. Visger, we are certain that he did everything in his power against me in favour of Shibert, and altho' he voted for me himself, it was purely necessity, decency forbidding him to vote for himself. I will throw no reflections upon Mr. Visger any farther than request you to suspend your Judgment for the present on whatever insinuations may fall from that gentleman, and that I am warranted in telling you that Jacob Visger's conduct has been such in the Election as that he never will be able to obtain the suffrages of the English people in the County of Wayne at any future election.

"Before the election was closed Col. Shibert came forward and openly declined being a candidate, and at the close of the election Jacob Visger and myself were declared duly elected, certificates of which I have gotten.

"O. Wiswell."

"Detroit, 23rd Jan., 1799.

"No. 2.

"Sol. Sibley, Esq.,

"Sir:

"In my other letter of same date with this, I gave you a full and I trust, a true statement of the proceedings and event of the election. I likewise informed you that I had gotten the Sheriff's certificate of being duly elected; but from several existing circumstances I have thought it not prudent to come in at present.

"First, it is pretty generally believed that the Session will be compleated before the Representatives can possibly arrive owing to the badness of roads and the long delay before starting.

"Secondly, I conceive the object when obtained a mere burden rather than office of profit.

"Thirdly, There yet is some doubt whether Shibert is not eligible, and until it is ascertained I think I may as well waive the matter.

"But notwithstanding the indifference with which I view it, I am, in duty bound to my friends, bound to claim all the privileges that are derived to a free people from that part of the Ordinance of Congress which respects the qualifications of members of Assembly. But my greatest dependence, and on which I most rely, is that the point, upon the decision of which I must stand or fall, will be tried before the present members arrive.

"In the present case it is not a contest of votes, character, abilities or acquirements; it is a contest of eligibility only. That Colonel Shibert has a considerable majority of votes, that he is a Gentleman, and a man of integrity, and every other way completely qualified, to sustain the important trust with honour to himself and justice to his Country and constituents is given up on all hands.

"I contend that the House of Assembly can no more deviate from the positive order of his General, and furthermore, whether there is or is not opposition to a member, I conceive the House of Assembly are bound to take the Ordinance and religiously pursue it, whether it effect friend or foe. This much respecting the Election.

"I have only to request that you give us the earliest information respecting the business and also your advice on the same. If it so happens that Shibert should not be deemed eligible I wish you to write whether it will be necessary for me to come in immediately or not, as it will be very bad traveling at that time in all probability.

"I wish to observe that the English people are much dissatisfied with the nomination of magistrates that was handed you, and think that the remedy contemplated by the nomination will prove worse than the disease.

"I enclose to you a petition handed me by the people of River Rouge, the object of which you will take into consideration and if consistent, you will undoubtedly support it. I only observe that I think Mr. Cisne an honest man. Mr. Powers has signified to me that he would deign to accept of the appointment of Chief Justice of Court of C. C. Pleas and Quarter Sessions provided he could have some other appointment which would make him a handsome

support. At his request I signify the above to you, as I suppose it will be signified some other way. I will observe that it is my opinion that if justice cannot be had only at the hands of Blackguards and men of the most corrupt and depraved principles, I am for having no Justice at all.

"Yours with professions of respect,

"Oliver Wiswell."

"Private—

"Detroit, 24th January, 1799.

"My dear Sir,

"I have only time to tell you that I'm in the land of the living, and hope soon to hear from you, and of your welfare and how the business stands between you, and that Beast who went to endeavour to deprive you of your just rights, etc., etc.—Colonel Shebert (Chabert), Visger and Wisewell (Wiswell) were candidates at the last election. If Shebert is not eligible, of course Wisewell takes the seat. He has thought proper not to go on, and I think he is right, for this reason, if the Colonel don't take the seat, of course he comes in, and can go forward the next Session. The Devil to pay, and no pitch hot, since you took your departure from hence.

"I found it necessary to put a stop to the Inhabitants selling liquor to the Soldiery without permission. I issued an order and made it known to the people within the chain of my sentinels, that any person whatever, without respect to persons, should be tried by a General Court Martial, etc., etc. Dode-mead and others who have often been guilty of violating similar orders, are with the assistance of that dam'd Ptr. A-d-n, endeavouring to sour the minds of the people, and I am told that they are writing to the Governor, etc. I only wish you to let the old gentleman know what my wishes are in regard to my taking measures to put a stop to drunkenness, which has been the cause of the desertions which has so frequently taken place, owing entirely to those evil-minded persons who are constantly selling liquors to the men,—however, I have had no drunken men since the orders were published.

"Pray write me, and tell me all that is going at Cincinnati, and what you may get from other parts of the World. Mrs. S. wishes to be remembered to you. You have the Compliments of all the Gentlemen of the Garrison and Town.

"God bless you, etc., etc.,

"I am, Dear Sir,

With the greatest esteem,

Your humble servant,

David Strong."

"Detroit, 23rd Feb., 1799.

"Dear Sir:—

"Since you left this place there has but few political events taken place worth relating to you, but perhaps a statement of a few of the transactions in conducting the late election may be of service. The friends to good order had a meeting soon after you left town at Mr. Dodemead's for the purpose of nominating two candidates. Mr. Ernest, Esq., in the chair and your friend B. H., clerk, Messrs. Chebert, Visgar, Wiswell and Brush were proposed as suitable persons and the meeting agreed to support the two former and Wiswell and Brush pledged themselves that they would abide by the nomination of our

meeting, Chebert and Visgar were accordingly elected. It was suggested on the last day of election that the Judges could not give Colonel Chebert a certificate because he was not eligible and when the business was made known to him he came forward and declined accepting the office. Since the business was settled in this way the Prothonotary assisted by the Clerk of Quarter Sessions, Judge of Probate, etc., etc., persons in office have been busy in persuading Colonel Chebert to go to Cincinnati and claim a seat and have drawn up a petition to the House that is signed by the French inhabitants to give him a seat. I am told that the French are to petition the House of Assembly to establish French laws in this County the same code that was in use some twenty years past. All these things will undoubtedly be laid before you and treated with the attention they deserve.

"I calculate to leave town about the 15th February for New York and should be glad to receive a letter from you when in that City. If you write to me the 1st March and direct your letter to the care of Messrs. Church & Havens, it will be received.

"I continue with sentiments of esteem,

Your humble obedient servant,
Ben Huntington."

"Sir:—

"In the course of your attendance on the Legislative Body for the Territory, I wish to recommend to your particular attention three interesting objects.

"1st. To see that no person in trade either directly or indirectly be appointed a magistrate or Justice of the Common Pleas or Quarter Sessions, the enormous frauds and abuses of public justice that have been committed by persons in trade when vested with the authority of a magistrate have been the ruin of many families; this I know by experience to have been the case as well in Lower Canada as here, the measure of injustice caused the Canadians to murmur much and show opposition to the Government; things being truly stated to Lord Dorchester he ordered that every person being either directly or indirectly in trade, if a magistrate, should immediately be cashiered from his office, this measure has ultimately restored tranquillity in the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada.

"2nd. That as all the public sales at auction in the Town of Detroit are at present confined or secured to one person (namely James May) Mr. Audrain having the granting of Licenses for that purpose, has already refused two others who had applied with necessary security, this partial piece of conduct is materially injurious to the interest of the Government.

"3rd. That the public Monies of the County be removed out of the hands they are now in and put into the hands of some other person appointed by His Excellency. Wishing you a pleasant journey, an agreeable reception and safe return,

"I am most sincerely yours,

Patrick McNiff,
Detroit, 6th Jan., 1799."

"To

Solomon Sibley, Esq.

"I would further recommend your attention to any application that may be made from hence for having the Town of Detroit incorporated into a free

borough; which if granted would have a tendance to reduce the authority of the Military at this Post, and would be extremely injurious to the inhabitants, and to the interest of the United States, it being a Principal Barrier Post, whose safety depends upon the military having the chief command here at least for many years to come. Therefore if a proposal of the kind should come forward to His Excellency the Governor, wish you to use your influence against that privilege being granted for the foregoing reasons.

"I being the person in the late Committee who moved, that all the present judges and justices be removed from their present offices as magistrates, myself among the number, and such others as the Committee have recommended in our place be appointed. In that case have no objection to act with the new appointed magistrates, provided His Excellency thinks proper to reappoint me of the Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas, but with the former magistrates I cannot Act until I perceive they have banished partiality from their breasts when in office. I wish His Excellency to have reference to the statement I gave Gilman when here in May last.

"Detroit, 7th Jan., 1799.

"Patrick McNiff."

"Detroit, January 23rd, 1799.

"Sir:—

"This will be handed you by Mr. Visger whom I return as one of our Representatives, and Oliver Wiswell I return as the other, Colonel Shabert Joncaire had the highest number of votes, but it was the opinion of the Judges that he was not eligible, he however goes on to contest the Election. Mr. Wiswell I presume has written you on the subject, it is however the general wish that he may be chosen a member of the Governor's Council. Mr. May's name was again introduced as a candidate, but rejected as he had gone forward to contest the former election. I think it but justice that I should receive an adequate compensation for my services in holding the elections, as well as the clerks, etc. The fees of a sheriff are so trifling in this County that they would not support a single person—you are well acquainted with the nature and situation of this County, and as well know the difficulties the Sheriff has to encounter, Witness the trip I had last Fall to Sandusky for nothing and attended with a heavy expense a few such jaunts would cost more than all I could make in a year, in the Spring, I shall be obliged to go or send to Mackinaw, in which if I should not succeed, will be a very heavy job and make me sick of the Office. I beg your friendly assistance in this business, and that you will be pleased to inform the Governor of my situation as well as the expensive living in this place. Perhaps the Governor can annex some other office.

"Mr. Powers and Major Winston are talked of as Judges, Powers says he will accept of the first seat on the bench if he can get some other office to help support his family. It is my opinion that there will be no Court at March Term, if new Judges are not appointed. George McDougall would be a very suitable person for one of the bench. I have no news but what Mr. McNiff has communicated to you. Wishing you a happy Session, I remain with much respect,

"Yours,

"Lewis Bond.

"S. Sibley, Esq.

"P. S. Write me first opportunity.

"I would beg leave to mention Mr. Donovan for some office, his education and respectability entitle him to notice."

"To the Citizens Electors of the County of Wayne.

"Gentlemen:—

"Having accepted the appointment of Representative for the County of Wayne in General Assembly of this Territory, conferred upon me by your free and independent suffrages, Beg leave in this public manner to suggest, that it is customary in our republican government and I conceive proper and laudable, that the citizens convene, to consult upon subjects that materially concern their interest and welfare, and that of the public at large, in order to give to their representative instructions—as it is the duty of every person, who accepts the suffrages of the people, faithfully to attend to the interest of his constituents. I hope the citizens of the County of Wayne will at all times feel themselves ready and disposed to give every needful information, so as to enable me to discharge my duty to their satisfaction.

"As the General Assembly of this Territory convenes on the 22nd of January next, I shall set out for Cincinnati within ten or twelve days. Trust the citizens will not delay giving me their sentiments within that time.

"The public's very humble servant,
"Sol. Sibley."

"Detroit, Jan., 1799.

"Sir:—

"Permit me to congratulate you on your being appointed Secretary of Government for the Northwest Territory, and to introduce to your acquaintance my friend James May, Esquire, one of the Justices of our Court of Common Pleas and of the General Quarter of the Peace, and also Sen'r Cap't of our Militia. My official letter to his Excellency, the Governor, will inform you of the cause of Mr. May's journey to Cincinnati, and himself will give you any further explanation you may wish for. It is an unfortunate circumstance for the inhabitants of this County that either the Governor or yourself have not visited Detroit before our election—matters would have been conducted differently, our people would have understood their rights better and corruption would have been avoided, and faction silenced; if you ever visit this place, I will put it in your power to form a just opinion of our situation.

"Please to pres't etc.,

"Sir

"Your very humble and most obedient
Servant,

"Peter Audrain, Proth'y."

Letter delivered to the Hon. William Harrison, Esq., Secretary of the Territory, etc., etc., Cincinnati.

"Detroit, 20th January, 1799.

"Messrs. Visgar and Wiswell.

"Gentlemen,

"In conjunction with your colleague who precedes you on this business, I wish your attention to the instructions already given him prior to his departure from hence.

"Next would request your united attention to the Six following particular objects in which are involved the happiness of the County in general and the interest and safety of its individuals.

"1st. That when a general Tax becomes to be levied on the Territory the Infant State of this County to be duly taken into consideration and as small a proportion of that sum as may be to be allotted to its share; the poverty of its inhabitants to be considered. People commencing to clear and improve new lands cannot be supposed to be wealthy.

"2nd. The Militia Law of the Territory as it now stands does not seem to answer the intended purpose, or the disposition of the inhabitants of this County, they are almost to a man refractory nor will they turn out either to a muster or exercise when called upon; the fine or punishment inflicted by that Law being so easy and inconsiderable that they would much sooner bear the consequence than obey the orders or call of their officers. The safety and indeed the prosperity of the County in a great measure depends upon the good order and discipline of the inhabitants; a thoughtful person cannot labour with any degree of courage when he finds that he cannot derive from the joint effort of his neighbours that protection and safety which ought ever to exist in every civilized society. The inhabitants of this place have lived for many years past in a state of licentious freedom nor can they now bear to be checked; nothing but a more severe law can bring them to order.

"3rd. The situation of the County with respect to public roads to be taken into consideration; the present seat of Justice is at Detroit; the settlements extending thence northerly to upper end of River St. Clair nearly sixty miles; and also from Detroit southwesterly to foot of Rapids of the Miami River nearly sixty miles. To those extreme parts of the settlements, there are but two periods in the year that persons from the seat of Justice can have access to them without the help of a water craft, viz: in the month of September by land, and in the winter when the waters are sufficiently frozen that the ice will bear; otherwise no access to those places but by water.

"The County thus situated it is clear that the Sheriff and other officers in the service, cannot go to those distant places the greater part of the year without going to the expense of hiring a boat and hands, which would cost four times the mileage they are now allowed by law; should no provision by law be made to give relief to the Civil Officers of the County in such cases, I am apprehensive we shall not long have any to fill them offices.

"4th. Hitherto it has been a matter of public altercation and private investigation whether or not British Subjects now residing amongst us and possessed of fast taxable property within the Territory, were entitled to the privilege of voting in common with others for a person to represent their property within the County, they having been refused that privilege on a late occasion has created some murmurs amongst them. I do not find in any of the Ordinances of the United States or in any part of the Law of Nations referring to Aliens, that aliens have a right to any such privilege. In future to prevent contentions of this nature, there would be a propriety in the Legislature taking up the business, how far they are or are not entitled to any such privilege.

"5th. The improper use of the public monies by its having been applied to the use of a few individuals and the enormous and unjustifiable charges brought forward by such individuals as a pretext for retaining such monies in their hands—

however it is to be remarked that at the last term (December) of Common Pleas, that Judge Bufait (Beaufait), one of the persons who had drawn largely out of the Nominal Treasurer's hands, had promised that he would ere long replace what he had drawn from the Nominal Treasurer.

"6th. Another species of Grievance which the County universally labours under and as universally complained of and which mostly affects the poorer class of people, and requires the immediate attention of the Legislature: That is, the great abuses arising from unjust weights and measures throughout the County. The people in Trade purchasing of the inhabitants grain by the French bushel of 40 Winchester quarts and sell out again grain and salt by the Winchester bushel of 32 quarts.

"Similar abuses are carried on in the sale of bread by the Bakers, when flour is sold at 32 per ct. the three pound loaf is sold by them for 1-6 and that loaf when weighed often times falls short sometimes three and sometimes four ounces of its proper weight. I have often made the experiment by weighing the loaves. It is in the power of the Legislature to say what the legal measure shall be throughout the County; it also rests with the Legislature to vest in the Justices of the Quarter Sessions power to regulate the price of bread in proportion to the price of flour; this is the case in all well regulated Towns, a similar regulation has hitherto been attempted to be carried into effect here, but for want of sufficient authority vested in the Justices of the Sessions the attempt proved fruitless, two of the Magistrates being themselves Bakers and two others of them Shopkeepers.

"Wishing you good weather in your journey, an agreeable reception at Cincinnati, and a safe and speedy return to this place,

"I remain most sincerely yours,

"Patrick McNiff.

"If an opportunity should offer from Cincinnati for this place, immediately after some business having been done by the Assembly, I shall hope for your friendly communication stating proceedings. I have to request that you will be pleased in all your deliberations and measures respecting your mission to the Assembly to consult Mr. Sibley and pay attention to his opinion.

"P. McNiff.

"That the Justices of the Quarter Sessions be impowered to remove nuisances placed in the public streets of Detroit, by many of the inhabitants, placing galleries before their doors, which galleries project out into the streets a great distance to the great annoyance and injury of the public, the streets of Detroit being so very narrow as not to admit of any such encroachments.

"P. McNiff.

"The disorderly conduct of the inhabitants by the profanation of the Sabbath day, by horse racing, dancing and a thing too common on that day (drunkenness). These vices require the attention of the Legislature to pass a law to suppress them."

GRAND JURY REPORT

"The Grand Jury for the County of Wayne upon their oath present—viz—That they recommend the particular attention of the Bench to the presentation delivered by the Grand Jury at the last Sessions—

"That many of the Gentlemen of the Jury, had declared themselves before the Court to be British Subjects, before they have taken the oath as Jurors, and that notwithstanding they had the mortification to hear reflections thrown against that Government, in the charge from the Bench, which very naturally hurt the feelings of many of the Jurors, and could only tend to disturb the harmony now existing between the respective Governments.

"That a complaint from William Smith was delivered to the Jury at the door of the Jury Room, which the foreman immediately laid before the Court for their opinion how to proceed; that the Court ordered the foreman to give the opinion of the Jury in writing upon the back of the said complaint.

"The opinion of the Jury was that a bill of indictment should be made out against the persons mentioned in the said complaint, which the Court refused, and gave as their reason that the Jury had acted improperly in receiving, or giving their opinion upon any complaints which did not come through the medium of the Court; although it had been laid before them previous to any opinion being given.

"That the Grand Jury as representing the body of the County; (although not versed in law), conceive it their duty to represent every grievance that comes to their knowledge, from whatever channel they may derive their information; and that upon requesting the Court for a perusal of the charge delivered to the Jury from the Bench, as a regulation of their conduct, it was refused them.

"That it is the opinion of the Jury, that the office of Coroner and Sheriff cannot be held by the same person, as the duty of the one frequently interferes with the other.

"That all nuisances should be speedily removed, particularly the offensive smell arising from the Slaughter Houses, and the quantity of dead Carcasses which are found in every corner of the Town and which must injure the health of the Citizens as the warm weather is fast approaching.

"That the Grand Jury earnestly recommend that this and the former presentation should be speedily transmitted to His Excellency the Governor, and request the attention of the bench to this circumstance.

"Jury Room Detroit 9th March '97

"John McGregor, Foreman,	"Israel Ruland,
"John Reed,	"D. Labrosse,
"Ant Baubiene,	"R. Pattinson,
"John Fearson,	"Simon Campau,
"Joseph Thibault,	"Wm. Groesbeck,
"Alexr. Duff,	"Robert Gouie,
"J. B. Barthe,	"Francois Gamelin,
"Jas. Fraser,	"Joseph Bond,
"Chabert Joncaire,	"John Dodemead."
"Louis Barthy,	

COURT FEES

The following is a statement of the court fees for the March term of 1797. This shows that six judges were in attendance; that the session lasted three days, and the total expense was \$6.37½. There were seven justices at this time, but Louis Beaufait's name is not on the list.

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Fees of Court	Clerk.	Cyren
..	28
..	25
..	12½
..	25
..	12
..	36
..	48
..	48
..	9
..	12½
..	15
..	12½
or	6
..	12½
ble	6
..	15
..	15
..	30
..	15
..	30
..	15
..	37½
..	9
ur	15
..	12½
..	12½
..	15
..	12½
..	6
..	12
..	15
..	12½
..	50
\$1-42½	\$4-25½	\$.69½

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DIVISION OF NORTHWEST TERRITORY

A bill introduced in Congress for the division of the Northwest Territory into two territories became a law on the 7th of May, 1800. This established the Territory of Indiana, the eastern line of which was the eastern line of the present State of Indiana projected to the national boundary line on the north. Thus, the present State of Michigan was divided nearly in halves and the western portion was included in the new territory. The eastern portion, including Detroit, was left in the old territory which did not change its name from the "territory northwest of the Ohio River."

The members of the Assembly who came from Indiana Territory ceased to hold office. Henry Vanderburgh, president of the council, was the only member of the house who was thus legislated out of office.

The act of May 7, 1800 also provided that whenever the eastern territory should be erected into a state, the eastern boundary of the Territory of Indiana as specified herein should be the permanent boundary between Ohio and Indiana. It further provided that Chillicothe should be the seat of government for the eastern territory and Saint Vincent (Vincennes) should be the seat of government of Indiana Territory, until otherwise ordered by the respective legislatures.

The second session of the first assembly met at Chillicothe November 5, 1800. The members at first from Detroit were Solomon Sibley, Oliver Wiswell and Jacob Visger. Again Wiswell did not appear, being afraid that his election was not regular.

One of the first acts was to choose a successor to Henry Vanderburgh, who was in the new Territory of Indiana and consequently could no longer act with the council. President Adams awarded the appointment to the legislative council to Solomon Sibley on December 3, 1800. His term of office was to last for five years from the date of Vanderburgh's appointment. The assembly was prorogued on the 9th of December, 1800, so that it is probable that Sibley did not take his seat in the council.

SECOND ASSEMBLY ELECTION

The election for members of the second assembly for Wayne County took place in Detroit October 14, 15 and 16, 1800. An account of this election is contained in a letter from Peter Audrain printed in the St. Clair Papers, Vol. 2, page 498. The report of the election is in Vol. VIII of the Michigan Pioneer Collection, on page 517. The limits of Wayne County had been greatly curtailed by the erection of Indiana Territory, which took more than half of the county, but the electors lived, for the most part, in Detroit and on the River Raisin (French Town).

The contestants for the election were: George McDougall, who received one hundred and ten votes; Col. Charles F. Chabert de Joncaire; Jonathan Schieffelin; Benjamin Huntington; Joseph Cissne; James May, who received twenty-two votes; and Jacob Visger, who also got twenty-two votes. Sibley did not enter the list, as he expected an appointment to the council. The election was awarded to Chabert, Schieffelin, and McDougall. Cissne and Huntington contested the election of McDougall and Schieffelin, respectively.

CISSNE PROTEST AGAINST MCDUGALL ELECTION

The protest of Joseph Cissne against the election of McDougall was on the ground that McDougall did not own two hundred acres of land in his own right,

as required by the ordinance of Congress, and that he was of a pernicious disposition, disquiet mind and conversation, and contriving, practicing and falsely turbulent and seditiously intending the peace and common tranquillity of the government of the United States and of this territory, to disquiet, molest and disturb. At this time McDougall was one of the judges of the court of common pleas and the protest of Cissne was to come before the court of enquiry, which would consist of at least two judges of the common pleas. The other judges, May and Visger, had been McDougall's contestants at the election and very naturally McDougall objected to their sitting as judges in the case. He filed a protest against the proposed action of the two judges and objected vigorously to the claims of "that poor wretch, Cissne, who had been made a tool of on this occasion," that he did not have two hundred acres of land. In fact he was "land poor." Notwithstanding McDougall's protest the two judges proceeded with the investigation. On the investigation it was shown that McDougall was anxious to have the taxes of the entire county paid in kind, as the poor farmers had no money with which to pay them. A letter written by McDougall was produced, written a few days before the election, stating that there would be trouble if the sheriff undertook to enforce the collection of taxes by levying on the property of the poor farmers. He proposed the calling of a special session of the justices "at this alarming crisis" to make some arrangements to relieve them. It was also shown that McDougall had stated publicly that the tax law was unjust and oppressive and if the sheriff undertook to enforce it, he would be resisted. These were the charges brought to disqualify McDougall. Most of the matters have been printed in the Michigan Historical Society, Vol. 8, but the sequel is not referred to there. The testimony taken by the judges was certified to the legislature to be passed upon by them. The contest was decided in favor of McDougall and Schieffelin on December 1, 1802.

McDougall, after a time, began a suit against Joseph Cissne for slander in the utterances made by him in the charges, and claimed damages amounting to two thousand dollars. Cissne defended upon the ground that the charges were true, and were uttered only in connection with the legal proceedings and with no malicious intent. Solomon Sibley represented the plaintiff and Elijah Brush appeared for Cissne. A commission to take testimony was issued September 1, 1801. The testimony of Benjamin Huntington was taken October 9, 1801 and was to the same effect as that taken before the court of enquiry, which is already in print as mentioned above. The case never came to a trial, as Cissne died and the suit abated in consequence, but McDougall served in the legislature.

MEETING OF SECOND ASSEMBLY

The second assembly met at Chillicothe November 26, 1801. The provision in the act of Congress of May 7, 1800, fixing Chillicothe as the seat of government, raised discussion and created much bitterness. Many of the members thought the provision was brought about by the action of men who were interested in Chillicothe and that these people acted selfishly and without regard to the convenience or the requirements of the territory. There was also a growing dislike to the governor (St. Clair) which disturbed the tranquillity of the assembly. On December 25, 1801 these disturbances had so affected the town people of Chillicothe that they proposed to burn the governor in effigy. The plan would have succeeded except for the interference of one of the members of the council. The next night a number of boisterous citizens undertook to create a disturbance in

the house in which the governor was a boarder. Fortunately, the rioters attacked Mr. Schieffelin, who was living in the same house. Mr. Schieffelin drew a dirk in self-defense and by his threats drove the rioters from the house. The account is found in the St. Clair Papers, Vol. 2, page 556. Some others assert that Shieffelin drew a brace of pistols and thus drove out the rioters.

The immediate provocation of the riot was a bill to change the location of the seat of government from Chillicothe to Cincinnati. This bill passed and became a law on the first day of January, 1802.

BILL TO ALTER BOUNDARIES

There was another bill which passed and was approved December 21, 1801, which gave the consent of the territory to alter the boundary lines of the states to be formed in the Northwest Territory as provided in the ordinance of 1787. There was a great amount of discussion over this bill and many hard feelings engendered. Governor St. Clair and his friends were opposed to the formation of the new state and thought they could prevent it, for a time at least, by the passage of the act of December 21st. The people of Detroit were greatly interested in the formation of a state in the eastern district. Protests, numerous signed, were sent to Congress and an effort made to prevent the establishment of the new state.

ITS AMENDMENT

The bill, as originally introduced, included the eastern portion of Michigan in the proposed new state, but the serious and strenuous opposition of the citizens of Detroit to the measure, led to an amendment of the bill, so that the northern line of the state should be a line drawn due east from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan. It was in this form that the bill became a law April 30, 1802.

The amendment was, in some ways, an unfortunate thing for Detroit. If the amendment had not been made, Detroit would have formed a part of the new State of Ohio and the people would have, at once, been given the rights of citizens in that state. The amendment placed Detroit in the Territory of Indiana. Thus, the citizens were first in a country organized under the first grade of government; that is, managed by a governor and judges appointed by the Federal Government. Next they passed to the second grade, in which there was a governor, an elected assembly and appointed council. Instead of being promoted now to the third grade, or the grade of statehood, they were degraded to the rule of the governor and judges. There was considerable bitterness in Detroit, and many complaints were made, but no alteration or improvement was affected. Not being within the lines of a state, the people had no vote. Being relegated to the first grade, there were no members of the assembly to be voted for, and no delegate to Congress to be elected. It was many years before there was a delegate to Congress. The first delegate was chosen in 1819 and the first legislative council took office in 1824.

INCORPORATION OF DETROIT

The legislative council which met at Chillicothe in 1801 completed its labors and adjourned January 23, 1802. On the 18th of January, a few days before the adjournment, there was passed an act incorporating the town of Detroit. The passing of this act was largely the work of Solomon Sibley and upon his return to Detroit a public celebration was held and at the meeting of the citizens

the "freedom of the town" was voted to him. A petition for the incorporation of "the Corporation of Detroit" is printed in the Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. 8, page 507. This session, ending January 23, 1802, was the final meeting of the legislative council of the Northwest Territory, and from this time Detroit was in the Territory of Indiana.

The above named act for the incorporation of the town of Detroit was passed by the assembly January 18, 1802. The village was composed of parts of the townships of Detroit and Hamtramck, bounded in front by the river, on the east by the line between the farms of John Askin (Brush) and Antoine Beaubien, on the west by the line between the farms of the heirs of William Macomb (Cass) and Pierre Chesne (Jones) and extending back from the river two miles. The town was to be governed by five trustees, a secretary, an assessor, a collector, and a town marshal. The trustees formed a body politic by the name of "the board of trustees of the town of Detroit." An annual election was to be held on the first Monday in May of each year, and the electors were all freeholders paying an annual rent of at least forty dollars, and such other persons as might be admitted to the freedom of the corporation by the electors at an annual election. All of the above named officers were to be elected and hold office for one year. The board of trustees had power to pass all needful rules and regulations for the government of the town, such rules to be in force until "they shall be disapproved of and rejected by a majority of the voters present" at the next annual election.

APPOINTMENT OF TOWN OFFICERS

The first set of officers, appointed by the legislature, and named in the incorporating act, were: John Askin, Sr., John Dodemead, James Henry, Charles Francois Girardin, and Joseph Campau, trustees; Peter Audrain, secretary; Robert Abbott, assessor; Jacob Clemens, collector; and Elias Wallen, marshal. The act took effect February 1, 1802.

Askin, who was named as one of the original trustees, was not an American citizen, and never intended to become one. It is probable that Elijah Brush, then one of the leading lawyers in Detroit, procured the insertion of his name in the charter from motives of friendship. At this time Brush was with the assembly, although not a member of it. He married Askin's daughter, Adelaide. Askin removed from Detroit in the spring of 1802 and never assumed the office of village trustee.

Recognition of other offices is contained in an act of January 10, 1802, providing for the giving of official bonds by clerks in judicial offices. These clerks were of the general (supreme) court, of the circuit court, prothonotaries of the court of common pleas, clerks of the courts of quarter sessions of the peace and clerks of the orphans' court. Judges of the probate courts acted as their own clerks.

The justices whose names appear in 1801 were: Joseph Voyez, Jean Marie Beaubien, Francois Navarre, James Henry and Jacob Visger. Three of these men were French, one (James Henry) an American from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and one (Jacob Visger) of Holland Dutch descent from Schenectady.

CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATES

William Henry Harrison was the first delegate to Congress from the Northwest Territory. Upon the organization of Indiana Territory, Mr. Harrison

became its first governor and William McMillan was chosen delegate to Congress in his place. Paul Fearing was elected the next and last delegate. The council, in its instructions to Mr. Fearing, directed him to endeavor to have commissioners appointed by Congress to settle the titles to lands at Detroit; to procure a donation of lands for education and religion and to obtain a grant from the general government to the town of Detroit of the "commons." The "commons" was the designation of the land lying between the old town of Detroit (above Griswold Street) and the present Randolph Street. This land had always, even during the French regime, been considered as belonging to the public.

Mr. Fearing presented these matters before Congress in March, 1802, and they were referred to committees, but it was near the end of the session and nothing was done with them at this time. Of the Territory of Indiana, of which Detroit now formed a part, William Henry Harrison was governor and John Gibson was secretary.

The judges were William Clarke, Henry Vanderburgh and John Griffin. The general court did not have any equity powers, nor could an appeal be taken from its decisions. Both of these defects were sought to be remedied by Congress in 1803 (House Journals 1803, pp. 490 and 505), but the efforts were not successful. Little attention was paid to Detroit.

The County of Wayne was proclaimed by Governor Harrison January 14, 1803 (Michigan Historical Society, VIII, p. 542). Sessions of the governor and judges were held and laws enacted January 30, 1802, February 16, 1803 and September 20, 1803. In September, 1804, a general election was held, at which time it was decided that the territory should pass to the second grade of government; that is, it should have a governor and a legislative assembly, instead of the governor and three judges as the legislative body. This election was called by proclamation of Governor Harrison, August 4, 1804, to be held on the 11th day of the following September. The time was so short that no notice of the proposed election reached Detroit and no votes were cast there. This circumstance was one of the leading arguments for the partition of the territory and the formation of Michigan Territory in 1805.

Only four hundred votes were cast at the election and the majority of one hundred and thirty-eight was in favor of passing to the second grade of government.

An election of representatives was called for on the 3rd of January, 1805, and Wayne County was authorized to elect three members. The members elected were to meet at Vincennes on February 3, 1805 to select ten men from whom the President was to choose five as members of the council. Again no election was held in Detroit or in Wayne County.

FORMATION OF MICHIGAN TERRITORY

Application had been made by Joseph Harrison and others in 1803 to organize Michigan into a separate territory. This effort failed, but in 1804 another petition for the same purpose was filed by James May and others. The result was that an act was passed January 11, 1805, for the organization of Michigan Territory on June 30th following. This put an end to all desire on the part of the citizens of the new territory to take any part in the management of Indiana Territory. The first assembly of Indiana Territory met July 30, 1805, just a month after Michigan Territory was organized.

Detroit was in Indiana but a short time, from the organization of Wayne

County in January, 1803, until January, or June, 1805. The governor's proclamation of January 14, 1803 stated that all civil and military offices appointed in Wayne County under the old Northwest Territory should continue to hold their offices until otherwise directed.

GOVERNMENTAL APPOINTMENTS

In May, 1803, the governor made the following appointments to civil offices in Wayne County: James May, James Henry, Antoine Dequindre, Mathias Henry, Francis Navarre, Jacob Visger, John Dodemead, Jean Marie Bobiene (Beaubien), Chabert Joncaire, William McDowell Scott, justices of the court of general quarter sessions of the peace; James May, Chabert Joncaire, James Henry, Jacob Visger, William McDowell Scott, judges of the court of common pleas; Peter Audrain, prothonotary, clerk of the court of general quarter sessions of the peace, recorder and judge of probate; Thomas McCrea, sheriff; Joseph Harrison, coroner; and Francis Desreusseau Belcour, notary public.

On July 15, 1804 Joseph Wilkison (Wilkinson) was appointed coroner of Wayne County, and on the same day David Duncan and John Anderson were appointed justices of the court of general quarter sessions of the peace. On July 18th Richard Smith was appointed sheriff and on the 19th Jacob Visger was given a license to keep a ferry from his land near Detroit across the Detroit River.

It is noted in the executive journal of Indiana Territory that an election was held September 11, 1804, except in Wayne County, where "no election was held in consequence of the proclamation not arriving in time."

FIGHT FOR TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

The efforts that were made for the erection of Michigan Territory originated in Congress by the presentation of two petitions, one in 1803 and the other in 1804, as noted above. The first petition was signed by Joseph Harrison and a number of other Detroit citizens. The petition was presented in the Senate by Mr. Worthington, October 21, 1803 and was at once referred to a committee composed of Senators Worthington, Breckenridge and Franklin. In their report on November 1st, they stated that census of the district taken in 1800 showed there were 3972 free white inhabitants, and the committee recommended the granting of the petition, the new territory to be governed as provided in the ordinance of 1787. The committee was directed to bring in a bill. The bill being introduced, it passed through the usual forms of reading and debates. On December 6th the title was determined to be "An act to divide Indiana Territory into two separate governments." The bill passed the Senate, was sent to the House, and on December 8th was referred to a committee composed of Congressmen Lucas, Morrow, Chittenden, Lyon and Claggett. The principal argument against the bill was that the people of Detroit were too few in number to warrant the expense of maintaining a separate government. The extra expense could not have been very great. The general government would have to pay the salaries of a governor, secretary, three judges and civil and court officers. This entire cost would not exceed \$10,000 per year and was probably nearer \$5,000. The committee reported adversely to the bill, but the House rejected their report and after amending it and providing that the name of the new territory should be "Michigan," postponed final action until the succeeding day. The last vote was taken February 21, 1804, when the bill was rejected by a single vote. There were fifty-eight in favor of the bill

and fifty-nine opposed to it. In looking over the list of members one finds several names of persons who were then and in after years interested in Detroit. Several of these voted against the measure. One vote only would have changed the entire plan and have made Michigan a territory. Among those who opposed the measure and voted against it was Seth Hastings, a personal friend of Solomon Sibley and a representative from Worcester, Massachusetts; he was the father of Eurotas P. Hastings, a prominent citizen in later times.

The friends of the territorial organization proceeded with a second petition. The first signer of the petition was James May, but many prominent people signed it, and it was presented to the Senate December 5, 1804. It was referred to Senators Worthington, Breckenridge and Giles. A bill was introduced by Mr. Worthington on December 14th and was debated, amended and passed on the 24th of that month. Upon reaching the house it was further amended, but was finally passed, the Senate concurring in the amendment. It was approved by the President on January 11, 1805.

Thus Michigan became a territory.

Solomon Sibley took a great part in the work at Detroit and among the citizens. The original petitions were sent by him to Senator Worthington to be introduced in the Senate. A joint letter by himself and Jonathan Schieffelin accompanied the second petition and, at a later time, he added further instructions and new advice to the petitions and documents already in the hands of Congress.

LAND TITLES

One of the troubles of the district of Detroit as it was emerging from British control, was the matter of land titles. Under the French regime, comparatively few people had any paper title to the farm lands they occupied and claimed to own. The farms were located along the Detroit River and the tributary streams such as the Huron River of Lake Erie, the Ecorse, Rouge and the Huron River (now called Clinton River) of Lake St. Clair. No lands were occupied or cultivated in the country back and away from these water courses. Every farm had a frontage on a stream, with a width of from one to three arpents, with an original depth of from forty to sixty arpents. (An arpent is a French acre, having 192.75 feet on a side.) There were no roads through the country and the travel for all persons was by boat along the front of these ribbon farms. Occasionally farms or possessions of larger tracts of land were to be found, but the above quantities of forty, eighty and one hundred and twenty arpents were of the customary size.

Conveyances of such farms from the French governor and intendant are occasionally found. The English government made very few grants and passed laws to prohibit the people from buying lands of the Indians. Towards the end of the Revolutionary war, about the year 1780, the people of Detroit began the purchase of farms from the various Indian tribes. Sometimes these purchases would consist only of an ordinary farm, but as time proceeded and the speculators got reckless, larger tracts were bought. Some conveyances included 20,000 acres, and then we find 200,000, 500,000 and 3,000,000 acres in a single conveyance, and an attempt was made in 1795 to purchase the entire lower peninsula of Michigan, or 20,000,000 acres at one time. Titles to legitimate farms in the neighborhood of Detroit were complicated and uncertain and early efforts were made to bring the matter before Congress for relief.

The first selected officials for the new Territory of Michigan were: William Hull, governor; Stanley Griswold, secretary; Augustus Brevoort Woodward, Frederick Bates and John Griffin, judges.

The town of Detroit was fire-swept on June 11, 1805. Judge Bates resided in Detroit, but the other two judges and the governor did not arrive in Detroit until after the fire. They then appeared to witness a scene of desolation, for every dwelling and building in the place, save one, was destroyed.

The first act passed by the legislative body is dated July 9, 1805 and provided for the territorial seal. It was provided that paper, instead of parchment, should be used in all court records.

BRITISH CITIZENS IN DETROIT

We now reach the point where there was a change of government and where all local affairs were brought more closely under our observation. As we have already seen, the United States had no actual control over the Detroit district until July, 1796. It was reported that the village of Detroit contained about five hundred people. They were mostly French, and the number of English, Irish and Scotch was quite limited. The declarations of the inhabitants to remain British subjects, made in 1796-7, already referred to, contain many names in addition to those of French derivation. These are as follows:

D. McCrea,	Louis Moore,	James McIntosh,
William Fleming,	Thomas Green,	Jonathan Nelson,
James Condon,	Angus Mackintosh,	Robert Gouie,
Alexander Duff,	John Askin,	R. McDonnell,
William Smith,	William Mickle,	Richard Pattinson,
John McKoigan,	Robert Innes,	Hugh Heward,
John Clark,	John Martin,	John Grant,
Robert Grant,	Redmond Condon,	James Cartwright,
James Donaldson,	John Fearson,	Richard Donovan,
John Little (Lytle),	Conrad Showles,	James Leith,
Robert Forsyth,	George Sharp,	Mathew Dolson,
Samuel Eddy,	Robert Nichol,	William Hands,
George Meldrum,	Thomas Smith,	John McDonnell,
Robert McDougall,	William Baker,	John McGregor,
Richard Mooney,	William Park,	John Anderson,
James Vincent,	James McGregor,	John Whitehead,
James Anderson,	Joseph Mason,	William Thorn,
James Fraser,	William Harffy,	John Wheaton,
William Mills,	John Cain,	Samuel Edge.
A. Iredell,	William Forsyth,	
Jonathan Schieffelin,	Alexander Harrow,	

Of these, some moved to the Canadian side of the river, some moved away altogether, and many repented of their action in signing the declaration and remained as loyal citizens.

LOYAL AMERICANS IN DETROIT

There was another class, quite as large, that remained in Detroit and accepted the citizenship conferred by Jay's treaty. Among these were:

James Abbott and his three sons, James, Samuel and Robert.

James May and his brother, Joseph.

John Macomb and his son, Alexander. William Macomb, the other son of John, died in the spring of 1796, just before the coming of General Wayne. His three sons, John, William and David, were all minors at the time of the

father's death.

Patrick McNiff, the surveyor.

Nathan Williams.

Herman Eberts, physician.

John Dodemead.

Daniel Sawyer.

Jacob Harsen.

Barnabas Harsen.

Jacob Visger.

John Shaw.

William Walker.

Israel Ruland, here in 1786.

Godfroy Corbus.

Francis Jones.

Daniel Pursley.

Joseph Hurt.

Zachariah Hurt.

Nathan Hurt.

John Yax (a German).

James Conner.

Henry Conner.

Richard Conner.

William Conner.

John Conner.

Edward Hezell.

Jacob Thomas.

Jacob Hill.

John Loveless.

George Knaggs.

William Thorn, Jr.

Peter Curry.

William Knaggs.

Michael Yax.

Robert Forsyth.

Ronald McDonald, clerk for Leith & Shepherd.

Andrew Baker.

John Kinzie.

Thomas Cox.

Albert Ringear.

Joseph Cissne (His wife, Rebecca, after his death, married Hugh McVay).

John Cissne, came to River Rouge in 1787.

William Cissne.

John Messimore.

Jacob Dicks.

Edward McCarty, came to River Rouge in April, 1796.

John Dicks.

John Carrol (his widow married Daniel Pursley).

John Reynolds, here in 1787, moved to River Thames before 1799.

James Havard, here in 1785.

Adam Brown, a Wyandotte Indian chief in 1785.

John Wright.

William Thorn.

Gregor McGregor.

Jacob Baker.

Andrew Baker.

Christian Clemens.

John Tucker.

William Tucker.

Edward Tucker.

Jacob Tucker.

Charles Tucker.

George Cotterall.

John Anderson. (There were two bearing this name.)

William Hill.

James Hobbs.

James Cartwright.

Patrick Fitzpatrick.

Henry Saunders.

Simon Yax.

Jacob Young (colored).

Thomas Edwards.

Alexander McCormick.

Whitmore Knaggs.

David McCrea.

Joseph Chamberlain.

GENERAL CONDITIONS, 1796-1800

Detroit was taken possession of on July 11, 1796, by Capt. Moses Porter, with a detachment of sixty-five men. At present we have not the names of the men who constituted this company, but as they were soldiers in the reg-

ular army, it is not probable that they became residents of Detroit or that many of them remained here after their term of service had expired.

It was not until the following month that Gen. Anthony Wayne came with a larger number of troops to form the new garrison. It is said that there were five hundred troops in that garrison in the fall of 1796. Secretary Winthrop Sargent was with General Wayne, and there was a number of civilians, some of whom remained at the place.

The people living in Detroit knew very little about the party politics which disturbed the states in 1796. Washington was still President and was termed a federalist, though his opponents called him a monarchist. The political party opposed to him was called the republican, or democrat, and believed in the states' rights doctrine and was afraid, or at least pretended to fear, that the federalists would ultimately deprive the states of their individuality and would enlarge the federal powers and so pave the way to the establishment of a monarchy.

Before any great number of people had come to Detroit, Washington's second term had ended and he was followed by John Adams. Adams also was a federalist and was likewise inclined, as many believed, to monarchical ideas. The republican party was fast increasing its strength in the states, particularly in the southern states, and its influence began to be felt in many ways.

Most of the people who first came to the Ohio region were Revolutionary soldiers and were allied by party feelings with the federalists. The names given to their early settlements, such as Forts Hamilton and Washington of the counties of Washington, Hamilton, St. Clair and Knox, all attest their federalist attachment. St. Clair and Wayne, both friends of Washington, were federalists.

Solomon Sibley came to Detroit in 1798 and very quickly took a leading part in the affairs of the village. Before the end of the first year of his residence, on the third Monday of December, 1798, he was elected to the lower house of the legislative council of the Northwest Territory. He also was a federalist. His competitor at the election was James May, who, as we have already noted, was an Englishman by birth, never lived in the states, and knew nothing about American political questions.

When Sibley attended the legislative council at Cincinnati, he met the best men in the entire northwest. Burnet, in his Notes, says that "In choosing members to the first territorial legislature, the people, in almost every instance, selected the strongest and best men in their respective counties. Party influence was scarcely felt."

Detroit was entitled to three representatives in this council, but only two, Sibley and Jacob Visger, took their seats. Sibley took an active and leading part in the assembly. Judge Burnet says of him, "Mr. Sibley was a lawyer of high standing, and considered one of the most talented men of the House. He possessed a sound mind, improved by liberal education, and a stability and firmness of character which commanded a general respect and secured to him the confidence and esteem of his fellow members."

Jacob Visger, or perhaps the name was originally spelled Vishiere, was of Dutch ancestry and came to Detroit during the Revolutionary war from Schenectady, New York. He was fairly well educated and had studied law a little. He was a business man and acted occasionally as a judge or justice.

He was decided in his character, and somewhat opinionated. His action of the case of the will of George Hoffman indicates his character somewhat.

The matter of land titles and land possession was of the greatest importance at this time. The government possessed millions of acres of uncultivated land and the land speculators were after big tracts of this wild land, out of which they expected to make fortunes. A great "land grab" in Georgia in 1795, in which members of Congress were supposed to have been interested, was followed in the same year by an attempt to buy the entire lower peninsula of Michigan. Both schemes failed of success, but many purchases of smaller quantities of land succeeded. It was the desire of the Federal Government to furnish homes and farms for the people. It was the effort of speculators to purchase these large tracts and colonize them.

Indiana Territory was organized in May, 1800. This left Detroit in the Ohio district and still a part of the old Northwest Territory. In September of this year a petition of the citizens of Detroit was presented to Congress, asking that their land titles be confirmed. They said that the people were "generally poor and needy, with large and numerous families." They did not mean by this that polygamy was practiced, but that their situation was not favorable when the titles to their homes were unsettled. They said, "Your petitioners feel exceedingly anxious that their rights, titles and claims to their lands may be speedily settled and confirmed in them and their heirs." They asked that the government assist them in establishing schools and that one or more townships of land be set aside for the purpose of endowing an academy or college. They wanted a post office established. This petition was, in 1801, referred to a committee of the house, of which Mr. Pinckney was the chairman. Little attention was paid to it, for affairs of more political importance were occupying the attention of the house, and our interests were disregarded for the time being.

One of the most important political incidents that ever occupied the attention of America took place at this time. It was on February 11, 1801, that the contest began in the House for the election of President. The vote in the Electoral College stood seventy-three for each of the candidates, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. This was a tie and the election was thus thrown into the House, where for thirty-five consecutive ballots, occupying the time until February 17, the votes were uniform and undecided. It required the vote of nine states to decide the contest, but through all of this exciting time, Jefferson could only muster eight states and Burr but six. In the afternoon of Tuesday, February 17, 1801, the thirty-sixth ballot showed that Jefferson had the votes of ten states and was elected.

America has probably never passed through a more critical time. It was the crisis of political power for the two great parties, federalists and democrats. Burr was the representative of the federalist party, while Jefferson was an avowed democrat. It was here that the two parties changed positions and from this time forward the democrats were in control. It was a bloodless revolution; the parting of the ways forever in America between a republican and a monarchical form of government. Small wonder that in such exciting times the interests of Detroit were temporarily forgotten.

In 1798, when Mr. Sibley came to Detroit, there was but one lawyer here, but by 1799 the number had increased. Ezra Fitz Freeman, who was here before 1799, had left, and the lawyers then remaining were Solomon Sibley,



SOLOMON SIBLEY, 1756-1830
First Chief Justice, Common Pleas Court

Elijah Brush and David Powers. J. Willis also appeared as an attorney in many cases in 1797.

The settlement was practically isolated from civilization. Although the census of 1800 disclosed that there were 3,757 people in Wayne County, most of whom were in Detroit and along the shore lines of the Detroit and St. Clair Rivers, there were no adequate schools to supply any kind of educational training. There was a school house on the St. Clair River in 1797 and the names of two or three teachers are met with in the Detroit settlement. Even the meager schooling which was afforded was not free or compulsory and only those who had the desire to attend and the money to pay for tuition were accommodated. David Bacon, the father of Leonard Bacon, president of Yale University, kept a school in Detroit in 1801 and 1802, and Leonard Bacon was born here in the latter year.

JOUETT'S DESCRIPTION OF DETROIT

Charles Jouett in his report in 1803, which will be referred to again, said that the lands along the entire river, where cultivated, were good, with some exceptions, but that the people were poor and their work in cultivation not good. They were nearly all of French descent. Some had comfortable dwellings built of hewn logs and most generally the necessary out-buildings, barns, etc. They had numerous apple orchards and made quantities of cider. Although Jouett mentions few distilleries, there are many evidences that stills were numerous throughout the country and whisky was very cheap and abundant. On the St. Clair River there were at least two sawmills, and some lumber there from the pinery was sent to Detroit, though lumber was not produced in sufficient quantity to be used in making frame buildings. In many places the country was beautiful. In one place Mr. Jouett writes: "No lands are superior to those along the Huron River. They consist of extensive prairies covered so closely with hazel and other shrubberies as to afford a pleasant shade to the delighted traveler, who cannot but take an agreeable interest in the beautiful sceneries by which he is surrounded."

Nowwithstanding all that nature had done for them, many of the farms were already exhausted by cultivation; many of the houses old, dilapidated and unfit for habitation and "scarcely sufficient to shut out the inclemencies of the weather." Along the Ecorse River "the grass and wheat are astonishingly luxuriant; and nature requires to be but aided to produce, in abundance, all the necessities of life; yet the peoples are poor beyond conception; and no description could give an adequate idea of their servile and degraded situation."

Of the town of Detroit, Jouett wrote: "A stockade encloses the town, fort and citadel. The pickets, as well as the public houses, are in a state of gradual decay and, in a few years, without repairs, must fall to the ground. The streets are narrow, straight, regular and intersect each other at right angles. The houses are, for the most part, low and inelegant."

MCNIFF'S WRITINGS

Another writer of the period was Patrick McNiff. McNiff was a surveyor and had lived in Detroit for many years. In later years he was a justice of the peace and of the court of quarter sessions. In 1799, just after Mr. Sibley had been elected to the assembly, McNiff sent him some "instructions" as to the matters Mr. Sibley was to work for in the council. Regarding the militia law McNiff

said, "The militia law of the territory as it now stands, does not seem to answer the intended purpose, or the disposition of the inhabitants of this county. They are, almost to a man, refractory, nor will they turn out either to a muster or exercise when called upon; the fine or punishment inflicted by that law being so easy and inconsiderable that they would much sooner bear the consequences than obey the order or call of their officers. The safety, and indeed the prosperity, of the county in a great measure depends upon the good order and discipline of the inhabitants. A thoughtful person cannot labor with any degree of courage when he finds that he cannot derive from the joint efforts of his neighbors that protection and safety which ought ever to exist in every civilized society. The inhabitants of this place have lived for many years past in a state of licentious freedom, nor can they now bear to be checked. Nothing but a more severe law can bring them to order."

There were no roads through the country and here again we refer to the writings of Mr. McNiff: "The situation of the country in respect to public roads should be taken into consideration. The present seat of justice is at Detroit. The settlements extending thence northerly to the upper end of the river St. Clair, nearly sixty miles, and also from Detroit southwesterly to the foot of the rapids of the Miami (Maumee) River, nearly sixty miles. To those extreme parts of the settlements there are but two periods in the year that persons from the seat of justice can have access to them without the help of a water craft, viz: in the month of September by land, and in the winter when the waters are sufficiently frozen that the ice will bear them; otherwise no access to these places but by water."

RELIGIOUS MATTERS

While nearly all of the people of Detroit were somewhat religiously inclined, it is very certain that the Protestant portion of the community did not let their religion seriously interfere with their secular work. The Moravian teachers had been forcibly brought to the place in 1782 and had located at their settlement near the present city of Mt. Clemens. They had left that place and sold out their holdings before the Americans came. There was no Protestant church organization in 1796, nor for many months later.

Rev. George Mitchell of the Episcopal Church attempted an organization in 1786 and obtained a fairly good subscription list. He preached and lived precariously for more than two years, but became discouraged and left, unable to collect the pittances which were promised him. Richard Pollard, minister, and sheriff of the western district, preached occasionally in 1792 and later, but he always lived on the Canadian side of the river.

The Catholic Church had existed for nearly a century and was then in its usual condition. The priest managed to live from donations of his parishioners and tithes which were collected, but the church building was in a dilapidated condition and waited only to fall in some wind storm. Fortunately for the society, the building was destroyed by the fire of 1805.

In 1796 and in the subsequent years the people of the parish were more intent on attending religious services than they were in paying their church dues. In respect to letting their worldly affairs take precedence of their material church obligations they did not differ much from the Protestants. The Catholic priest in 1797 was Gabriel Richard, then a newcomer. He was well educated and had a spirit of progressiveness along the line of popular education that was far ahead of his times. He was not appreciated by his own church people and they made life

a burden to him in many ways. However, he constantly worked for his people and for the Indians, whom he considered as his special wards. Burnet, in his Notes, page 282, relates that on one occasion Judge Symmes, in his charge to the grand jury, endeavored to convince the French Catholics that they were unduly attentive to their religious duties. The interference of the judge with their personal acts gave great offense in the town.

PUBLIC MORALS AT LOW EBB

The morals of the community were not above par in any way. There was a large garrison composed of soldiers who had volunteered for Indian and frontier service and who were, as usual, a rather reckless lot. In the court records are many cases of rioting and of other evidences of debauchery and low life. Whisky was a common and cheap commodity and there is scarcely an account to be found in the many account books which have been preserved, that does not present many items of whisky and rum. Total abstinence was apparently unknown. With such a wholesale use of liquor it is not to be wondered that there was much privation, want and squalor, even in this land of plenty. McNiff writes: "The disorderly conduct of the inhabitants by the profanation of the Sabbath Day, by horse racing, dancing and a thing too common on that day, drunkenness; these vices require the attention of the legislature to pass a law to suppress them."

There were several taverns in the village. As there was very little travel, it must be understood that the greatest uses to which a tavern could be put was to take in boarders and sell rum. They were rum holes of the worst kind. William Forsyth was among the tavern keepers and he probably had the largest place in town, located upon the site where the Michigan Exchange was afterwards built. Then there were Thomas Cox, James Donaldson,—Cornwall and others. John Dodemead kept a place where liquor was sold, as noted in a preceding page. These places were not called saloons, but they were places of lounging and drinking and sometimes there were games and billiard tables in connection. Warham Strong is put down as a tavern keeper in the very earliest of the American record. A license to keep a tavern was issued to Robert Kean in 1797. He had purchased the tavern formerly kept by Mathew Dolson.

SOLDIERS THE WORST OFFENDERS

There was a strong feeling in Detroit, and it was probably universal in America, that the military department was unfriendly to a democratic form of government and was not to be endured in perpetuity. The soldiers in the garrison were considered a constant menace to the enforcement of civil law, and conflicts between the two departments, civil and military, were frequently arising. In 1797 Lieut.-Col. David Strong was in command of the garrison. Many of his soldiers would come into the village from the fort, and after drinking sufficient to make themselves uncontrollable, engage in rioting and making disturbances in the streets. All of the better class of people wanted the disturbance stopped. A fuller account of this affair will be found elsewhere and in this place we will give merely the outlines of the subsequent trouble. Colonel Strong found that a great amount of the drinking was done at Dodemead's and it was in the second story of this house that the courts were held. After warning the garrison to desist from drinking and carousing, the colonel ordered a sentry stationed at the entrance to Dodemead's place to prevent the soldiers from entering. Immediately all of the citizens were out with protests against the attempt

of the military department to interfere with civilians' rights. An appeal was made to the court on the ground that the "centinal" coerced the court. Then an appeal was made to Governor St. Clair and the matter became so serious that Colonel Strong was removed and sent to Ft. Wayne. He was succeeded by Col. John Francis Hamtramck.

On another occasion two soldiers got into a quarrel in a drinking place and one of them was killed. Solomon Sibley was requested to prosecute the murderer and he was in great doubt about his right to proceed when the culprit was a soldier.

It frequently happened that the defendants, in a civil suit, pleaded that the debt sued on was incurred while the defendant was a soldier and the defense was always sustained.

There were several instances in later years where soldiers were objects of complaint for violating the rules and ordinances of the city and they took refuge under the military cloak. It was contrary to a city ordinance to fish on Sundays from the public wharf. The soldiers seemed to delight in using this day of all days for that purpose. The protests of the citizens were in vain and it was impossible to resort to the courts. This over-riding of civil law was not confined to Detroit, but was prevalent in all garrisoned towns and led the people to fear and to dislike that branch of government.

TERRITORIAL JUDICIAL DISTRICTS

The law establishing the Territory of Michigan was enacted early in the year 1805, but the territory was not organized until July 1st of that year.

As before stated the governor was William Hull and the judges were Augustus Brevoort Woodward, Frederick Bates and John Griffin. They had the powers which had been conferred upon the governor and judges of the Northwest Territory of adopting laws from the state. Stanley Griswold was appointed secretary. Almost immediately after they assembled in Detroit they began the adoption of laws necessary for the territory.

By proclamation of the governor of July 3, 1805, the territory was divided into four districts, called Detroit, Erie, Huron and Michilimackinac. The district of Detroit was bounded in front by the Detroit River and on the remaining sides by a line commencing at the Detroit River five miles above the center of the citadel in the village of Detroit, and extending westerly from that point to the line of Indian title as established by treaty, thence south on that line ten miles and thence due east to the Detroit River. The territory south of this district was called Erie and that to the north was called Huron, extending to Saginaw Bay. The territory north of Huron was called the district of Michilimackinac. These were the judicial districts of Michigan.

The clerks appointed for the district courts were: Peter Audrain, for the supreme court and for the district court of the districts of Detroit and Huron, the same to be held in Detroit; George McDougall, for the district of Erie, the court to be held at Frenchtown (Monroe); Samuel Abbott, for the district of Michilimackinac, court to be held at Mackinac. Samuel Abbott, David Duncan and Josiah Dunham were appointed justices of the peace at Mackinac. John Anderson, Francois Navarre, Israel Ruland, Francois Lasselle and Hubert Lacroix were appointed to the same office for the district of Erie, and Robert Abbott, James Henry, James Abbott, James May, William McDowell Scott and Matthew Ernest received similar appointments for Detroit. Elisha Avery was first ap-

pointed marshal of the territory, but he declined the appointment and it was given to James May. There was no settlement of importance in the district of Huron, consequently it was attached to Detroit for judicial purposes.

SUPREME AND OTHER COURTS

The supreme court was first convened at a court room arranged for that purpose in the house of Judge May on July 29, 1805. At the first session there were no cases for trial and court adjourned after appointing Peter Audrain clerk.

On the following day Solomon Sibley and Elijah Brush were admitted to practice at the bar. The only judges present at these two sessions were Woodward and Bates.

Court was not again convened until September 16, 1805. In the meantime a good deal of building had been done in the burned district of the village and the house of John Dodemead had been erected upon the same lot before occupied by him, at the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Shelby Street, and here court was now opened by the marshal with the following words, "Attention! The supreme court of the Territory of Michigan is now sitting. Silence is commanded on pain of imprisonment." A grand jury was called and three of this body, Jacob Visger, Antoine Beaubien and Joseph Campau, who failed to answer the summons, were each fined one hundred dollars.

The first case called was an action against certain goods supposed to have been smuggled into the territory in order to avoid payment of duty. The owners of the goods were Isaac Bissell, Jr., and Henry Fitch. The attorney for the United States in this action was Solomon Sibley and Elijah Brush represented the defendants. The first judgment was obtained the same day, September 16, 1805, in favor of George Meldrum and William Park against Adam Brown for \$400.40 $\frac{3}{4}$.

George Hoffman was the third attorney admitted to practice and Abraham Fuller Hull was the fourth.

The first act, regarding a temporary seal for the territory, was adopted July 9, 1805, and other acts followed rapidly. The office of territorial marshal was created by the act adopted July 10, 1805. An act of July 24, 1805 provided that the three judges appointed by the president should constitute the supreme court of the territory and that the judge first chosen should be the chief justice. The court should have exclusive jurisdiction in all cases involving the title to land; concurrent jurisdiction in all cases involving two hundred dollars or more; and appellate jurisdiction in all cases. It had exclusive jurisdiction in all capital criminal cases and all cases of divorce and alimony. The court was directed to appoint a clerk to keep its records, admit attorneys to practice, and appoint a prosecuting attorney. Suits in equity were not permitted if there was an adequate remedy at law. In equity trials, witnesses should be heard in open court. Paper, instead of parchment, should be used in all court records.

A district court should be held in each district at least once each year. The judges of the general or supreme court were, individually, to be judges in the district courts, which were courts of record. The court had jurisdiction in all cases where the amount involved exceeded twenty dollars, excepting in cases especially reserved for other courts. Cases were to be tried by jury if demanded. The clerk of the district court was the appointee of the supreme court. In this act, which was passed July 25, 1805, nothing is said about equity cases. Appointments for the district court are listed upon a preceding page.

By the act of August 1, 1805 justices of the peace had jurisdiction in cases where the amount involved did not exceed twenty dollars. Suits were begun by *capias*. Executions were to be levied upon the property of the defendant and if not satisfied by this process the body of the defendant was to be taken. Suits involving real estate titles could not be tried before a justice.

By the act of August 2, 1805 marriages could be performed by justices of the peace, ministers of the Gospel and by religious societies according to their rules. The marriage certificate was required to be filed with the clerk of the district court.

Grand juries, with twenty-four members, could be summoned by either the supreme or the district court.

By act of August 14, 1805, trials by jury were permitted in both the supreme and district courts, and *juries de medietate lingue* could be directed in either court. That is, the jury was composed one-half of English-speaking men and the other half of Canadians or Frenchmen. This was a very common way of calling a jury where either litigant was a Frenchman or Canadian. Appeals could be had from the justice court to the district court and from the district court to the supreme court.

Conveyances of land were to be recorded by the clerk of every court.

The courts of the several districts of the territory, any judge in the territory, and the clerk of the court of the district had the power to take the proof of a will and grant a certificate of probate. The original will was to be recorded in the office of the clerk of the district.

An appropriation of twenty dollars was made October 7, 1805 "for the special services of James May, marshal of the Territory of Michigan, to-wit: for summoning three grand juries, for summoning a petit jury in a criminal trial and for superintending the erection of a bower for the holding of a court." The "bower" was necessary because the entire town of Detroit had been burned and there was no house in which to hold the court.

Alexander D. Fraser, one of the foremost of the old time lawyers of Detroit, in an article on the early territorial courts, writes as follows concerning the transfer of government from Great Britain to America in 1796:

"But what became of the laws which had hitherto been in force in Michigan, and by what process were those of the Northwest Territory extended over the country of which possession had just been obtained? It is a principle of universal jurisdiction that the laws, whether in writing or evidenced by the usage and customs of a conquered or ceded country, continue in force till altered by the new sovereign."

None of the courts or procedures of Canada were continued by the Americans after July 1, 1796. This was probably owing to the claim that Michigan was never a part of Canada, but that it formed portions of the colonial grants to Massachusetts, Connecticut and Virginia, whose jurisdiction and rights were surrendered to the general government upon the passage of the ordinance of 1787. As soon as Wayne County was organized the territory became subject to the same laws as the other parts of the Northwest Territory. As mentioned before, when Indiana Territory was organized Detroit still remained in the old Northwest Territory, but when Ohio became a state, Detroit was transferred to the Territory of Indiana. The court of common pleas, the orphans' court and the court of quarter sessions were continued by the proclamation of Governor Harrison in the organization of the new Wayne County. Practically, these

matters are of little importance for it was only a very short time before Michigan Territory was organized and a new life begun.

We have no evidence at this time that any change whatever took place. The same justices held office and the same courts proceeded as if nothing unusual had taken place. When Michigan Territory was organized in 1805 considerable changes took place, as outlined before.

Not a word was said, at first, about the recorder's office or the office of the register of deeds, but an act was passed in 1805, requiring the clerk of any court to record deeds and conveyances. These records, in Detroit, were all entered in the same books that were begun under the act of the Northwest Territory. The office of judge of probate seems to have continued, but no new law was passed on the subject of that office. There was, however, an act authorizing the district courts or any judge of the district or the clerk of the district court to probate wills.

In 1806 the office of city register was created for the purpose of keeping a record of the conveyances of land within the city of Detroit, and the first entry was made by Joseph Watson, city register, November 11, 1806.

The first paper on record was a survey of the banking lot of the Bank of Detroit, made by Abijah Hull, surveyor of Michigan.

Affairs in territorial matters did not run smoothly from the very start, for there was continual quarreling between Hull and Woodward, and the other two judges were necessarily involved in the discussions. Hull tried to control matters, but Woodward was imperious, domineering and fault-finding. He bullied Hull and Griffin and pestered the life out of the governor. Griffin usually sided with Woodward and got along fairly well with him for twenty years. He was not considered a judge of much ability, but was generally successful in keeping out of the quarrels of his associates. Bates also succeeded in getting along with the others, but for a short time only, when he retired and moved to the Territory of Missouri, and James Witherell became his successor.

The record of the early laws passed by the governor and judges shows that on every occasion the governor and at least two of the judges were present at the legislative sessions and signed each act in approval of it. During the absence of Judge Woodward, who was in Washington in the fall of 1808, the governor and two judges passed an act on November 9th, making it no longer necessary that each act should be signed by the members present. This act provided that of the four members of the legislative board, three should constitute a quorum and that when three only were present, two should be a majority and that it was necessary only that the presiding officer should sign the act and the secretary attest it, to give it validity. This act was stated to have been adopted from the State of Vermont. There were forty-five laws thus adopted and certified between November 9, 1808 and May 11, 1809.

The act passed July 25, 1805, for the establishment of district courts to be presided over by one of the judges of the supreme court, was amended in 1807, so that judges of the supreme court were no longer eligible for the district court judgeship.

A new provision was adopted April 2, 1807, for the establishment of district courts to be presided over by a chief judge and two associates to be appointed by the governor. Jacob Visger was chief judge of the new court and his associates were John Whipple and James Abbott. Abbott resigned March 4, 1809, having become involved in a quarrel with Abijah Hull, the governor's nephew, and had

been challenged to fight a duel. He neglected to accept the challenge, but the governor took the part of his nephew and inflicted upon Abbott all the punishment he could. He removed him from all the offices he held and recalled his appointments as a justice of the peace, associate judge of the district court and his office in the militia.

THE PROBATE COURT

The probate court was established in the Northwest Territory by the act of August 30, 1788, but, of course, was not established in Wayne County until 1796. The first estate probated in Detroit was that of Amos Weston, a blacksmith. John Askin was appointed administrator of the Weston estate and of the estate of George Knaggs, August 23, 1797. These are the oldest papers in that court. Weston was a Canadian and died at Amherstburgh, and his estate was first probated in Sandwich.

The probate court was, in some respects, a singular institution. The judge, Peter Audrain, was an appointee of either Arthur St. Clair, as governor, or of Winthrop Sargent, as governor pro tem. Audrain continued to hold the office of judge of this court under the Northwest Territory, Indiana Territory and Michigan Territory. He had no new appointment, but acted always under the original and first. There are only a few files of estates in the probate office between 1796 and 1807, about sixty in all, and an examination of them shows that Audrain claimed to be probate judge and took bonds from executors to himself as judge, until sometime after the full organization of Michigan Territory. In the estate of Jacob Dicks, the will was filed with "Peter Audrain Clerk of the district court for Huron and Detroit 21 October 1805" and the bond was given to "The United States of America." From this time on there were no papers signed by any probate judge nor is that court mentioned until 1807.

The papers in the court were in a scattered and unsatisfactory condition during the remainder of the time that Audrain possessed them. On many of them is the endorsement "Delivered over by Mr. Audrain 18 July 1809, Geo. McDougall, judge of probate."

During the time that the district court was presided over by the judges of the supreme court, wills were presented to that court. Shortly after the change in the form of the court and the appointment of Jacob Visger as chief judge, the will of George Hoffman was presented to the court for allowance. Visger refused to admit the will to probate. The supreme court issued a mandamus to compel him to take and probate the will, but he refused to obey the court and offered to suffer death rather than to change his own rulings. The case is a very interesting one and is quite extensively explained in Vol. 37 of the Michigan Pioneer Collections on page 32. In this case is discussed the legality of the forty-five laws passed by Governor Hull and the two judges during the absence of Judge Woodward in 1808. Mr. Visger's objection, however, was that the legislature had no power to repeal a law that they had once adopted. He said that there was already a probate court in existence and that the attorney and executor named in the will, Solomon Sibley, should have presented the will to that court. His absolute refusal to obey the order of the supreme court and probate the will necessitated the production of the will before the supreme court, which was the only other court in the territory. The will was allowed in the supreme court. It is barely possible that there was another reason for refusing to probate this will, which never appeared on the surface. George Hoffman, the decedent, had

married Margaret Audrain, daughter of Peter Audrain. Hoffman had been appointed collector at Mackinac (Michilimackinac) and was living there at the time of his death. They had one child, George Worthington Hoffman, who was about seven months old at the time of his father's death. George Hoffman, by his will, gave all of his property to his father and mother, providing that neither his wife nor his then unborn son should take any part of his estate. It is possible that the injustice done the infant son was one of the causes the district court had in refusing to probate this will.

An act was passed February 24, 1809, providing that all laws of the Northwest Territory and of Indiana Territory should no longer operate in Michigan. This abolished the probate court as operated by Peter Audrain.

District courts were abolished September 16, 1810. This was done for the purpose of punishing Visger and Whipple for refusing to obey the mandate of the supreme court. The history of this court is very short and full of pathos. It was established as the first court of record in which citizens of Detroit officiated, April 2, 1807. There were three judges in the court, James Abbott, whose fate has been narrated, Jacob Visger and John Whipple, who were turned out of office because they refused to be coerced, as they said, to do an illegal act. The abolition of this court left only the supreme court as a court of record.

There was an act adopted and published January 31, 1809, entitled "An act for the probate of wills and the settlement of testate and intestate estates." The act is very long, containing ninety-seven sections. Throughout the act, in many places, are references to a "court of probate" and "judge of probate," but it contains no provision for the establishment of the one or the appointment of the other. The basis of the act rests upon the supposition that a law already existed for the creation of such a court and the appointment or election of a judge. No such previous act seems to exist. So, in another act, adopted February 26, 1808, entitled "an act regulating fees" there is a provision for fees for the "judge of probate."

The laws that were from time to time adopted by the governor and judges, were written in book form and signed by the officials. It is known that one book containing most of the acts of 1806 and 1809 was lost and when the official compilation was published in 1874 the titles only of these missing laws were given. Subsequently and about the year 1883 the writer hereof found a volume of the missing laws, which was printed the next year (1884) and now constitutes part of Vol. 4 of the Territorial Laws. It is quite possible that there is another volume of these acts that may sometime be discovered. As previously stated there are a number of the old files in the probate court that are endorsed "Delivered over by Mr. Audrain 18 July 1809. Geo. McDougall, Judge of Probate." We would conclude from this that Mr. McDougall had been appointed judge of probate shortly before July 18, 1809, but no record of such an appointment has been found.

In file 58½, estate of Isaac Jones, hatter, McDougall accepted the bonds of Peter Desnoyers and Henry Berthelet as administrators running to "George McDougall, judge of the court of Probate of Wills for the districts of Huron, Detroit and Erie, 7 Dec. 1809." The last section, No. 97, of the act of January 31, 1809 provided that "every judge of probate shall have a seal for said court, and shall appoint a clerk or register." The first case in which a register is mentioned is No. 69, estate of Aaron Truax, a brother of Abraham C. Truax. The administrator's bond is dated April 24, 1810 and runs to George McDougall, judge of probate. It is witnessed by Robert McDougall, Sr., register.

Harris Hampden Hickman appears as register July 22, 1811.

During the time of the British occupation of Detroit, from August 16, 1812 to September 29, 1813, there were no estates probated. The estate of John Whistler, Jr. (19th U. S. Infantry) who died at the house of James Abbott, his brother-in-law, December 1, 1813, was the first probated after the war. Administration was granted to James Abbott by George McDougall, "register of wills."

Although the act of January 31, 1809 provided for the appointment of a register of probate by the judge of probate, there was no provision for the appointment or selection of a judge of probate nor for the establishment of a probate court. An act was passed November 4, 1815 for the appointment by the governor of a register of probate in each district in the territory. The register should receive proof of and record all wills and all deeds and other writings. He practically combined the offices of register of deeds, judge of probate and clerk of the probate courts. In addition to these various offices, he could "celebrate the rites of matrimony."

The first Michigan act for the establishment of a probate court was passed July 27, 1818. A court was established in each county and a judge for each was appointed. There was a register for each court, but his powers were those of a clerk only. Both the judge and the register were paid by fees. This act, establishing the probate court, was reenacted in 1827.

COUNTY COURTS

The county court was to consist of one chief and two associate justices, to have original and exclusive jurisdiction in civil cases, both of law and equity, where the amount involved exceeded the jurisdiction of a justice of the peace and did not exceed one thousand dollars. It had no jurisdiction in cases of ejectment. It had exclusive cognizance of all offenses not capital. Appeals could be taken from the justice court to the county court (October 24, 1815). Justices of the county court could issue writs of habeas corpus (November 8, 1815). The governor could appoint a master commissioner to take testimony, either in or out of court, in each court having a chancery jurisdiction (June 13, 1818). At the time the first county court was provided (1815) there was but one county in the territory. The provision was reenacted December 21, 1820 and the provision inserted that there should be a county court in each county. The county court of Wayne County had no jurisdiction in criminal matters. Such cases were to be taken to the circuit court (March 4, 1831; act repealed November 25, 1834). In Wayne County the county court could not hear any jury cases, nor call any jury (December 30, 1834.)

CRANE VS. REEDER: A NOTABLE LAW CASE

There is probably no member of the Detroit bar, and few among the older citizens of Detroit, who have not heard of the Crane and Reeder controversy, which involved the title to a large and valuable tract of land on the Detroit River, near the fort, officially designated as "private claim 39." The history of this farm and of the dispute which grew out of the presumably defective title is as follows:

Some time prior to the year 1800 John Askin owned the land. Askin was an extensive trader and merchant in the village and was largely indebted to eastern houses from whom he purchased goods. Among his other creditors were Isaac Todd, a wealthy Irish gentleman temporarily living in Montreal, and James

Magill (McGill), founder of McGill University, also of Montreal. In the financial depression which occurred in 1800, Askin was afraid he would fail in business, and in order to secure his creditors he turned over this farm to Todd and McGill. They had perfect confidence—well placed, too—in Askin's honesty and ability and gave him a power of attorney authorizing him to sell this land, and a number of other parcels in which they were interested.

In the spring of 1801 there was a baker in Detroit named John Harvey. It was subsequently claimed that Harvey came to Detroit before the year 1797, but it does not matter to us when he came. He was certainly here early in 1801 and kept a bake shop near the southeast corner of Shelby Street and Jefferson Avenue, on Ste. Anne and Ste. Honore Streets, as located in the village as it then existed. It was in his bake shop that the fire started which destroyed the entire village in 1805.

In the testimony produced in the case of Crane vs. Reeder, it was shown that Harvey was born in Birmingham, England, about May 17, 1751. He married Mary Penrice in 1782, and they had three daughters, Mary Penrice Harvey, Ann Reynolds Harvey and Maria Yorke Harvey, all of whom lived until maturity, and a son, John Harvey, who died in infancy. Mary was christened October 10, 1783, Ann was christened in January, 1786, and Maria was believed to have been born in 1792. The wife, Mary Penrice, died in 1809. The daughter, Mary Penrice, married Benjamin Pierce and died in 1852. Ann Reynolds married William Hart July 14, 1805 and was buried August 18, 1863. Maria Yorke Harvey left England October 23, 1822 to join her father at Jeffersonville, Indiana, and there resided with him until his death on December 5, 1825. When she came to America on the ship "London," December 13, 1822, she gave her age as twenty-six years, from which it would follow that she was born in 1796, and probably her father left England not far from that date.

After the fire of 1805, an act of Congress was passed, giving the governor and judges permission to lay out a new village plat, and authorizing them to give each resident of the old village a lot in the new one. Under this law, Harvey obtained three lots, one as a donation and two others as purchaser of the rights of Mrs. Thibault and Mrs. Provencal. There was some evidence produced at one of the trials to show that Harvey was living with a woman, who claimed to be, but was not, his wife. It is certain that on December 19, 1808, a donation lot was granted to "Sally Harvey, wife of John Harvey." This woman's name was Sally Wilson and she was generally considered to be the wife of Harvey, and was such by common law rights, for she lived with him until her death in the year 1822.

One of the witnesses in Detroit in the Crane vs. Reeder trial, James Thebaud, who lived at L'Anse Creuse (or as our learned brother-in-law, Henry Plass, who as circuit court commissioner, took the testimony, has it, he lived at "Long Screws") stated that Harvey's wife was "Tall Kitty" and that she was part Indian and part French, that because of her living with Harvey the priest would not admit here to communion. It is certain that her name was Sally, for the records and conveyances from her all give that name.

Harvey and his wife, Sally, sold part of their property in Detroit in 1809, and left for New York for the purpose of going to England. This was probably after the death of the rightful Mrs. Harvey in England, and Sally would have been received by the Harvey family as the legal successor to the name of wife. It is said that when the couple reached the city of New York, Mrs. Harvey refused to cross the ocean, and after a visit of a few days at that city they returned westward

together, but not to Detroit. They took up a residence in Jeffersonville, Indiana, and lived there the remainder of their lives. No children were born of this marriage. Harvey sold the rest of his lands in the village of Detroit to John R. Williams in 1816, but did not dispose of his farm. He appointed Benjamin Stead his local agent and the farm was looked after, rented and taxes kept paid by the agent. Sally Harvey died in 1822 and on April 25, 1823 John Harvey made a deed of his farm to his daughter, Maria Yorke Harvey, who had come from England to live with him in the previous December. This deed was not witnessed and was not admitted as evidence in the subsequent suits in Michigan. John Harvey died December 5, 1825, leaving no other children than those born in England, all of whom were at that time in England excepting the one daughter, Maria. The latter married Edwin Reeder May 18, 1825 and died after April 12, 1828, leaving no children.

Edwin Reeder was appointed administrator of the estate of John Harvey July 13, 1826. Shortly after the death of his wife, Reeder came to the farm near Detroit, erected a house and lived there the remainder of his life. He left a will, which was probated in Wayne County, by which he devised the larger portion of his farm to relatives, giving one-tenth to the Unitarian Church of Detroit. As this land was afterwards claimed by the state to have escheated for want of heirs capable of inheriting real estate it will be well to see what the laws relating to real estate were.

It was provided, as we have seen, that all persons who were in Detroit in 1794 and who remained here one year after Jay's treaty became effective in 1796 were naturalized by reason of that treaty. It seems now that Harvey did not come to this country until after 1795, and could not take advantage of the provisions of that treaty.

It will be necessary here to enter into all the laws and repealing acts that affected property in the years between 1796 and 1828. A naturalization law was passed in 1802 by Congress. Two laws were passed in 1805 permitting aliens to hold, buy, sell and inherit real estate, but both laws were repealed before 1821. The entire laws of the parliament of Great Britain were repealed so far as concerned Michigan in 1810.

When the suit of Crane vs. Reeder came to be tried it was claimed that the act repealing the alien law, which repealing act was passed in 1821, was enacted by mistake and that the governor and judges intended to reenact the original law at once. There is some authority to be found in the Detroit papers of 1828 to bear out this supposition.

On March 31, 1827 the alien law was again enacted.

Having thus hastily passed over the land laws of that period let us return to more modern times. Walter Crane gave his version of his connection with this land somewhat as follows: He was an army paymaster stationed at Louisville, which is across the river from Jeffersonville. One day a man whom he had befriended told him that John Harvey formerly lived in Jeffersonville and that upon his death the property owned by him there had escheated to the state because he was not a citizen. He also told Crane that there was land in Detroit in the same situation.

When Crane returned to Detroit, he commenced an investigation of the title and came to the conclusion that Harvey was an alien and that his property had escheated to the state. He applied to the state board of escheats and after some delay obtained a deed from the state for five thousand dollars.

There were other circumstances connected with the purchase of the land of no great concern, except that they are interesting. One of these stories is as follows:

Just before the time the escheat was discovered, the government was seeking to purchase a site for Fort Wayne and among the parcels of land offered for that purpose was this tract. The official examiner for the government rejected the land because of the defective title, but he admitted some one into his confidence and that person made an application to the state board of escheats for a deed of the land. He was outbid by Crane. At the same time another person, or committee of citizens of Detroit, composed of Moses W. Field, Henry P. Baldwin and others, attempted to purchase the rights of the state and agreed, if they were successful in obtaining the land, they would convey it to Detroit for a public park. They also were outbid by Crane. When Crane had obtained the deed from the state, a cry of fraud was raised, that the state board of escheats had not conveyed the land to the proper applicant, and an investigation was had, but nothing ever resulted from it.

Crane, having obtained the deed from the state, set about recovering possession of the land by commencing suits in ejectment against the persons who were in possession under Reeder. He sought to show that Harvey was an alien, and had never become naturalized. In order to make this showing and produce the proper records, Crane visited England three times, in 1869, 1873 and 1876. He inspected every parish record, over eight hundred in number, in Worcestershire, and also a number in Warwickshire and other places. He examined all the customs house records in New York to ascertain when Harvey and his daughter came to America. In order to do this he inspected more than 10,000 large volumes and closely examined some 800 that were selected from the larger number. He was not contented with showing negatively that Harvey was a British citizen, but he desired to show affirmatively that he could not have been naturalized.

In the great lawsuits which grew out of this contest—and there were more than a score of them—nearly all of the prominent attorneys of the city took a part. Messrs. S. T. Douglass, Sidney D. Miller, William P. Wells, George E. Hand and Herbert Bowen at one time or another represented Mr. Crane, while D. B. and H. M. Duffield, George V. N. Lothrop, Alexander D. Fraser, Henry M. Cheever and Theodore Romeyn represented the Reeder. The legal battle began in 1868 and was continued in the circuit and supreme courts of Michigan and in the United States courts for ten years.

In the lower state court the cases were tried before a jury and were uniformly decided in Reeder's favor, while in every instance on the appeal to the supreme court, the decisions of the lower court were reversed. The attorneys and persons on both sides were tired of their long fight, their patience and their means were alike exhausted, and they agreed to divide the property between them and cease their litigation.

In the settlement the entire property was conveyed to Crane and he re-conveyed to the Reeder interests the east 354 feet in width of the farm, nearly one-third.

The judges before whom these cases were tried, Jared Patchin of the circuit court, and Judges Cooley, Campbell and Christiancy, have all passed away. Nearly all of the lawyers and persons connected with the case have gone also.

The first case that reached the supreme court is reported in Vol. 21, page 70 Michigan Reports. The decision of the judge is based upon the supposition, first, that John Harvey was an alien and his children could not inherit his prop-

erty; second, if he was a citizen, that the statute of 1827 did not take effect till January 1, 1828, which was several months after Mrs. Reeder died, and consequently she could not inherit from her father, for there was no law in force permitting aliens to inherit until the law of 1827 became operative.

At this trial all of the testimony which was subsequently produced was not put in evidence, but from later developments it appears that the law of 1827 became operative on the day of its passage, March 31, 1827, and that Mrs. Reeder did not die until nearly a year afterward. In all other trials of the case it was contended that if Harvey ever became a citizen it was by virtue of the treaty of 1794.

In searching through these old papers and records that have been the foundation of this series of articles, I have happened upon some documents of exceeding interest and importance in the Crane and Reeder controversy, being nothing less than the letters of naturalization of John Harvey. The first of these papers is as follows:

"At a session of the supreme court of Michigan began and holden on Monday, the twenty-first day of September, one thousand eight hundred and seven, at twelve of the clock, noon, at the council house provided by the marshal for that purpose at Detroit, the seat of the government of Michigan, was present Augustus Brevoort Woodward, chief justice of Michigan.

"John Harvey, of the city and district of Detroit, applied to be made a citizen of the United States, the court ordered said application to be docketted and postponed the same for further consideration."

On Thursday, September 24th following, is an order as follows:

"In the case of the application of John Harvey to be made a citizen of the United States of America, the applicant having satisfied the court by four witnesses of the time of his residence in the United States, and of his moral character and attachment to the principles of the constitution of the United States of America and of his being disposed to the good order and happiness of the same, he was admitted to take the oath of naturalization and the oath to support the constitution of the United States and he was sworn accordingly in open court."

If these records had been known to the contestants before the cases were tried, the result might have been different.

CHAPTER XIII

INCORPORATION OF DETROIT AND DEVELOPMENT OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

FIRST MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT—CHARTER OF 1802—TOWN ELECTIONS—FIRE OF 1805—THE GOVERNOR AND JUDGES—PLAN FOR NEW TOWN—INCORPORATION OF 1806 AND TEXT OF THE CHARTER—AUTOCRATIC GOVERNMENT—THE KING'S COMMONS—GOVERNOR AND JUDGES AS A LAND BOARD—CHARTER OF 1815—THE COMMON COUNCIL—CHARTER AMENDMENTS—CITY DIVIDED INTO WARDS—CHARTER OF 1857—CITIZENS' MEETINGS—BOARD OF ESTIMATES—THE NEW CHARTER—THE PRESENT MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT—BOUNDARIES AND ANNEXATIONS—THE CASS FARM COMPANY OF 1835—ABORTIVE ACT OF 1873—TABLE OF AREAS.

The first municipal government of Detroit was established by the Legislature of the Northwest Territory. In the session of that body which was convened at Chillicothe on November 23, 1801, Solomon Sibley represented Wayne County in the legislative council, or upper house. He presented a petition from the citizens of Detroit in January, 1802, asking for the incorporation of the town, and followed the presentation of the petition with the introduction of a bill for that purpose. The measure, bearing the signatures of Robert Oliver, president of the council, and Edward Tiffin, speaker of the house, was approved by Gov. Arthur St. Clair on January 18, 1802, just five days prior to the adjournment of the Legislature. The progress of this bill was not unimpeded and had it not been for the efforts of Solomon Sibley there might have been a different outcome. The council proposed various amendments to the original draft of the bill, but the assembly failed to agree. Finally, a committee of conference was appointed and after their discussion the bill was passed. At Detroit a public celebration was held and the "freedom of the town" was voted to Sibley.

CHARTER OF 1802

The charter granted by the act of the Legislature existed in force until the organization of Michigan Territory in 1805, when the newly appointed governor and judges assumed the right to legislate for the affairs of the city as well as for the territory; their action, in effect, abrogated the charter. This charter of 1802 is here copied in full:

"AN ACT to incorporate the town of Detroit:

"Section 1. Be it enacted by the legislative council and house of representatives in general assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That such parts of the townships of Detroit and Hamtramck, in the County of Wayne, as are contained in the following boundaries and limits, to wit: bounded in front by the river or streight of Detroit; eastwardly by the division line of John Askin, Esquire (Brush farm) and Antoine Bobien (Beaubien); westwardly by the division line between the farm belonging to the heirs of the late William McComb (Cass farm), deceased, and Pierre Chesne (Jones), and extending back from the said river two miles at an equal width in rear

as in front, and including all wharves and buildings in front of the said town, be, and the same are erected into a town corporate, which shall henceforth be known and distinguished by the name of 'The Town of Detroit.'

"Section 2. And be it further enacted, That for the better ordering and regulating the police of the said Town of Detroit and the inhabitants thereof, there shall henceforth be in the said Town five trustees, a secretary, an assessor, a collector, and a town marshal, who shall be inhabitants of the said town, and who shall be chosen as hereinafter mentioned.

"The trustees shall be a body politic in law, by the name of 'The board of trustees of the town of Detroit,' one of whom shall act as chairman of the said board, and one as treasurer, to be appointed by the said trustees. Any three (3) of the said trustees shall constitute a board for business, the secretary being present.

"Section 3. And be it further enacted, That the said trustees and their successors in office, shall be able, in their corporate capacity, and for the use of the said corporation, to receive, acquire, hold and convey any estate, real or personal, and shall also be capable in law, by their corporate name aforesaid, of suing and being sued, of pleading and being impleaded, in any action or suit, real or personal, in any court of record whatever; and they are hereby authorized to have and use one common seal for the purposes of the said corporation, and the same to alter, break or renew at their discretion.

"Section 4. And be it further enacted, That the inhabitants of the said Town of Detroit who are freeholders, or householders, paying an annual rent of forty dollars, and such other persons residing within the said town who shall be admitted to the freedom of the said corporation by a majority of the electors at their annual meetings, shall and may assemble at such place within the said town, as shall be appointed by a majority of the said trustees, on the first (1st) Monday of May, yearly and every year, and then and there elect by the highest number of votes of the electors present, five discreet and suitable persons, resident within the said corporation, to serve as trustees of the said town for one year next ensuing, and until other trustees are chosen and qualified; also a secretary, one assessor, a collector and a town marshal, who shall serve for a like term of time.

"The trustees and all other officers of the said corporation shall, within ten days after notice of their respective appointments, take an oath or affirmation faithfully and impartially to execute and discharge the duties of their said offices, before some person in the said county authorized to administer oaths; a certificate whereof shall be given to the person taking the oath and by him filed with the secretary of the said board.

"Section 5. And be it further enacted, That the said trustees, when convened for business, shall be called 'The board of trustees of the town of Detroit,' and they, or any three of them, shall have full power and authority, from time to time, and at any time, to hold a meeting in the said town, at such place as the chairman, or in his absence, the secretary, shall point out, and to make, ordain and establish, in writing, such laws and ordinances, and the same, from time to time, to alter or repeal, as to them shall seem necessary and proper for the health, safety, cleanliness, convenience and good government of the said Town of Detroit and the inhabitants thereof; to appoint a treasurer of their own body; to administer all necessary oaths; to impose reasonable fines, penalties and forfeitures, upon all persons who shall offend against the laws and



ordinances that shall be so made as aforesaid; and to levy and cause to be collected all such fines and forfeitures, by warrant of the chairman, with the seal of the said corporation, directed to the marshal, who is hereby authorized and directed to collect the same, by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the offender, and the same to pay to the treasurer, to and for the use of the said corporation, and it shall be the further and particular duty of the said board of trustees to make, adopt and establish regulations for securing the said town against injuries from fires; to cause the streets, lanes and alleys of the said town and the public commons to be kept open and in repair, and free from every kind of nuisances; to regulate markets, and if necessary, to appoint a clerk of the market; to regulate the assize of bread, both as to weight and price, having due regard at all times in establishing the same to market price and value of flour in the said Town; and to prevent swine and other animals from running at large in the streets, lanes and alleys, and on the public commons of the said Town, if in their opinion the interest or convenience of the said Town shall require such prohibition; all such laws and ordinances and regulations so to be made, shall be in force and binding from thenceforth until the next annual meeting for the election of corporate officers, when all laws, regulations and ordinances made, adopted and in force under the authority of this act, shall be, by the secretary of the said board, laid before the electors of said Town, for their consideration; and if any of the said laws, rules or regulations, made or adopted by the said board of trustees, for the good government and well-being of the said corporation, shall be disapproved of or rejected by a majority of the voters present, the said laws, ordinances and regulations so disapproved of, shall thenceforth become null or void, and of no effect; Provided, That the laws and ordinances so to be made by the board of trustees as aforesaid, shall be consistent with the laws and ordinances of the territory.

“Section 6. And be it further enacted, That freeholders, householders and residents aforesaid of the said Town shall, at their annual meeting, have the power and authority to vote such sum or sums of money as a majority of such votes present may think proper, to be raised for the use of the said Town for the ensuing year, which sum or sums of money so voted shall be assessed by the assessor in such manner, upon such objects and in such proportion as shall be agreed upon by a majority of such meeting and shall be collected by the collector at such times, and be paid and disposed of in such manner as the board of trustees shall direct; and the said collector shall have the same power to compel payment as is or shall be given to county collectors for the collection of county rates and levies.

“Section 7. And be it further enacted, That the board of trustees shall have the power of filling all vacancies that may happen in any of the offices herein established and made elective, and the appointment so made shall continue valid until the next annual meeting and no longer; and it shall be lawful for the board of trustees to appoint such other subordinate officers as they may think necessary, and who are not hereinbefore mentioned, and to fix and establish from time to time such fees to the assessor, collector, marshal and other subordinate officers of the corporation, and to impose such fines for the refusing to accept such offices, and for neglect and misconduct in the same, as to them shall seem necessary and proper.

“And it shall be lawful for the chairman, with the advice and consent of any three of the trustees, at any time, to call a meeting of the inhabitants of

the said Town, for the purpose of obtaining a vote for the raising of any sum or sums of money that may be deemed necessary to be raised for the use of the said Town; and the said board of trustees shall have the sole right of licensing and regulating taverns, ale-houses, and other public houses of entertainment within the said Town. Provided, That all fees established or to be established, and which shall arise from licenses aforesaid, shall be established by the court of general quarter sessions and paid into the county treasury, to and for the use of said county, and the treasurer of the said board of trustees shall receive, account for and pay over the same, within thirty days after receiving the same, into the county treasury.

"Section 8. And be it further enacted, That if any person shall think him or herself aggrieved by an officer or individual of said board, it shall be lawful for such person to appeal to the court of general quarter sessions of the peace, who are hereby authorized to hear and examine into such complaint, and to grant such relief therein as to them shall be thought proper.

"Section 9. And be it further enacted, That the secretary of the said board shall keep a book wherein he shall enter in a fair hand and at length, all and singular laws, regulations, and ordinances, rules and other business which shall be made, done and transacted by the board of trustees, and shall carefully preserve the same with all other papers belonging to the said corporation, and the same deliver over, whole and undefaced, to his successor in office; which books and papers shall at all times be opened for the inspection of the members of the said corporation, and it shall be his further duty to give copies and extracts when required by a member, for which he shall be entitled to take and receive reasonable fees, to be established by the said board.

"Section 10. And be it further enacted, That the said corporation be allowed the privilege and benefit of the common prison of the said county for the imprisonment of delinquents and offenders against the laws, ordinances, rules and regulations that shall be made and adopted in pursuance of the authority given by this act to the board of trustees for the good government of the said town. Provided, that no person shall be imprisoned under the authority of this act for a longer time than forty days.

"Section 11. And be it further enacted, That John Askin, senior, John Dodemead, James Henry, Charles Francis Girardin, and Joseph Campau be, and they are hereby appointed trustees, Peter Audrain, secretary, Robert Abbott, assessor, Jacob Clemens, collector, and Elias Wallen, marshal, to hold their respective offices and to perform and execute the duties thereunto appertaining until the first stated meeting of the inhabitants of the said town, as hereinbefore directed, and until their successors shall have taken the oaths prescribed and no longer. And the said officers shall respectively take the oath hereinbefore prescribed before they enter upon the duties of their respective offices.

"Section 12. And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to prevent any further legislature of this territory from making any alteration, amendments, or from repealing this act, in whole or in part, at their pleasure. This act to take effect and be in force from and after the first day of February next.

"Edward Tiffin,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

"Robert Oliver,

President of the Council.

"Approved the eighteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and two (1802).

"Arthur St. Clair,

Governor of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio."

The first meeting of the board of trustees was held on Tuesday, February 9, 1802, at which time James Henry was chosen as chairman of the board and John Dodemead was elected treasurer. Mr. Askin was not an American citizen and did not serve. Girardin and Wallen were absent from home at the time; James Peltier was made messenger for the trustees.

On February 15, 1802, a public meeting of the householders was held at the courthouse. The organic act was read, first in English and then in French, and addresses were made by some of the leading citizens, explaining the duty of the residents toward the new town government.

At a meeting of the trustees on February 23, 1802, the first ordinance was introduced. It prescribed "Regulations for securing Detroit from injuries by fires," and was passed at another meeting two days later. On April 17, 1802, the first town tax was levied by vote of the trustees and at the same meeting an ordinance was passed regulating the size and price of loaves of bread.

TOWN ELECTIONS

At the first municipal election on May 3, 1802, all the officers named in the act of incorporation were elected except John Askin, who was succeeded on the board of trustees by George Meldrum, and Jacob Clemens, collector, who was succeeded by William Smith. Smith immediately resigned, however, and Conrad Seek was appointed in his place by the trustees. At the first meeting of the trustees after the election, James Henry and John Dodemead were continued in their offices of chairman and treasurer.

The second annual election, held May 3, 1803, resulted in the choice of Robert Abbott, Elijah Brush, Charles Curry, James May and Dr. William Scott as trustees; Peter Audrain, secretary; Thomas McCrae, assessor; John Bentley, collector; and Richard Smythe, marshal. James May was named as chairman of the board and Robert Abbott, treasurer.

The election of May 7, 1804, resulted in the selection of the following named officers: James Abbott, Frederick Bates, Henry Berthelet, Solomon Sibley and Joseph Wilkinson, trustees; Peter Audrain, secretary; John Watson, assessor; Peter Desnoyers, collector; Thomas McCrae, marshal. Solomon Sibley was chosen chairman of the board and Robert Abbott was continued as treasurer. On August 6, 1804, Jean Baptiste Piquette was appointed to fill a vacancy caused by the absence of Robert Abbott and on December 3, 1804, John Connor was appointed marshal in place of Thomas McCrae, "who has left the country."

The last officers elected under the act of 1802 were chosen on May 6, 1805, and were as follows: James Abbott, Frederick Bates, Dr. William Brown, Joseph Wilkinson and John Williams, trustees; Peter Audrain, secretary; John Watson, assessor; Jean Baptiste Piquette, collector; John Connor, marshal. The new board met on May 11th and organized by electing Joseph Wilkinson as chairman and James Abbott as treasurer. Louis Peltier was appointed messenger and John Connor clerk of the market and police officer.

The sessions of the town board of trustees were held continuously from 1802 until May, 1805. At this last meeting, after the transaction of business,

they adjourned until June 3d. There is no evidence of any meeting of that date, but the board never met again. From the time of the fire until the City of Detroit was organized in 1806 the only governing power was that of the governor and judges, more of which is narrated later.

FIRE OF 1805

On June 11, 1805, occurred the great fire which completely destroyed the Village of Detroit, a disaster so complete as utterly to change the political aspect of the community as well as the physical appearance. At the risk of destroying the continuity of this chapter, the general description of the fire is given here.

The fire was started by a careless laborer in the employ of John Harvey, a baker; this individual, while harnessing the horses in a small stable located on Ste. Anne Street, dropped sparks from his pipe into the loose hay, which soon was in flames. This was shortly before nine o'clock in the morning and by mid-afternoon the entire village was consumed, with the exception of a warehouse outside the pickets and a few old buildings in what was known as the "shipyard," located on the river front at about the foot of the present Woodward Avenue. Some of the written descriptions of the fire at the time are interesting and are here copied. The first is an article from the *Intelligencer* of August 7, 1805, which was unsigned:

"The distress and confusion we have experienced for these two days past has deranged every species of business. The town of Detroit exists no longer. It was reduced to ashes on the 11th inst. The fire broke out in a stable, in the western part of the town, about half past 9 in the morning and raged to that degree that not one dwelling house was standing within the pickets by one o'clock P. M., notwithstanding the wind was light and blew from the west, and Mr. McIntosh and May's house was to the windward, they could not be saved. The loss is immense and I fear from the want of resources, irreparable. I am among the few who for our situation were able to save our memorable effects. No lives were lost. I believe history does not furnish so complete a ruin, happening by accident, and in so short a space of time. All is amazement and confusion."

Rev. John Dilhet, a Roman Catholic clergyman, wrote the following account of the fire:

"I was occupied with Mr. Richard when a messenger came to inform us that three houses had already been consumed, and that there was no hope of saving the rest. I exhorted the faithful who were present to help each other, and immediately commenced the celebration of low mass, after which we had barely time to remove the vestments and furniture of the church, with the effects of the adjoining presbytery, when both buildings were enveloped in the flames.

"In the course of three hours, from 9 o'clock till noon, nothing was to be seen of the city except a mass of burning coals, and chimney tops stretching like pyramids in the air. Fortunately there was no wind during the conflagration; this allowed the flames and smoke to ascend to a prodigious height, giving the city the appearance of an immense funeral pile. It was the most majestic, and at the same time the most frightful spectacle I ever witnessed. The city contained at least one hundred and fifty houses, mostly frame, which caused the fire to spread with the utmost rapidity. The number of people in the town being unusually large, there was ample force for removing the merchandise and

furniture of the inhabitants, which were in a great measure saved. No personal injury was sustained during the fire."

The last statement of Dilhet is in error, as shown by an item in the appropriation bill of December 8, 1806, that not over \$20.25 was to be paid Catherine Lasselle for "nursing a child crippled by the conflagration of the 11th of June." Other injuries and items of interest are contained in the following letter written by Robert Munro:

"Detroit, June 14, 1805.

"Sir,—

"I have the painful task to inform you of the entire conflagration of the Town of Detroit. About 10 o'clock on Tuesday last a stable, immediately opposite the factory, was discovered on fire. The first intimation I had of it was the flames bursting through the doors and windows of the house; I immediately gave the alarm, and with great exertion saved my papers, and about two-thirds of the goods of the factory; my private property was entirely consumed.

"In less than two hours the whole town was in flames, and before 3 o'clock not a vestige of a house (except the chimneys) visible within the limits of Detroit. The citadel and military stores were entirely consumed, and the furniture belonging to the estate of Colonel Hamtramck shared nearly the same fate; the china is the only thing I can mention to be the contrary.

"I have removed the factory goods to the shipyard, and am now fixing a place to arrange them for disposal, agreeable to the original intention of the establishment, and I will speedily forward a statement of the loss that has been sustained. The situation of the inhabitants is deplorable beyond description; dependence, want, and misery is the situation of the former inhabitants of the Town of Detroit. Provisions are furnished by contributions, but houses cannot be obtained.

"Mr. Dodemead lives in a corner of the public storehouse at the shipyard; Mr. Donovan with his family have gone to Sandwich; and Mr. Audrain, with many others, occupy the small house below Mr. May's. A number of families are scattered over the commons without any protection or shelter.

"I have been very much bruised and hurt by my exertion to save the property. My right arm particularly is so swelled that I can hardly hold the pen to write these few lines, and my mind is equally affected with the distressing scenes I have witnessed for the last three days."

In the *Intelligencer* of September 6, 1805, appeared an article under the caption of "The Conflagration of Detroit." This description follows:

"This event happened on the 11th of June last. The flames commenced about 9 o'clock in the morning and within four hours the whole town was laid in ashes. Only two or three buildings, of little value, situated in the borders, were preserved. About three hundred edifices, of all kinds, were consumed, among which were nearly an hundred dwelling houses, the church, several stores, the citadel, with officers' and soldiers' barracks, contractors' stores, United States store, etc. The new fort and barracks, called Fort Lernault, a little back of the town, were not greatly endangered, and the old Block house, at the south end, escaped. In a word, all the space enclosed within picquets, and denominated the town, presents nothing but a heap of ruins, consisting of naked chimnies and cinders.

"The rapidity of the destruction was perhaps unprecedented, but will not

appear surprising to anyone previously acquainted with the place. The buildings were mostly old, all of wood, and dry as tinder—extremely crowded together on an area of about three acres—the streets very narrow (the widest not exceeding twenty feet), intersecting rectangulary at small distances—and every square completely covered with combustibles. This mode of building the town originated, not merely for want of taste in the ancient settlers, but from the necessity of defense in war, as this settlement has for a long time been a frontier peculiarly exposed to danger from the natives, and far removed from the means of external succour. It has been found necessary, till very lately, to keep the picquets enclosing the town in repair, besides being under the protection of the common of an adjoining fort and block house.

“The town was furnished with but one fire engine, which, with the prompt assistance of the troops formerly stationed here, has been sufficient to extinguish occasional fires upon their first appearance; but at present the troops at this station are few and the want of aid from that source was severely felt on the late occasion.

“By what means the fire was kindled, whether by accident or design, is uncertain—there are various conjectures, but no decided opinion.

“It began in a stable near the United States store, on the southwest quarter, a light breeze blowing from the south. Its progress against and athwart the wind was astonishing, but in the direction of it the blaze darted with nearly the celerity of lightning, and reached the opposite extremity of the town in a very few moments. The fire in no part had diminished till the whole was in a blaze, and one immense mass of flame was presented to the eye, having the appearance of proceeding from one building of vast extent. The streets became impassable as the fire progressed, being filled from side to side with an impenetrable column of smoke and flame, which, wafted by the current of air through the north and south streets, streamed to a great distance beyond the limits of the houses. To the distant spectator, and to the wretched inhabitants, who after a short lapse of time could be no more than spectators, the scene was at once sublime and painful, exceeding in awful grandeur perhaps almost any spectacle of the kind which has happened since the world began. It was fortunate that the catastrophe did not take place in the night, as there must have been a greater destruction of goods and effects and unquestionably of some lives. No lives were lost, but one person (a poor woman) was badly injured. Means have been taken to ascertain correctly the amount of losses in property, and progress has been made so far as to place it beyond a doubt that they exceed one hundred and thirty thousand dollars, probably reaching near one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

“The conflagration took place at a time of day that the inhabitants were generally near their homes, and were enabled to save more of their movable effects than could have been expected in so short a time as was allowed them; great quantities, however, fell a sacrifice, and individuals whose estates consisted in buildings, were in one day reduced from eligible circumstances to poverty. There is no citizen but who has suffered more or less.

“At present the people are scattered up and down the settlement, crowding the houses even to overflowing, occupying hovels and everything having the shape of an edifice, and several families are encamped in booths upon the public common and the highways. The sufferings of the people in the ensuing winter must inevitably be great. We tremble to anticipate them. Hemmed in on every



SOUTHWEST CORNER GRISWOLD STREET AND LAFAYETTE BOULEVARD IN 1873



ST. ANDREWS HALL, 1882, SOUTHWEST CORNER STATE AND WOODWARD

side by the wilderness, in some directions interminable, and in others extending too great a distance to admit of being passed by an impoverished people, they are restricted to the settlement, narrow in its extent, with indifferent cultivations, and the houses in bad repair. Not a farm is cultivated one mile from the river bank, nor a building erected. There the wilderness commences and extends to the western ocean. The settlement up and down the bank of the river is but a few miles in extent, and taken up by farmers, who have no room to spare in their dwellings and raise barely a sufficiency for the supply of their own wants. The houseless sufferers have little time, and still less means, to provide new accommodations for themselves before the approach of the cold season.

"Provisions of every kind are at an excessively high price. Thus circumstanced, what can be before these miserable people but a winter of rigorous suffering! If credit and charity should furnish them with food, yet there cannot be shelter and covering sufficient for their comfort. Applications for relief are sent and are sending to various parts of the United States and Canada, which it is hoped and believed will not be sent in vain."

In a letter to James Madison, secretary of state, dated August 3, 1805, Governor Hull wrote:

"On my arrival (July 1st) every house was crowded, and it was more than a week before I could obtain the least accommodation. I am now in small farmer's house about a mile above the ruins, and must satisfy myself to remain in this situation during the next winter, at least."

Food was scarce and the country was scoured to supply the sufferers. Appeals for aid were sent in every direction and one of the most liberal donors was the sister city of Montreal. In order to provide houses for the coming winter great efforts were made to increase the supply of lumber from Black River at the present Port Huron. The lumber supply came from that place and indeed it was rumored that the persons who were interested in lumbering were the ones who started the fire that consumed the village. Governor Hull, in a letter to James Madison dated August 3, 1805, states his sound belief in this theory. There were no large sawmills, such as were built in later days, and the sawing was done by hand. But there were other timbers cut and hewn that were floated down the river to build a new city on a more extensive scale.

It was a fortunate thing for the future great city that the little village was so completely destroyed on that June day in 1805. The former village was now a ruin and the old picket line was leveled. The fire made it possible to enlarge the boundaries and rebuild on a larger scale, with wider streets and public squares and parks.

THE GOVERNOR AND JUDGES

At this juncture, through a strange combination of circumstances, there came into existence a form of government over the Town of Detroit which closely approached an autocracy, a type of ruling power unlike that of any other in the history of municipalities in the United States. This was the rule of the governor and judges.

The governor and judges came into being with the creation of the Territory of Michigan by the act of January 11, 1805. On March 1st following, President Jefferson appointed the following officers for the new territory: William Hull, governor; Stanley Griswold, secretary; Augustus Brevoort Wood-

ward, Frederick Bates and Samuel Huntington, judges. The latter declined, and John Griffin was appointed in his place.

It so happened that on the day following the fire, June 12, 1805, some of these territorial officials arrived in Detroit and found everything in a state of chaos. Despite the fact that these territorial officials had no legal governing power over the village, they immediately assumed an authority which totally disregarded the village board of trustees. This usurpation of power continued unhindered under the conditions. The actual records of the governor and judges do not begin until September, 1806, a year later, and the history of the events which transpired in the interval is somewhat indefinite.

Immediately after the fire, the inhabitants set about preparing a plan for the rehabilitation of the village, the repossession of their home lots and the acquisition of lots on the public commons. A public meeting was held on the commons, July 1, 1805, and the citizens adopted a tentative plan for a new town modeled after the one destroyed, in addition to which a portion of the commons was to be subdivided into lots. Judges Woodward and Bates, who were present, sensing the undesirable features of this scheme, persuaded the people to defer the final approval of such a plan until the arrival of the governor, Hull. The governor arrived on the evening of the same day. A letter written by him August 3rd states:

"After a conversation with the judges it was determined to attempt to convince the proprietors of the impropriety of their proceedings. * * * They very readily agreed to relinquish their plan and wait for our arrangements. We immediately fixed upon a plan, and employed the best surveyor we could find in the country to lay out the streets, squares and lots."

Judge Woodward and the surveyor, Thomas Smith, who had been brought over from Upper Canada, then began the task of preparing a survey and plat of the new town. The people, who had acceded to the suggestion of the governor and judges regarding the matter, thought that it would be just a matter of a few weeks until the new town was platted and the lots assigned or sold. So, when the undertaking stretched into weeks, then into months, they became clamorous and insisted upon some settlement. In this manner, with constant quarreling, delays and litigation from both sides, the situation bore along.

In November, 1805, Governor Hull and Judge Woodward went to Washington, having with them a plan for the relief of the Detroit people. They labored all winter on the project and were successful in seeing the bill enacted into a law on April 21, 1806. This act authorized the governor and judges to lay out a new town, to include the site of the old one and 10,000 acres adjacent, excepting the military reservation. As all the lot owners in the former village claimed an ownership to certain parts of the town and as it was impossible to give them their original holdings unless the old town with its narrow streets and small lots was retained, the citizens concluded to lay out a new town and give lands there to the old lot owners in exchange for their former possessions. The judges were to adjust claims for these lots. A lot, not exceeding 50 by 100 feet in size, was to be conveyed "to every person above the age of seventeen years who owned or inhabited a house in Detroit at the time of the fire, and who does not profess or owe allegiance to any foreign power." The lands remaining were to be sold and the proceeds used for building a court house and a jail.

Governor Hull, Judges Woodward and Bates, met at the governor's house,

September 6, 1806, and appointed Judge Woodward as a committee to take the proper steps to carry into effect the act of Congress of that year. On the following Monday, September 8th, it was resolved to at once lay out a town. The basis of the town was to be an equilateral triangle, each side to be 4,000 feet and "having every angle bisected by a perpendicular line upon the opposite side, such parts being excepted as from the approximation to the river, or other unavoidable circumstances, may require partial variation." Titles to lands were to be ascertained and established and new lots were to be granted to the lot owners in the old town, in such manner as appeared to the judges to be just.

The following description of the plan as originally contemplated is taken from a map made by J. O. Lewis and reproduced in Volume V, Public Land Series, American State Papers. At the intersection of Adams and Woodward avenues was a circle called the "Grand Circus." It was the intention to locate the court house in this circle and on the first plat of the town Woodward Avenue appears as Court House Avenue. From the Grand Circus avenues radiated like the spokes of a wheel. Of these avenues, Washington ran due south. Between Washington and Adams on the west was Macomb (now Bagley) Avenue. East of Washington the avenues were Court House, Miami and Madison. The name of Miami Avenue has been changed to Broadway. At the two corners of the plat nearest the river were two semicircular reservations connected by Jefferson Avenue. Michigan Avenue started from the upper reservation and ran almost due west. Monroe began at the lower reservation and ran in a northeasterly direction. At the point where these two avenues crossed Woodward was left the square known as the Campus Martius. Between the avenues radiating from the Grand Circus, and about two blocks from it, were triangular tracts reserved for public use. On the one between Miami and Woodward stood the penitentiary and on that between Woodward and Washington was the old capitol building. Two similar triangles lay north of Jefferson Avenue. Upon the one east of Woodward Avenue was the Catholic church. Near the center of the triangle bounded by Michigan, Monroe and Washington avenues was Fort Shelby. The military reservation of Fort Shelby, objections on the part of some of the property holders to surrendering their original holdings, and other causes, prevented a strict adherence to the original survey. The half of the Grand Circus north of Adams Avenue was never laid out. The semicircular reservations, at the upper and lower ends of Jefferson Avenue, and the triangular reservations around the Grand Circus were never established, or have disappeared.

They now had a plan for a city to work upon, but no surveys, and on September 30th they directed that twenty lots be surveyed on Court House (Woodward) Avenue, between the Circus and the little square, that is between the Grand Circus and the Campus Martius, and that they be sold at auction. These lots were all to be 60 feet wide by 100 feet deep. It was also resolved that no more lots on either side of Main Street (Jefferson Avenue) or between that street and the river should be granted as donation lots. (Further reference to the donation lots is contained in a succeeding paragraph). It was also resolved not to give any lots on Court House Avenue east of the Court, nor any of the corner lots on the Military Square (Campus Martius), as donation lots. This resolution implies that there was a building on Woodward Avenue which was used for holding court and that it was between Jefferson Avenue and the Campus.

On the 12th day of December, 1806, the governor and judges made the following report to Congress:

"We have the honor to report to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in obedience to the act entitled 'An act to provide for the adjustment of titles of land in the Town of Detroit and Territory of Michigan, and for other purposes,' that we have laid out a town or city, of which a plan accompanies this report, and have made progress in the adjustment of titles and the distribution of the donations contemplated by the said act, and expect shortly to complete the same."

The map or plan which accompanied this report was made by Abijah Hull and is dated February 1, 1807. The report accompanying it was presented to Congress about February 9, 1807. The report and plan were both mislaid and remained undiscovered until April, 1909, when a copy was obtained by Mr. Clarence M. Burton.

Mr. Thomas Smith, who was a surveyor on both sides of the river, made a report in 1821, in which he stated that there was a plan of the city made in 1805 which was taken to Boston and to Washington and was then deposited with the legislative board of Michigan Territory, "but unfortunately the necessary precaution was not taken and the plan fell into the hands of Mr. Hull, surveyor, who drew from it several other plans differing from the original and also differing from each other." The original plan at a later date, fell into the hands of Aaron Greeley, surveyor, "in whose house it was seen in a broken window, keeping out the weather and in whose hands it disappeared."

The plan of 1807 included the farms owned by private individuals on both sides of the city proper for a considerable distance and it was expected that in future additions to the city the proprietors would conform to the general and original design.

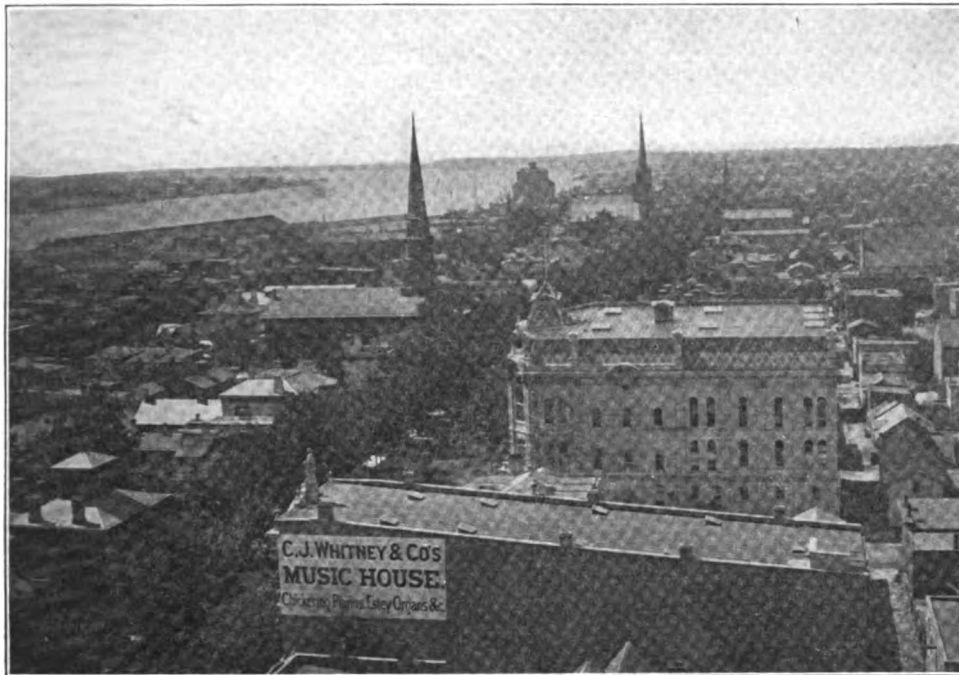
The streets running north and south and east and west were all 200 feet broad and the other principal streets were 120 feet wide while the cross streets were sixty feet in width. The lands owned by the public (that is the governor and judges plan) were limited. This plan was originated, as stated before, by Judge Woodward. There have been frequent statements that it was laid out on the form of the City of Washington, but it is so materially different from the plan of that city, as to warrant the statement that they are in no sense similar. Its counterpart does not exist in any city in the world.

Imagine the present city, with a river frontage of eleven miles, constructed on this plan. A Grand Circus park every 4,000 feet of that distance and twice as many semi-circular parks and hundreds of triangular parks like Capitol Square and the downtown public library. There would be as many squares like the Campus Martius as there were Grand Circus parks. Even the natives would get bewildered in this labyrinth.

INCORPORATION OF 1806

As the legislative body was now fully organized, Peter Audrain was appointed secretary, and Asa Jones, sergeant-at-arms at \$25 per month. Joseph Watson was authorized to prepare all deeds and mortgages for the board and was permitted to charge one dollar for drawing a deed or mortgage and twenty-five cents for a bond or other writing.

On September 13, 1806, the governor and judges, sitting as a legislature,



VIEW FROM CITY HALL TOWER, LOOKING WESTWARD ABOUT 1877



**EAST SIDE OF WOODWARD AVENUE, LOOKING NORTH FROM JEFFERSON,
ABOUT 1885**

passed an act incorporating "the City of Detroit." The text of this act follows:

"AN ACT CONCERNING THE TOWN OF DETROIT.

"An Act concerning the City of Detroit.—

"Be it enacted by the Governor and the Judges of Michigan, That the Town of Detroit, that is to say, the section laid off, surveyed and numbered from time to time, under the act entitled 'An Act concerning the Town of Detroit,' shall be a city, and the government thereof as such shall be vested in a Mayor, to hold his office for one year, and to be appointed and commissioned by the Governor; and in a city council, which shall consist of two chambers, the first of which shall be composed of three (3) members, to be elected annually by ballot, on the last Monday in September, by the inhabitants above the age of twenty-one (21) years, and having resided within the same one year and paid their public taxes; and the second chamber of which shall be composed of three (3) members, to be elected annually by ballot on the last Monday in March, by the inhabitants similarly qualified: Provided, That the first election of the second chamber shall be held on the first Monday in October next, and the members shall continue in office until the next annual election in March: And, Provided, That the number of members in the respective chambers, and the manner of electing them, shall afterwards be as prescribed by the city council by law. A majority of each chamber shall be a quorum for the transaction of business, but a small number may adjourn from time to time and compel the attendance of absent members and issue warrants to supply any vacancy in their respective chambers. Each chamber shall elect its own president and other officers, and judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of their own members, and may, with the concurrence of two-thirds (2-3) of the whole, expel any member for disorderly behavior or mal-conduct in office, but not a second time, for the same offence. Each chamber shall keep a journal of their proceedings, and the names of those voting in the affirmative and of those voting in the negative on any question, at the request of any member, shall be entered on the journal. Elections shall be held by the mayor between the rising and setting of the sun, and the ballots shall be opened and counted on the day succeeding the election in the presence of the two chambers, and the members elected shall be notified by the mayor of their election, and shall commence their functions on the first Monday in October, and the first Monday in April respectively after their election; Provided, That at the first election the presence of the two chambers shall not be required at the opening and counting of the votes, and the members of the second chamber shall commence their functions immediately after their notification of their election by the mayor; the same being adopted from the laws of one of the original states, to wit, the State of Maryland, as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of the Territory of Michigan.

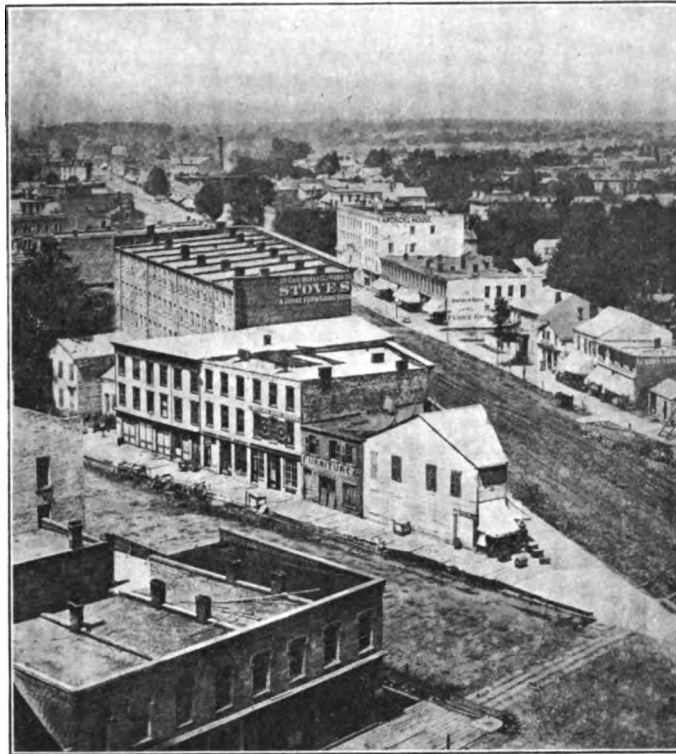
"And be it enacted, That every bill or act having passed by a majority of both chambers, before it becomes a law, shall be presented to the mayor, and if not approved by him, shall not take effect or become law, but shall be returned with his objections to the chamber which it last passed, within ten days after its presentation to him, and if not so returned, it shall become a law, unless the city council by adjournment prevent its return. The mayor may at any time convene the city council if the public good require their deliberations. The mayor shall appoint and commission all officers created by the laws of the

city, the same being adopted from the laws of one of the original states, to wit, the State of Maryland, as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of Michigan.

“And be it enacted, That the city council shall have power to make and use a common seal, alterable at their pleasure, to be deposited with the mayor, and affixed by him where necessary; and shall be capable, in the name of the mayor of Detroit, to sue and be sued in the courts of law and equity, and in the same name shall have succession, and shall be capable to acquire, and hold alien property, real or personal; and the same being adopted from the laws of one of the original states, to wit, the State of Maryland, as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of Michigan.

“And be it enacted, That the city council of Detroit shall have power by law to provide the manner of compelling the attendance of absent members, to prevent and remove nuisances, to provide for the health of the city, to establish watch and patrols, and erect lamps, to regulate the stationing, anchorage and mooring of vessels and the discharge and laying of ballast from ships and vessels; to provide for licensing and regulating hackney carriages, wagons, carts and drays, and theatrical and other public amusements, to establish and regulate markets, to erect and repair bridges, to make, name and keep in repair all streets, lanes, avenues and public spaces of ground in conformity to the plan of the city; to make regulations for landing and laying materials for building of said city; for disposing and laying earth which may be dug out of the wells, cellars and foundations, and for the ascertaining of the thickness of the walls of houses; to erect and keep in repair drains and sewers and to make regulations necessary for the preservation of the same; to regulate weights and measures in conformity to the constitution and laws of the United States and of Michigan; to regulate the cleaning of chimneys; to provide for the prevention and extinction of fires and to establish and regulate the size of bricks made or used in the said city; to provide for the regulating the measuring of boards, planks, scantling, timber and lumber of every kind; to regulate the measuring of coals and fire-wood and the weighing of hay; to sink wells and erect and repair pumps; to impose and appropriate fines and forfeitures for breach of their laws recoverable before justices, where not exceeding twenty dollars, and before courts when exceeding that sum; to establish and regulate the inspection of flour, tobacco, potash and salted provisions; to regulate the gauging of casks and liquors, the storage of gunpowder not the property of the United States or of Michigan; to regulate the weight and quality of bread, not affecting the price; to preserve the navigation of the River Detroit, adjacent to the city; to erect, repair and regulate public wharves and to deepen docks and basins; to provide for the education of youths; to lay and collect taxes and to pass all laws necessary to give effect and operation to their powers; the same being adopted from the laws of one of the original states, to wit, the State of Maryland, as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of Michigan.

“And be it enacted, That all lands belonging to minors, persons absent out of the territory, married women, or persons non compotes mentis, shall be subjected to the same terms and conditions as other proprietors. In every case where the proprietor is an infant or married woman, insane, absent out of the territory, or shall not attend on three months' notice, the governor and the judges, or any three of them, may allot and assign the portion or share of such proprietor, as near the old situation as may be, and to the full value of what



CORNER MICHIGAN AVENUE AND LAFAYETTE BOULE-
VARD IN THE '90s



NORTHEAST CORNER WOODWARD AND CAMPUS MARTIUS ABOUT 1881
Corner building still standing

the party might claim under the general terms and conditions of other proprietors, provided, in the case of coverture and infancy, if the husband, guardian or next friend will agree with the public, then an effectual division and allotment may be made, by consent, and in the case of contrary claims, if the claimants will not jointly agree, the proceedings shall be the same as if the proprietor was absent, and all persons to whom allotments and assignments shall be made, on consent and agreement or pursuant to this act without consent, shall hold the same in their former state and interest in lieu of their former quantity. In all cases where the proprietor or possessor is tenant in right of dower, or by the courtesy, the annual value of the lands, and the gross value of such estate therein shall be ascertained as in other cases, and upon paying such gross value, or securing to the possessor the payment of the annual valuation, at the option of the proprietor or possessor, the public shall be vested with the whole estate of such tenant for squares, avenues, streets, lanes and other public uses. Certificates granted by allotments, assignments or purchases, with acknowledgements of the payment of all purchase money and interest being recorded, shall be sufficient to vest a legal estate without any more formal conveyance; the same being adopted from the laws of one of the original states, to wit, the State of Maryland, as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of Michigan.

"And be it enacted, That the governor of Michigan shall appoint and commission a register for recording deeds and other writings within the said city, and all divisions and allotments of lands and lots made in pursuance of this act, and the register shall receive the same compensation as are or may be allowed to the clerk of the supreme court in similar cases, and the governor may make a seal of office of the said register, which shall be kept by him; the same being adopted from the laws of one of the original states, to wit, the State of Maryland, as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of Michigan.

"And be it enacted, That on sales of lots in the said city under terms or conditions of payment being made therefor at any day or days after said contract entered into, if any sum of the purchase money or interest shall not be paid for the space of thirty days after same ought to be paid, the same lots may be resold at vendue at any time after sixty days' notice of such sale; the principal and interest due in the first contract, together with expenses of advertisements and sale, shall be retained, and the balance paid to the original purchaser, or his heirs and assigns, and all lots so sold shall be freed and acquitted of all claims legal and equitable of the first purchaser, his heirs and assigns; the same being adopted from the laws of one of the original states, to wit, the State of Maryland, as far as necessary or suitable to the circumstances of Michigan.

"Adopted and provided at Detroit the thirteenth (13) day of September, one thousand eight hundred and six (1806).

"Attest: Peter Audrain, Secretary of the
Governor and Judges in their
Legislative Department.

"William Hull,

Governor of Michigan.

"Augustus B. Woodward,

Chief Justice of Michigan.

"Frederick Bates,

Senior Associate Judge of Michigan."

The plan for the city was drawn up before this date, for on September 11th an order was entered for the sale of "five lots on Court House Avenue, opposite to Scott's, Wilkinson's, Abbott's, Abbott and Smith's and Godfroy, Jr." Although the plan for the city was laid out, the details and surveys were not made and it was some years before that portion of the city south of Adams Avenue was fully planned. There were changes made in the streets from time to time and the plans were somewhat altered as new conditions arose.

The governor of the territory appointed Solomon Sibley as the first mayor under the new charter, and the latter ordered an election to be held on Monday, September 29, 1806, to choose the councilmen. At this election Stanley Griswold, John Harvey and Peter Desnoyers were named as members of the first council, or upper chamber, and John Dodemead, John Gentle and Isaac Jones, members of the second council, or lower chamber. A few days after the election Solomon Sibley relinquished the office of mayor, and Elijah Brush was appointed by the governor in his place.

That the incorporating act as framed by the governor and judges was simply designed to give them autocratic power, was proved soon after it became operative. John Gentle, one of the elected councilmen, wrote in the Pittsburgh Commonwealth:

"Sometime in the month of December following, the Governor and Judges were committing some depredations upon the streets of the new town, entirely blocking up one, laying it out in lots, and disposing of them at an enormous price, to the great damage of the adjoining settlers; and removing another street about fifty feet, on purpose to make the bank form the corner of the two streets, and enlarge the avenue to the Governor's mansion, to the great damage of the principal range of houses in the new town. These flagrant infractions on the rights and privileges of the citizens did not fail to attract the attention of the city council. They assembled to examine, for the first time, the corporation law, and to ascertain the extent of their jurisdiction. But how great was their astonishment when they discovered that the whole of the corporation powers centered in the mayor alone."

It was the fact that under the corporation law the election of the council was a mere mockery, as the governor and judges had seen to it that the mayor was given the power of absolute veto, and, as the mayor was to be of their choosing alone, it had the effect of continuing the governor and judges in autocratic control of municipal matters. Such a condition was bound to be eliminated. The affair reached a crisis and on February 24, 1809, the act establishing this form of government was repealed. Next, on September 16, 1810, all the laws pertaining to Michigan that had been adopted by the Northwest Territory Legislature were repealed. This gave the legal finish to the act of 1802 and the governor and judges remained in absolute control over the affairs of the town.

THE KING'S COMMONS

The public ground known as the commons came into existence at the time of the French occupation of Detroit. The commons was nothing more or less than a common pasturing field, in which the citizens shared alike. However, the rights of the latter in this respect were at various times encroached upon and brought forth vigorous protests to the authorities. Farmer's History of

Detroit quotes a letter written by John Wilkins, Jr., quartermaster general, to James McHenry, secretary of war, under date of February 17, 1797, as follows:

"The United States have succeeded to a great deal of property at Detroit. The whole ground on which the Town of Detroit is situated seems, originally, to have been reserved by the British for the use of the fort, but the merchants and tradesmen, preferring to live under the protection of the garrison, grants of lots have been given to them, which, in time, have formed a regular town. But there yet remains around the town a quantity of vacant ground, which, of course, becomes the property of the United States. This, from its situation, is valuable. But in order to preserve it, there will be a necessity of preventing any persons from building on it, or the United States should have it laid out in lots and sold.

"The vacant ground I allude to is without the pickets; within the pickets, exclusive of the fort and barracks, there are a number of houses and lots of ground, which the United States have succeeded to, such as the council house, store houses, wharf, etc., a shipyard consisting of a number of work-shops. I was informed, when at Detroit, that there were a number of other buildings than those we got possession of, which had belonged to the British Government, but that, since their removal, were claimed by people living in them. These claims ought to be inquired into."

The vacant ground referred to by Mr. Wilkins was the tract known as the "King's commons," lying between the Brush farm on the east and the Cass farm on the west, and extending back from the town line to a distance of nearly three miles from the river. Following the American occupation in 1796, several memorials were presented to Congress, asking for the enactment of a law which would confirm to the citizens of the town the right to continue the use of the land as a public commons. The memorial of January 17, 1805, states in part:

"We state as a fact generally believed in this country and confirmed by many aged persons now living in this district, that a grant was made by the French Government at the time the town was laid out, vesting and conferring in the then inhabitants, their heirs and successors, both the ground plat of said town and the commons, which have ever since been held, used and enjoyed as such by the inhabitants, to the exception of some unwarrantable encroachments by individuals upon the same. * * * But unfortunately for the citizens of the said town, neither the grant itself nor the record thereof can now be found, the grant being either lost or wrongfully withheld, and the record removed to places without the district and wholly unknown to your memorialists."

Congress requested the governor and judges to investigate the matter and on October 10, 1805, they reported:

"The circumjacent ground, the bank of the river alone excepted, was a wide commons; and though assertions are made respecting the existence, among the records of Quebec, of a charter from the King of France conferring this commons as an appurtenance to the town, it was either the property of the United States, or, at least, such as individual claims did not pretend to cover."

Letters from a number of Detroit citizens to the "Gentlemen of Trade" of Montreal, to Governor Carleton and General Gage, written in 1769, and recently discovered in the archives of the St. Sulpice Seminary at Montreal and translated from the original French, refer to the right of the citizens to the public

commons, as a part of the "ban-lieue." As these letters refer mostly to the common ownership of the Isle aux Cochons (Belle Isle) at that time as a commons, the letters are quoted in their entirety in the history of that island in another chapter.

The last memorial on the subject, of which any record can be found, was presented to Congress, February 10, 1808. It asked that "the title to a certain parcel of land, amounting to about two thousand acres adjoining the city of Detroit, may be granted, in fee simple, to the corporation thereof, for the free use in common of all the memorialists, under such reservations as to the wisdom of Congress shall seem meet."

This memorial was referred to the committee on public lands, and was never returned for action. The governor and judges thus retained control of the commons, a vast tract in length a distance of three miles from the river front and in width the distance between the Cass and Brush farms. The illegality of their control is unquestioned, but the power of authority was theirs, and claiming the right under the act of April 21, 1806, they laid out the commons north of Adams Avenue into what was known as "Park Lots," including the ground on both sides of Woodward Avenue and extending northward nearly to the present boulevard. On March 6, 1809, forty-one of them were sold at auction. This sale was opposed by the people and a petition was presented to the governor and judges, praying them to annul the sale and to return the lots to the people for use as a public commons forever. This petition was not granted. The laying out of the commons south of Adams Avenue was also protested against.

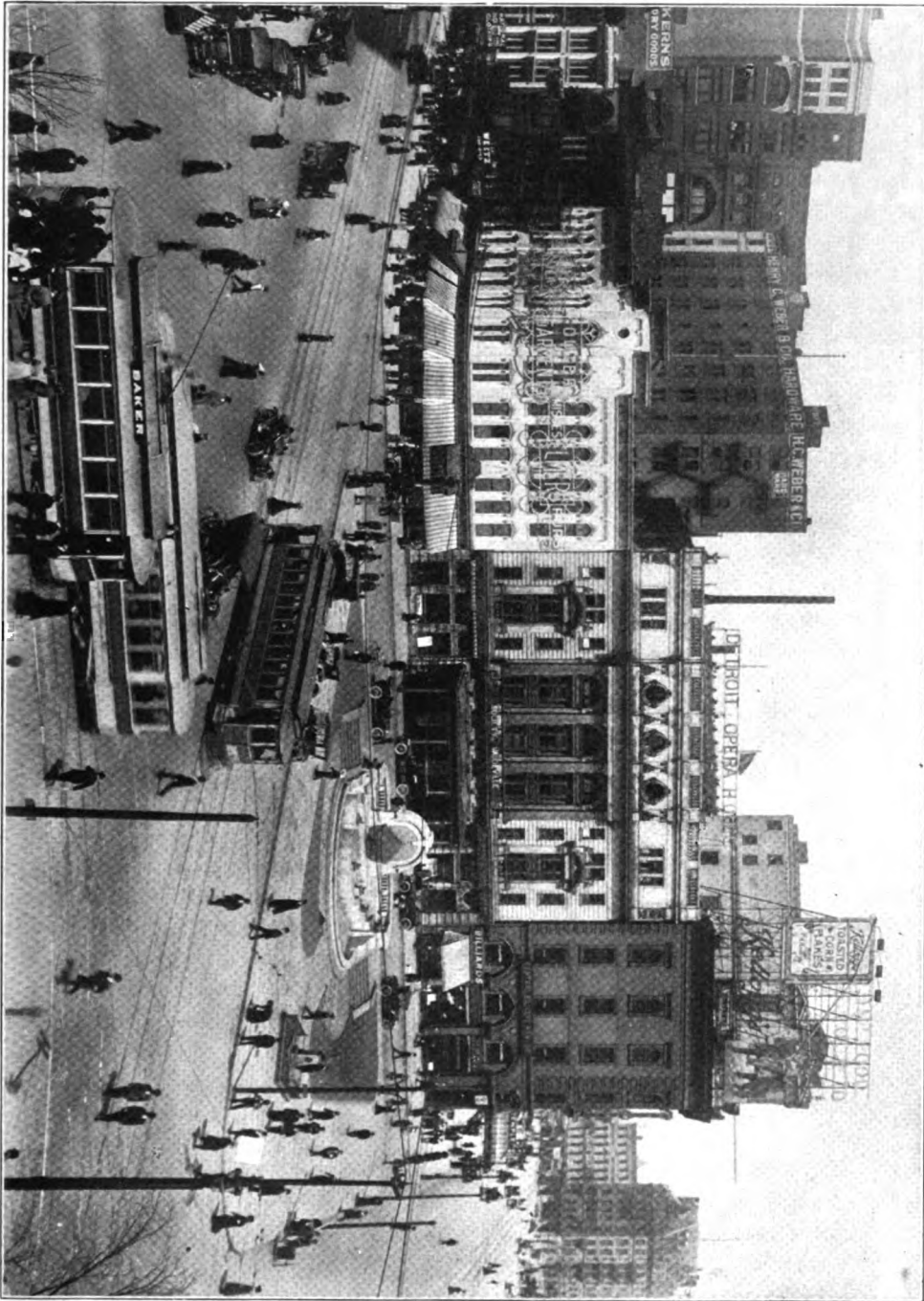
The Park Lots constituted a part of the 10,000-acre tract donated by Congress in 1806. The Park Lots themselves were surveyed by James McCloskey in December, 1808, but the remainder of the tract was not surveyed until 1816, when it was divided by Joseph Fletcher into twelve lots of eighty acres each, and forty-eight lots of 160 acres each.

GOVERNOR AND JUDGES AS A LAND BOARD

In distributing the "donation lots" that is, the lots awarded to those who had lost their homes in the fire—the governor and judges experienced considerable difficulty. Through the delay in the adoption of a plan for the town, the people were compelled to live in such abodes as they could improvise. In this manner they lived through the hard winter of 1805-6, very dissatisfied with their lot and impatient with the ruling powers.

The first meeting of the governor and judges as a land board occurred September 6, 1806, nearly fifteen months after the fire. At that meeting and subsequent meetings the same month, the plan was adopted providing for the sale of all corner lots, and certain others, those less valuable to be given to the fire sufferers.

A public meeting was held October 6, 1806, to protest against this method of distribution and a few days later the people were requested to present a plan as they would approve, and this they did on October 16th. This plan was substantially adopted one month later. Under its provisions, the inhabitants of the town at the time of the fire were divided into three classes: (1) Those who owned lots at the time of the fire; (2) Those who owned or



CAMPUS MARTIUS IN 1919

occupied houses; (3) Those who resided in the town, but were neither lot owners nor householders.

Persons in the first class who had improved their lots subsequent to the fire were allowed to retain their holdings; some of them having lots in excess of size were asked to pay a few cents per square foot for the surplus. By the end of the year the governor had decided the rights of all the claimants, and every person in town, male or female, and whom were judged eligible, to the number of 251, were awarded donation lots. But another difficulty arose. Some three weeks after, the question arose as to the eligibility of those who had come to Detroit since the occupation by the British and who had not taken the oath of allegiance. The decision was against this class, consequently about two-thirds of those who had drawn donation lots were deprived of them. However, the act of 1806 was given a liberal interpretation and everyone received donation lots, whether entitled to them or not. These donation lots were given with many strings attached and they were traded about and transferred by many owners. The donation files in the city records disclose the fact that there were only 158 receipts given for donation lots.

The governor and judges were required, by the original act of Congress, to report their proceedings, but they failed to do so until Congress, by the act of May 30, 1830, required them to transmit a plat of the city. They made no report to Congress upon their management of the Park Lots and 10,000-acre tract, even to the disposal of a single lot or the receipt of a single dollar received from the sale of lots. Great quantities of land were at their disposal and they were unhindered in manipulating it to their own satisfaction, which they did, if we are to believe the frequent memorials and official protests from the indignant citizens. Farmer writes in his History of Detroit:

"That no account was rendered is made apparent by the fact that the memorial of a committee of citizens to Congress, in January, 1823, printed in the Detroit Gazette, says that no statement of the receipts or expenses of the Territory had ever been made public, and that even the appropriation laws had not been published, except in one or two instances. The article also sets forth 'That the Governor and Judges, as trustees of the Detroit Fund, had already been in the management of that trust for sixteen years, and no court-house is as yet built, or any steps taken towards building one; no account has ever been rendered of their proceedings in the management of said fund, either for the information of the people for whose benefit the grant was made, or to Congress who made the grant. That one of the judges is directly and voluntarily interested to a very large extent in the funds of that trust; and we have interest has a direct influence on the management of the concerns of that reason to believe, from his conduct as a member of the Land Board, that that trust.' "

The last session of the governor and judges as a land board was held July 1, 1836. It was a singular thing that for over two decades after the establishment of a regular city government the governor and judges had maintained control over the property committed to them originally and that not for several years after their authority ceased were their affairs closed up.

CHARTER OF 1815

On October 24, 1815, Gov. Lewis Cass approved an act of the Territorial Legislature granting a new charter to Detroit and restoring the control of local

affairs to the people, with the exception of the distribution of lots as mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The form of the charter of 1815 was somewhat similar to the one of 1802. The act defined the city limits, increasing the area of the incorporated district to 1.36 square miles, and authorized the election of five trustees on the last Monday in October, to serve until the first Monday in May, 1816, after which date officers were to be elected annually.

Solomon Sibley was the first chairman of the board of trustees and associated with him was James Abbott. The trustees elected at the regular annual election May 6, 1816, were: Peter Desnoyers, Abraham Edwards, George McDougall, Stephen Mack and Oliver W. Miller. McDougall was elected chairman, but resigned about two months before the expiration of his term and Oliver Williams was chosen to fill the vacancy.

The last board of trustees under the act of 1815 was elected in 1823 and was composed of James Abbott, Calvin Baker, Louis Dequindre, Henry J. Hunt and John P. Sheldon. Mr. Abbott was named as chairman and was the last man to hold that office. Before the expiration of the year for which this board of trustees was elected, the Legislature passed an act providing for a new form of government for Detroit.

THE COMMON COUNCIL

By the act of August 5, 1824, the city government was vested in a mayor, recorder and a common council of five members. The act provided that a special election should be held on the first Monday in September, the officials then elected to serve until the first regular annual election on the first Monday in April, 1825. It also defined the city boundaries and authorized the mayor and two aldermen to act as a court in the trial of cases for violation of the city laws and ordinances. The mayor was also to preside at all meetings of the council.

At the election on September 6, 1824, John R. Williams was chosen mayor; Andrew G. Whitney, recorder, which office was appointive by the council until 1849, then elective; Shubael Conant, Orville Cook, Peter J. Desnoyers, Melvin Dorr and David C. McKinstry, aldermen. The first regular election was held on April 5, 1825. Mayor Williams was reelected and Recorder Whitney was reappointed, and the following were chosen aldermen: Orville Cook, Robert A. Forsyth, David C. McKinstry, Thomas Rowland and William Woodbridge.

The first session of the common council was held on September 21, 1824, Mayor Williams presiding. Just where this meeting was held is not certain, but it must have been some place where the light was insufficient, as at the next meeting, four evenings later, the marshal was instructed to "purchase for the use of the council and mayor's court four brass candlesticks, two pairs of snuffers, ten pounds of sperm candles and a box for the safe keeping of the same."

As the city at that time owned no building in which council meetings could be held, the aldermen sometimes met in an office belonging to one of the members; a few meetings were held at Woodworth's Steamboat Hotel, on the northwest corner of Randolph and Woodbridge streets; and a few others in the old council house, on the corner of Randolph Street and Jefferson Avenue. After the city came into possession of the military reservation in 1826, one of the fort buildings known as Military Hall was moved from the reservation and fitted up as a meeting place for the common council. Meetings were held therein

until 1834. From November 19, 1834, until the completion of the city hall the next year, meetings were held in the old council house or in a room in the Williams Block, on the corner of Bates Street and Jefferson Avenue. The small room assigned to the council in the city hall was not satisfactory and only a few sessions were held there in 1835. Quarters were then secured in the old Firemen's Hall, on the northwest corner of Bates and Larned streets. The first session was held here December 24, 1839, in an upper room. This remained the meeting place until July 18, 1871, when all branches of the municipal government were moved to the new city hall, which had just been completed.

CHARTER AMENDMENTS

In the meantime a number of amendments had been made to the city charter by action of the legislative council or the Legislature. By the act of April 4, 1827, the municipality was reorganized under the name of "The Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Freemen of the City of Detroit." New boundaries were defined, increasing the area of the city to 2.56 square miles. The act provided for the annual election, on the first Monday in April, of a mayor, recorder (appointed by council), five aldermen, clerk, marshal, treasurer, supervisor, assessor, collector and three constables. Another act, approved eight days later, increased the number of aldermen to seven and the same day the city was erected into a civil township.

The first election under the new charter amendments was held April 7, 1828. The resultant officers were: John Biddle, mayor; Benjamin F. H. Withereil, recorder; John J. Deming, clerk; Henry S. Cole, treasurer; Samuel Sherwood, supervisor; Jeremiah Moors, assessor; Abram C. Caniff, collector; Jedediah Hunt, marshal; Henry M. Campbell, Levi Cook, Jeremiah Dean, John Farrar, Charles Jackson, John Mullett and John P. Sheldon, aldermen; Thomas Knowlton, Elias S. Swan and James M. Wilson, constables.

Under the new act the common council was given power to construct sewers; to alter the plan of the city between the Brush and Cass farms north of Larned Street; to lay out lots anew, and to exchange lots with owners or compensate them in money; and to exercise jurisdiction over the Detroit River for half a mile above the city limits, to prevent the pollution of the water.

CITY DIVIDED INTO WARDS

According to the United States census of 1820, the population of Detroit was 1,442. Ten years later it was 2,222. By the census of 1836, taken preparatory to the admission of Michigan into the Union, the number of inhabitants had increased to 6,927. The annexations of 1827, 1832 and 1836 had increased the incorporated area to 5.26 square miles and the government established in 1827 was inadequate in many respects to the needs of the rapidly growing city. Michigan was admitted to statehood January 26, 1837, and the third session of the State Legislature passed an act providing a new charter for Detroit. This act, which was approved by Governor Mason, March 27, 1839, divided the city into six wards; provided for the election of two aldermen and an assessor for each ward; changed the time of the annual election to the first Monday in March, beginning in 1840; and enlarged the powers of the city council in the matter of taxes and public improvements.

The first election under the new act was held April 1, 1839. De Garmo

Jones was elected mayor; Alexander D. Fraser, recorder (appointive); George Byrd, clerk; John C. Williams, treasurer; Shubael Conant, supervisor; Abram C. Caniff, collector; Albert Marsh, marshal. At this election, for the first time in the history of the city, aldermen, assessors and constables were elected by wards. The result was as follows:

First Ward—George C. Bates and Henry H. Leroy, aldermen; Thomas J. Owen, assessor; David B. Wilcox, constable.

Second Ward—Chauncey Hurlbut and John Palmer, aldermen; David Cooper, assessor; George Miller, constable.

Third Ward—John J. Garrison and Andrew T. McReynolds, aldermen; Atla E. Mather, assessor; William W. Johnson, constable.

Fourth Ward—Peter Desnoyers and Charles Moran, aldermen; Noah Sutton, assessor; John Reno, constable.

Fifth Ward—Charles M. Bull and Alexander H. Stowell, aldermen; David W. Fiske, assessor; Robert Nichol, constable.

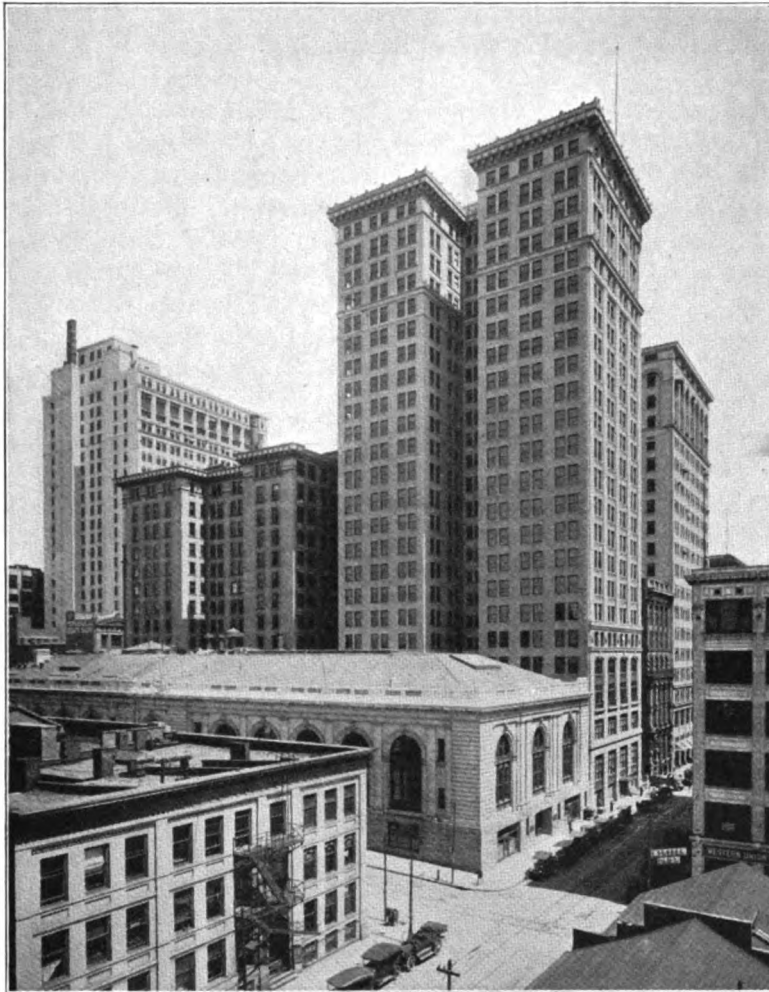
Sixth Ward—James Stewart and William F. Chittenden, aldermen; William Barclay, assessor; John Daly, constable.

By the act of the Legislature of April 13, 1841, the council was given power to regulate the construction of drains and sewers; to pass ordinances for the prevention of fires; to control the erection of buildings; to prohibit the importation of paupers; to require a residence of thirty days in a ward preceding elections, instead of ten days; to regulate the building of sidewalks, and defining more specifically the jurisdiction of the mayor's court.

In 1848 another ward was created from the old fourth ward and the act provided that the mayor, recorder and a majority of the aldermen should be necessary to form a quorum for the transaction of business. The following year the city limits were extended and the eighth ward was formed, which increased the number of aldermen to sixteen.

CHARTER OF 1857

Between the years 1849 and 1857 a few changes of minor character were made in the city's fundamental law. By an act of the Legislature, approved by Governor Bingham on February 5, 1857, the corporate name of the city was designated as "The City of Detroit"; the incorporated area was considerably enlarged; the time of holding city elections was changed to the "first Tuesday after the first Monday in November"; provision was made that the aldermen then in office should continue as such until January, 1858, and that at the November election in 1857 two aldermen should be elected from each of the ten wards, one to serve for one year and one for two years, after which one alderman should be elected from each ward annually. The new charter also provided for a board of sewer commissioners; established a recorder's court; fixed the mayor's salary at \$1,200 per annum (which was afterwards reduced); defined a voter's place of residence as "the place where he takes his meals"; empowered the council to drain lands within three miles of the city limits; to number the houses and to license various kinds of business; authorized the assessor and aldermen to attend the annual meeting of the board of supervisors as representatives of the city's interest; and limited the rate of city tax to one per cent of the assessed valuation of property. It also provided for only one assessor instead of one from each ward as formerly, the assessor to have two assistants. Prior to this time the mayor or, in his absence,



DETROIT SKYSCRAPERS—DIME BANK, PENOBSCOT AND FORD BUILDINGS

the recorder, presided over the council, but the new charter authorized the council to elect its own president.

At the election on November 3, 1857, the following officers were elected, to take office on the first Monday in January, 1858: Oliver M. Hyde, mayor; Henry A. Morrow, recorder; Francis W. Hughes, clerk; John Campbell, treasurer; Winslow W. Wilcox, assessor. Under the new law a collector was elected in each ward. Those elected in November, 1857, from wards No. 1 to No. 10 respectively were: John Collins, Jeremiah Calnon, James Sherlock, Charles Lotz, Thomas J. Barry, Earl F. Plantz, John Reno, Thomas Holley, George W. Burchell and James Dubois.

In the following list of aldermen elected in 1857, the first named was chosen for one year and the second for two years: first ward, William C. Duncan and Gurdon O. Williams; second ward, George Niles and William H. Craig; third ward, Edward V. Cicotte and Henry Miller; fourth ward, Edward N. Lacroix and Solomon Wesley; fifth ward, William Gibbings and A. Smith Bagg; sixth ward, John D. Fairbanks and Mark Flanigan; seventh ward, Edward Doyle and George Miller; eighth ward, Henry Gordon and Patrick Gallagher; ninth ward, William L. Woodbridge and Henry Wilson; tenth ward, Henry Zender and Theodore L. Campau.

CITIZENS' MEETINGS

With the incorporation of Detroit in 1802, the New England custom of submitting all questions of public expenditure, the amount to be expended and the manner of raising the money to an annual town or citizens' meeting was adopted. At these meetings every taxpayer had the right to be heard, marked differences of opinion were frequently manifested, propositions to appropriate money for really beneficial purposes were often defeated, and at other times carried by a very close vote. Nevertheless, the custom prevailed until the voting population of the city became so large that the citizens' meetings grew unwieldy.

The last meeting of this nature was held in the spring of 1872. By an act of the Legislature, approved by Governor Baldwin on April 15, 1871, provisions were made for the appointment of a board of park commissioners and the purchase of land for a public park. A. Smith Bagg, John J. Bagley, William A. Butler, George V. N. Lothrop, Merrill I. Mills, Robert P. Toms, Charles C. Trowbridge and Charles I. Walker were appointed commissioners, and they selected a tract of ground, with a half-mile river frontage, in Hamtramck Township for the park. This selection of a park site was unsatisfactory to a large number of the citizens, though it was approved by the council, which passed a resolution on November 21, 1871, authorizing a bond issue of \$200,000 for park purposes.

The storm of protest refused to subside and the mayor called a citizens' meeting, to be held in the circuit court room in the new city hall on Wednesday, December 27, 1871, to vote on the question of issuing the bonds. The room was packed and there was so much confusion that the vote was in doubt. This led to another meeting on May 1, 1872, at the Griswold Street entrance to the city hall. Again there was a large attendance, but perfect order in an outdoor meeting was impossible, so again no decision was reached. This was the last citizens' meeting. It was so generally unsatisfactory that thoughtful men agreed that some better system of approving tax estimates and appropriations

should be adopted. In answer to this popular demand, the Legislature passed an act creating the

BOARD OF ESTIMATES

The law establishing the board of estimates was approved on March 28, 1873. It provided for the election on the first Monday in April of five members from the city at large, to serve for two years, and two from each ward, one to serve for one year and one for two years. After the first election one member was elected annually from each ward and five were elected biennially from the city at large. The city controller, city counselor, president of the common council, chairman of the committee on ways and means, presidents of the various boards and commissions, and the senior inspector of the House of Correction were members ex-officio, with the privilege of taking part in the discussions, but without the right to vote. The council was required to submit all estimates to the board between the first Monday in March and the 15th of April. The board had power to reduce the estimates thus submitted, but not to increase them.

At the election on April 7, 1873, Henry P. Bridge, William C. Duncan, Peter Henkel, Thomas W. Palmer and Eber B. Ward were elected members at large; Francis Adams and William Foxen, from the first ward; Benjamin P. Mumford and Hiram Walker, from the second ward; William R. Candler and William G. Thompson, from the third ward; William N. Carpenter and Joseph Kuhn, from the fourth ward; Robert W. King and Albert Ives, from the fifth ward; William Duncan and Nicholas Senninger, from the sixth ward; James M. Miller and Edward Eccard, from the seventh ward; Daniel Guiney and Thomas Griffith, from the eighth ward; David M. Richardson and Michael Haller, from the ninth ward; and Charles Byram and Milton Frost, from the tenth ward.

Another change was made in the city government by the act of April 12, 1881, when the Legislature abolished the board of estimates and conferred all the powers exercised by that body upon a board of councilmen, to consist of twelve members elected at large. The first twelve members, elected November 8, 1881, were: Henry D. Barnard, Thomas Berry, Samuel G. Caskey, Stephen B. Grummond, Albert M. Henry, Joseph T. Lowry, John McGregor, Henry R. Newberry, Samuel A. Plummer, Albert H. Raynor, Frederick W. Swift and Samuel C. Watson.

The regular term of office was four years, but at the first election the twelve members were elected in groups of three, for one, two, three and four years, respectively. After the first election three members were elected annually. All measures for raising revenue and expenditure of public funds, especially in cases where bond issues were necessary, were required to have the approval of this board of councilmen, which sat as a sort of senate, or upper house, to pass upon the acts of the board of aldermen.

By the act of the Legislature, approved June 5, 1883, so many amendments were made to Detroit's charter that it became practically a new organic law. Among the more important changes was that giving the aldermen and councilmen equal power over legislation and estimates, though the upper house alone was given the power to confirm the nominations of the mayor for appointive officers. The upper house was abolished by the legislative act of June 12, 1887, and the board of estimates was reestablished.

At the general election of November 3, 1914, the question of abolishing the board of estimates was submitted to the voters of the city. The vote stood 18,042 "for" to 15,892 "against" the proposition, which was defeated because a three-fifths vote was required for its adoption. The question was again presented to the voters at an election held August 29, 1916, when it was stated in different form, to wit: "Shall the Board of Estimates as at present provided be abolished and a Board of Estimates created, consisting of the Mayor, City Clerk, City Treasurer, City Controller and Corporation Counsel?"

This time the proposition was carried by a vote of 28,493 to 15,456 and a new board of estimates was brought into existence, composed of the city officials above named. This arrangement was again changed with the adoption of the new city charter, mentioned in a subsequent paragraph.

THE NEW CHARTER

Under the old charter and supplementary acts, the addition of territory meant the formation of new wards, from each of which two aldermen were elected to the city council. The tendency of modern municipal government is to concentrate responsibility and the administration of affairs into as few hands as possible. By 1910 the common council of Detroit numbered thirty-six members, and the diversity of opinion, which is always to be found where numbers are concerned, frequently prevented the enactment of important business.

In the spring of 1911 the proposition to revise the city charter was submitted to the voters and was carried by a vote of 17,056 to 7,677. A charter commission was appointed and the result of its labors was submitted to the voters at an election held on February 10, 1914. That charter was rejected by the electors, the vote standing 24,983 "against" and 16,151 in favor of its adoption. During the year 1914 eleven amendments were framed and submitted to the voters at the general election on November 3, 1914. Only a few were ratified by the popular vote. Ten amendments were submitted to the voters at the election on April 5, 1915, most of them being defeated.

At the general election on November 6, 1917, the question of revising the charter was again submitted to the electors and was carried by a larger majority than in 1911. The vote was 27,756 in favor of revision and 9,945 against it. The charter framed in accordance with this popular expression was submitted to the voters at the election of June 25, 1918, and was approved by a vote of 32,297 to 4,539, or more than seven to one.

Under the new charter, ward lines are eliminated, except for assessment, selection of jurors and voting precinct purposes, and the city council made to consist of nine members elected at large. It provides for the initiative and referendum on ordinances, and all elective officers are subject to recall. The controller, corporation counsel, commissioners of the departments of public works, police, parks and boulevards, buildings and safety engineering, purchases and supplies, as well as the assessors, members of the various boards, commissions, etc., are appointed by the mayor. The mayor also originates the budget, or program for the city finances, which is submitted to the city council. That body has the power to revise the mayor's estimates, and to pass the revised budget over the mayor's veto. Provision is made for the city to bid on pavement and sewer construction, in competition with private firms or corporations, and to build and operate plants for the manufacture of brick and other

paving materials. All supplies for the city are purchased by one agent upon standard specifications, and a bureau of complaints ordered to be established in connection with the city clerk's office receives and investigates all complaints as to the public service.

THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT

The first election under the new charter was held on Tuesday, November 5, 1918. The officers then elected assumed their respective duties on January 14, 1919, to hold office for three years. After the expiration of their terms, the charter provides that elections shall be held biennially in the odd numbered years, thus separating them from the state and federal elections, the first regular city election occurring November 8, 1921.

The charter also provides for spring elections for recorder, judge of the recorder's court, justices of the peace and members of the board of education. Candidates for all city offices are to be nominated at a non-partisan primary election, no party name or device appearing on the ballot. The first Wednesday in March prior to the spring elections and the fourth Tuesday prior to the November election are designated as primary election days.

At the election on November 5, 1918, James Couzens was elected mayor; Richard Lindsay, city clerk; Guy L. Ingalls, city treasurer; Charles F. Bielman, William P. Bradley, Fred W. Castator, John A. Kronk, Sherman Littlefield, John C. Lodge, John C. Nagel, David W. Simons and James Vernor, councilmen. The common council meets as a committee of the whole every day except Saturday and Sunday, and regular sessions are held every Tuesday evening. A list of the principal city officers from 1824 to 1921 will be found in the chapter entitled "Statistical Review" near the close of this volume.

BOUNDARIES AND ANNEXATIONS

1802

It has already been stated that by the act of January 18, 1802, of the legislative council and the house of representatives of the Northwestern Territory, the City of Detroit was bounded easterly by the division line between the Brush and Beaubien farms, westerly by the line between the Jones and Cass farms, and extended northerly from the river two miles.

1806

Also, it has been stated that the plan of September 8, 1806, provided that the basis of the town should be an equilateral triangle, each side of which should be 4,000 feet. The act of Congress of September 13th, followed this form and provided that measurements should begin 84 feet, 10¼ inches from the northwest corner of the house of Charles Curry; thence north 60° east 2,000 feet; thence west 2,309 feet; thence south 30° east 1,154½ feet to the place of beginning. This should be section one of the new city. This measurement included lands belonging to private parties who did not want to plat their lands in this form, so that the lines were forced to stop at the Brush and Cass farms.

The park lots, or lands lying north of Adams Avenue, were sold at auction March 6, 1809. The purchaser paid a small part at the time of the purchase



VINTON BUILDING



BOOK BUILDING

and gave his notes for the remainder to be paid in yearly installments. The deed contained the terms of payment and was not to operate as a complete conveyance until the entire purchase price was paid. It was not delivered until the last note was taken up.

The prices seem now to be very low. Park lot 8, lying between Winder and Adelaide streets, extending from Woodward Avenue nearly to Brush Street, sold for \$115 in 1809. It contained ten acres of land. This land was divided into small dwelling lots years ago. This land would now command a price of several thousand dollars per front foot.

1815

The boundary lines of the city as laid down in the act of 1802 were reinstated or revived by the act of October 20, 1815.

1824

The first legislative council of the Territory of Michigan met in Detroit in June, 1824, and on August 5th following they passed an act enlarging the city limits. Thus the city was extended to include all the land between the west line of the Jones farm, the east line of the Brush farm and a line three miles from the river, being nearly the line of the railroad crossing on Woodward Avenue.

1827

In 1827 a legislative act provided that "all freemen of said city from time to time being inhabitants thereof, shall be and continue to be a body corporate and politic by the name of 'The Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Freemen of the City of Detroit,' and by that name they and their successors shall be known in law."

In 1830 Congress passed an act requiring the governor and council to transmit a plan of the town, and John Farmer was employed to draw up the proper documents. At about the same time John Mullett prepared, and J. O. Lewis engraved, a plan of the city. These plans are nearly alike in form and were made up of such papers and surveys as could be found. In their report accompanying the Farmer map, the governor and judges say that the original plan of the city "fell into the hands of the enemy" in 1812.

A petition to Congress by Joseph Campau and some other citizens, dated January 1, 1831, makes some other statements regarding the old plans. This petition states that there were several plans prepared at different times; two or three plans were prepared by Thomas Smith, one by Aaron Greeley, one by Abijah Hull, one by John Mullett and the last "probably the most exceptionable was recently drafted by John Farmer."

The Mullett and Farmer plans included the land known as the governor and judges plan, but did not include the Military Reservation. That reservation embraced nearly all the land north of Larned Street and west of Griswold Street, extending northerly to Michigan Avenue and westerly to the Cass farm. This tract was owned by the Federal Government and was given to the City of Detroit in 1826. The fort was razed and the dirt used to fill the Campus Martius and the old creek through Congress Street. The land was then platted and placed on the market for sale about 1830.

1832

In 1832 the city was again enlarged by taking in the Lambert Beaubien, Antoine Beaubien, Charles Moran, Louis Moran, Rivard and Riopelle farms, all situated on the easterly side of the city. The limits now extended, on that side, to Riopelle Street.

1835

In 1835 the expansion of the city began by the arrival of thousands of newcomers moving westward from New England and New York. Governor Cass placed the first plat of his farm on record in July and a month later a portion of the Brush farm was platted and placed on the market. The next year (1836) the city line was moved eastward to include the Witherell farm. By the act of February 15, 1842, the limits were contracted by placing the easterly line at Dequindre Street, thereby excluding the Witherell farm from the city.

THE CASS FARM COMPANY OF 1835

The year 1836 was one of the most prosperous in the annals of Detroit. The territory had been looking towards statehood for some years. The census of 1830 had shown a population in Detroit of 2,222, which had increased to 6,927 at the taking of the census in the year 1836.

In 1835 the state constitution was adopted and the state officers elected, so that in 1836 we were a state *de facto* if not *de jure*. It was only in consequence of factional fights and opposition, without reason, in Congress, that the state had not been admitted in December of the preceding year.

Lines of steamboats and sailboats on Lake Erie began pouring in their loads of emigrants as soon as navigation opened, and the city was filled to overflowing with those who came from the East to settle. Most of these pioneers came to locate on farm lands throughout the state, but many of them remained in the city permanently. More than one thousand persons landed in Detroit each day during the season of navigation in 1836. Hotels and private houses were filled to overflowing. New buildings, both for dwellings and for business purposes, were going up all over the town. The real estate in the interior of the town, the governor and judges plan, was changing hands rapidly at ever-increasing prices. The owners of the farms adjacent to the old plan soon platted portions into dwelling lots and these were put on the market and sold rapidly.

The newspapers contained many items of real estate sales illustrating the tendency of the times. The Free Press of February 18, 1836, had this to say on the subject: "It is not our purpose or intention to bolster up, by exaggerated accounts predicted upon rumor alone, the legitimate advances of real estate in Detroit. As a proof of the rapidly increasing prosperity of our city we would instance a sale of ten acres of land situated upwards of one mile from the Detroit River, on the Pontiac Road, without any buildings upon it, for one thousand dollars per acre."

Noah Sutton was employed by the city to take a census of its inhabitants. He also ascertained other matters of interest which he reported. There were in the city fifty-five brick stores, of which twenty-two were four stories in height.



REAL ESTATE EXCHANGE



MAJESTIC BUILDING

There were also 140 frame stores, 774 frame dwellings and thirty-nine brick dwellings. There were 1,008 buildings in the city. There were fourteen schools with 600 scholars.

One of the largest real estate enterprises that flourished at that period was what was known as the Cass Farm Company. This organization was similar to the corporations of our time, though in fact it was a copartnership. It was organized June 18, 1835. The organizers were the foremost business men of the city, ten in number: Edmund A. Brush, Charles C. Trowbridge, Eurotas P. Hastings, DeGarmo Jones, Shubael Conant, Elon Farnsworth, Oliver New-Henry S. Cole died. (The former died November 14, 1846, and the latter June 10, 1836.) Catherine H. Jones, widow and devisee of DeGarmo Jones, took his place in the enterprise and the estate of Henry S. Cole fell into the hands of the executors of his will, one of whom was his widow, Victoire Cole.

The company at first purchased all of the Cass farm south of Larned Street from Gov. Lewis Cass for \$100,000 and they gave him a mortgage for the full amount. The additional security was the obligation of the purchasers and the moneys they expended in improving the property. Before we go further into the history of this company we will ascertain what the Cass farm was. It was a large farm of more than five hundred acres, reaching from Cass Avenue to Third Avenue of the present city and extending from the Detroit River three miles in depth to the railroads on the north. It had originally consisted of three farms and the origin of record title reaches back to the time when this country was under the French Dominion.

The King of France granted one parcel to Jacques Godet, April 1, 1750. Jean Bte. Des Butes dit St. Martin got two deeds, April 1, 1750 and March 15, 1759. The other parcel was granted to Francois Barrios April 1, 1752. The next owners were Charles Courtois, Francois Berthelet and Charles Beaubien. About the time the American Revolution came to an end in 1783, the firm of Macomb, Edgar and Macomb, merchants (composed of William and Alexander Macomb and William Edgar), purchased all three parcels. Money was apparently very plentiful at that time for the consideration in the deeds indicate that they paid about 5,060 pounds in Quebec currency, equal to about \$12,650 of American money. The property subsequently came to be owned by the estate of William Macomb and by the terms of his will passed to his three sons, David, William and John. Lewis Cass purchased the property from these heirs at various times about the year 1816 for \$12,000. It was practically unproductive, for aside from the small portion he wanted for the use of himself and family it was leased for farm purposes at a small rental. But the times changed so completely between 1830 and 1835 that the front portion of the farm was now needed for business and dwelling purposes. The front, below Larned Street, was mostly covered with the waters of the Detroit River and this had to be all filled in in order to make it of any use. The work of filling in was begun in 1835. A contract was given to Abraham Smolk to do this work for the company. The entire tract was conveyed by the owners to Augustus S. Porter, August 17, 1835. Mr. Porter was to act as trustee for the company and make conveyances of the property as it was sold in parcels. Porter appointed Charles C. Trowbridge his successor to act in case of his death or disability. The formation of this company and the enterprise it demonstrated is thus referred to in the Free Press of March 23, 1836:

"City Improvements: We are highly gratified to learn from authentic sources that our enterprising fellow citizens, Messrs. Newberry, Conant, Jones and others, proprietors of the Cass front, are making preparations for erection of a splendid hotel on the site of Governor Cass' old residence. It is a subject of congratulation that our citizens are becoming alive to the importance of an immediate addition to the comforts and convenience of travelers. It is true that we have two commodious and excellent hotels and a host of others good enough in their way but it is a subject of public notoriety that hundreds of passengers were compelled last season to remain over night on board the steamboats, or leave the city, for want of lodgings and even now at this inclement season when navigation is closed, applicants are daily dismissed from public houses for want of accommodations.

"Facts warrant us in saying that the emigration to Michigan this season will be such as to astonish even the most sanguine; and we predict that the month of May will flood Detroit with persons seeking a temporary or permanent abode. The rapid growth of this city, its situation on the great chain of lakes at the very center of Michigan and the important public improvements by railroads now being constructed, have attracted the attention of foreign capitalists and thousands of men will seek an abiding place among us. The construction of the Cass Hotel on the liberal scale intended, will remedy many of those evils of which complaints have justly been made, and its beautiful situation, commanding a lofty view up and down the river, cannot fail to secure to it a large share of public patronage."

It was at this time also that the National Hotel, subsequently called the Russell House, was erected where the Hotel Pontchartrain afterward stood, and now the First National Bank Building. On May 18th the following appeared in the paper:

"Detroit—The increasing prosperity of Detroit exceeds the warmest anticipations of our citizens. This fact is evinced by the increasing demand for stores and the increased and increasing value of rents. Every tenement on Jefferson Avenue from the American Hotel to the Exchange that can possibly be obtained for a store has been rented for that purpose. Some occupants of stores in the most business part of the city have sold out their leases for the year at an advance of 100 per cent of what they were taken in the winter. We know of one individual who hired a store for one year from the first of March, who has sold out his lease for the remainder of the term at an advance of nearly 120 per cent. At the present rate of rents real property on Jefferson Avenue occupied for stores must yield a profit of an average of 25 per cent on the estimated value of the fee simple."

A year of work in filling in, building wharves and selling took place before we find any report of their sales. The demand for lots had been good and there were plenty of sales and many buildings were erected. On October 20, 1836, the trustee reported that they had expended \$53,388.27 in improvements and had sold lots on contract and for cash to the amount of \$191,936.37. Of these sales \$113,552.90 was considered good. Not enough money had been received to warrant any payments either to Cass on his mortgage or to the members of the company. Before this sale took place the following notice of it appeared in the daily press:

"GREAT SALE OF THE FRONT OF THE CASS FARM, DETROIT

"The owners of this splendid property, comprising from 15 to 20 acres, having a front of wharfing on the ship channel of the Detroit River of 1,400 feet in length, well laid out in lots to suit the purpose of warehousing and commerce, will be offered for sale at public auction at the Michigan Exchange in the City of Detroit on Tuesday the 20th day of September next. The improvements made by the proprietors in wharfing this front and in reducing the high bank on which the Mansion House of Governor Cass stood, to an easy and convenient grade from Larned Street to the channel of the river, is one of the most important and extensive that has been undertaken by individuals in the west. The grade of Jefferson Avenue is made to conform to this improvement and this is the only point where this important street descends to the water lots. The proprietors have been engaged in this work for about a year and are rapidly completing it, having from 60 to 100 men constantly employed. The property in rear was brought into market last year where the lots are fast filling up with buildings."

The great financial depression that swept over the entire country in 1837 was not felt at once in Detroit and the sale of the Cass front went on at high speed. Messrs. Porter and Conant made an inventory of the property of the company on October 12, 1837, and found that they had in unsold lots \$307,307.50 and in good contracts \$113,552.90, making a total of \$420,860.40. The times of depression had come, however, and it was not only impossible to sell more lots, but the contracts already made were being forfeited and the lands were falling back upon the company. The matter was a failure and it only remained now to make the best of it and get out with as little loss as possible. Nothing whatever on the principal had been paid to General Cass on his mortgage and the interest was paid only until January 1, 1837.

In 1839 Mr. Brush visited Cass in Paris, where he was living as the minister to France, and in the interest of the company made a proposition to him which was accepted. By this agreement the remaining lots were divided into ten portions and one portion allotted to each member of the company. The mortgage to Cass was discharged and in 1840 he took a new mortgage from each member for \$10,000, covering the share of each. The ten members gave Cass their unsecured bond for \$17,500, the interest unpaid on the original mortgage. In November, 1840, Trowbridge gave up his interest to Henry R. Schoolcraft, John Hulbert and the Rev. William McMurray. These men had purchased interests under Mr. Trowbridge some time before this, but now he stepped out of the company completely and turned over his share to his successors without further compensation. Affairs remained in this way for some years. The times were getting harder and harder and as no sales could be made the partners could not pay their mortgages. Their money was gone and to force payment of the mortgages would have compelled them to seek the court of bankruptcy. Farnsworth, Porter, the executors of the Cole estate, Whiting, Hastings, Brush and Conant all surrendered their interests to Cass in 1843. Oliver Newberry and Mrs. Catherine H. Jones only retained their interests in the estate.

Thus ended in disaster one of the greatest real estate transactions that ever took place in Detroit. It started out on the wave of prosperity that swept over the country in 1835, and ended in the gulf of disaster and despair that fol-

lowed in the wake of the financial crisis brought about by rotten wild cat banks and the depreciated currency of 1837.

1849

The Forsyth, LaBrosse and Baker farms were annexed on the westerly side in 1849 and the western boundary line was fixed at the easterly line of the Woodbridge farm.

1857

The boundary lines of the city as enlarged by the act of February 5, 1857, ran as follows: beginning at the intersection of the National boundary line with the line between the Alexis Campau farm (private claim 78) and the Porter farm (private claim 21), and running thence northerly to the Detroit, Monroe & Toledo Railroad, thence along the line of that railroad to the rear end of the Woodbridge farm; thence easterly to the northeast corner of the St. Aubin farm; thence southerly to Leland Street; thence easterly to the westerly line of the B. Chapoton farm (private claims 9 and 454); thence southerly to Gratiot Avenue; thence easterly to Mt. Elliott Avenue; thence southerly to the river and thence westerly to the place of beginning.

This made a great addition to the size of the city.

ABORTIVE ACT OF 1873

By an act of April 12, 1873, the city limits were extended easterly to Connor's Creek. The northerly line of this extension was Jefferson Avenue in that part lying easterly of the line between Grosse Pointe and Hamtramck (the east line of the present Henry Gladwin park). Between Pennsylvania Avenue and Mt. Elliott Avenue the line ran along Fremont Street. Another act for the same purpose was passed April 29, 1873. Belle Isle was not included in the annexed district.

The new addition was called the twelfth ward and city officers were elected to represent it. They were: James Holihan, alderman, long term; Richard S. Dillon, alderman, short term; Henry Russel, school inspector, long term; James Dwyer, school inspector, short term; James A. Visger, estimator, long term; Peter Desnoyer, estimator, short term; William C. Mahoney, collector; Michael Maloney, constable.

A suit was begun to test the constitutionality of the acts of annexation and they were declared illegal by the Supreme Court. It was proposed to establish a great park on the river front in this ward, but the decision of the Supreme Court relegated the lands to farm purposes and it was some years before any other effort of annexation was passed.

By the act of May 3, 1875, a tract of more than two square miles was taken from Greenfield, Hamtramck and Springwells townships and annexed to Detroit, bringing the incorporated area up to fifteen square miles. Belle Isle was purchased by the city in 1879.

In 1885 the limits were extended eastwardly to Baldwin Avenue, northerly to Mack Avenue on the annexed district and then following the Boulevard to St. Aubin Avenue, northerly along that avenue to Pallister Road, westerly to Woodward Avenue. West of Woodward Avenue the line followed the Boulevard and extended to the westerly line of private claim 266; thence southerly to Toledo Avenue; thence easterly to private claim 39 and thence to the river. Belle Isle was included in the city boundaries by this act.



KRESGE BUILDING



RECREATION BUILDING

Large additions were made in 1891 and Palmer Park was added in 1894. Since then the growth of the city has been almost phenomenal. A small tract was annexed in 1905. The next year the area was increased by nearly seven square miles and the city was divided into eighteen wards. In 1907 the suburb of Fairview and portions of Greenfield and Hamtramck townships were taken into the city. Another tract in Greenfield Township was annexed in November, 1912. During the next three years about seven square miles were added and twenty-four square miles were annexed in November, 1916. Two years later St. Clair Heights became a part of the City of Detroit.

Something of the marvelous growth of the city may be learned from the following table:

	SQUARE MILES
Total area in 1806	0.33
Total area in 1815	1.36
Total area in 1827	2.56
Total area in 1832	4.17
Total area in 1836	5.26
Total area in 1849	5.85
Total area in 1857	12.75
Total area in 1875	15.00
Total area in 1879	16.09
Total area in 1885	22.19
Total area in 1891	28.14
Total area in 1894	28.35
Total area in 1905	28.75
Total area in 1907	39.93
Total area in 1920	75.62

CHAPTER XIV

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

COUNCIL HOUSES—THE FIRST STATE CAPITOL—THE FIRST COUNTY BUILDING—THE PRESENT COUNTY BUILDING—THE OLD CITY HALL—THE PRESENT CITY HALL—STORY OF ITS SITE—THE GOVERNMENT BUSINESS—THE FIRST POST-OFFICE BUILDING AND ITS SITE—POSTMASTERS—THE PRESENT BUILDING.

COUNCIL HOUSES

In the annals of Detroit, reference is made to three different council houses which existed before the town came to have a building of public character.

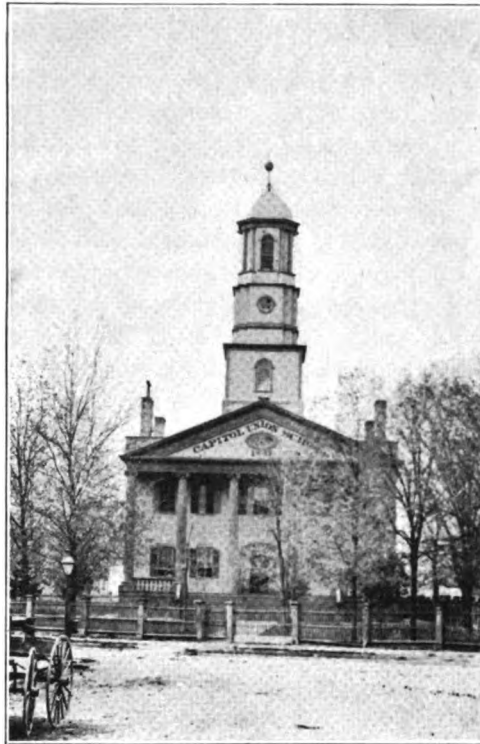
The first of these council houses, a wooden building, was in the old town near the river and was burned in the great fire of 1805.

The second council house was on the southwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Randolph Street and served as a meeting place for a great variety of unofficial as well as official bodies until it was destroyed by fire in the year 1848. The building was originally one story in height, constructed of stone, but about 1827 a second story was added by the Masons, who used wood instead of stone. Numerous documents and letters indicate that the council house, as well as the lot upon which it stood, was considered as government property, both under the British and American control. The exact date of the building of this house is not known, but it was within two years after the fire of 1805, as the district court for Huron and Detroit met there May 4, 1807.

The third council house was first a military hall located on Fort Street, but passed from government to city hands in 1827. In that year Fort Street was opened from Woodward to the Cass farm and the building was moved to the rear of the First Protestant Society Church on the northeast corner of Woodward Avenue and Larned Street. In 1833 the First Protestant Society sold their building on the corner of Woodward and Larned to the Catholics, who wanted to build a new church on this lot. This necessitated the removal or destruction of the council house and it was removed to the rear of the Methodist Church on the northeast corner of Woodward and Larned. Six years later the colored Methodist Episcopal Church received the building from the council and once again it was moved, this time to the north side of Fort between Brush and Beaubien streets. After this removal it was utilized for church services until 1848, when it was demolished.

THE FIRST STATE CAPITOL

As early as 1806, the governor and judges received authority to build a court house and jail from the proceeds of the sale of town lots not needed in satisfying the claims of the inhabitants who lost property in the 1805 fire, and also from the proceeds of the sale of the land in the ten thousand acre tract. The governor and judges immediately decided to locate the courthouse on Grand Circus Park, but it was seventeen years afterward before the officials



OLD STATE CAPITOL, AFTERWARD RE-MODELED FOR HIGH SCHOOL, ON SITE OF PRESENT CAPITOL PARK, HEAD OF GRISWOLD STREET



MUNICIPAL COURT BUILDING

progressed as far as letting the contract, July 25, 1823, to David C. McKinstry, Thomas Palmer and DeGarmo Jones, for \$21,000, and then the building was located at the head of Griswold Street. The corner stone of the building was laid by members of Masonic lodges on September 22, 1823, but not until May 5, 1828, was the structure first occupied, then by the legislative council. The building was 60 by 90 feet in dimensions, with a tower 140 feet high, and was for many years the most conspicuous building in the settlement. The contractors took in payment for their work 6,500 acres of land in the 10,000-acre tract north of the town at \$2.12 an acre, and 144 city lots at \$50.00 a lot. There was some criticism of the deal at the time, because the location for the building was "so far out of town." The building was first occupied, as stated, by the territorial or legislative council, then by the state legislature and officials. It served as the capitol when Michigan was admitted as a state and so continued until the capitol was moved to Lansing in 1847. It afterward became the property of the Board of Education as the Capitol Union School. Within its walls were organized the first high school classes and here also for a time was housed the first public library. In 1875 a three-story front was erected for the sole use of the high school and the whole went the way of the old council houses in the fire of 1893. The site is now known as Capitol Square, and is very appropriately adorned with a statue of Stevens Thomson Mason, the first governor of the state.

THE FIRST COUNTY BUILDING

It was a long time after the court for this judicial district was organized before it and the accompanying county officers had a comfortable home of their own. The court itself passed through a number of transformations, and the county was exceedingly flexible in respect to its boundaries. From 1796 to 1805, Northern Ohio, the northern portions of Indiana and Illinois, all of Michigan and the eastern part of Wisconsin were included in the County of Wayne. The judicial system of the Northwest Territory was operative over the whole area, and included the supreme court, common pleas, probate and orphan courts, and quarter sessions. Sessions of the supreme court were held in Detroit by the territorial judges. In 1805, the Territory of Michigan was organized under the anomalous rule of the governor and judges, the whole territory having been included at first in the County of Wayne. In the governor and territorial judges all the legislative powers were centered, while the three judges constituted the supreme court, thus having the unique power of passing upon the validity of laws which they had shared in adopting. There were various changes in the style and functions of the intermediate courts until 1825, when the circuit courts were established by name, but they were still held by judges of the supreme court. Under the constitution of 1835, separate circuit courts and courts of chancery were established, but it was not until after the constitution of 1850 was adopted that the present form of circuit court was adopted, with judges elected for terms of six years and with chancery powers.

Meantime the court in its various forms had been a movable body. Under territorial rule, it met in the council house, wherever at the time that chanced to be, then in the old capitol building, then for one year in a privately owned block at the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Bates Street, and for eight years (1836-44) in the old city hall on Cadillac Square. In 1845 it moved into the newly-completed, two-story brick county building, at the southeast corner of

Congress and Griswold streets. On the first day of that occupation a resolution of thanks was given by the bar to the contractors and builders "for its tasteful and commodious arrangement, neatness and simplicity of style, and its permanent and substantial character as a public and fire-proof building." This was very high praise considering the size and appearance of the structure. It was 32 by 80 feet in dimensions, two stories in height and might have been dumped bodily into the corridor of the present county building. County offices occupied the lower floor and the court and judges' room the floor above. The court room was not, according to modern ideas, either elegant, commodious or comfortable, but for twenty-six years it witnessed the trials and triumphs of members of the bar considered among the ablest and most brilliant in the West, including such men as H. H. Emmons, James A. Van Dyke, Theodore Romeyn, James F. Joy, George V. N. Lothrop, Alfred Russell, William Gray, Charles I. Walker and others equally prominent. The last bar meeting in the old building was held there May 31, 1871. In that year the court and county offices moved into the new city hall, where they remained, paying an annual rent of \$12,000, until the present county building was completed in 1902.

THE PRESENT COUNTY BUILDING

When the city hall was built it was expected that it would supply ample accommodations for both city and county for many years. However, as the number of judges increased, the large court room was divided into three and finally a fourth was made out of the judge and jury rooms. When a fifth and sixth were added, they had to go outside for court rooms. A number of propositions were made for relief, among them one to put a fourth story on the city hall, another to put an addition on the Woodward Avenue front, and still another to tear it down and put up a new building to cover the whole. Finally the difficulty of securing harmonious action with two such large bodies as the common council and the board of supervisors was recognized, and the latter body wisely decided to go its own gait. Consideration of site, plans and kind of stone to be used each took considerable time and progress was slow. The site for the new county building was purchased in 1895. Ground was broken for the excavation in September, 1896. The contract for the building was let in the Spring of 1897 to R. Robertson & Company, with the agreement that it should be ready in two years. However, labor troubles and changes of plan lengthened the time. The corner stone of the building was laid October 20, 1897; the exterior was not completed until the Fall of 1900. A portion of the building was occupied in July, 1902, by the general county offices, and the courts moved in later. The building was not ready for the dedication until October 11, 1902. The cost of the site was \$550,000 and of the building and furnishings \$1,635,000, making a total investment of \$2,185,000.

The county building, as it is commonly called, was, at the time of its completion, not only the most imposing public structure in the city, but the most ornate in its interior finish and furnishings of any public building in the state. There is in the interior an abundance of tasteful and varied ornamentation. In the woods used for finishing and furniture are mahogany, oak, birch, maple and sycamore, the first named predominating. The marbles are in great variety of color and texture, including Sienna, English vein, White Italian, Alps green, Verona, and red and yellow Numidian. Of the domestic marbles, there are dark and light brown, pink and green Tennessee, and five colors of Vermont.



WAYNE COUNTY BUILDING

The use of ornamental woods and marbles in the circuit court rooms is especially noteworthy, and Room No. 6, occupied by the presiding judge, is a marvel of rich decoration. When the courts and county offices were first moved to the new building, there were many vacant rooms, but it is now crowded, and the addition of another story is contemplated to relieve the congestion.

THE OLD CITY HALL

The first city hall long antedated the first county building. It stood where the westerly end of what was then Michigan Grand Avenue, now Cadillac Square, now meets Woodward, was 50 by 100 feet in size and cost approximately \$15,000. John Scott was the name of the contractor. This building was first occupied November 18, 1835. Payment was made by the proceeds of lots sold by the city on the military reserve. The lower story of this building, which was half basement, was cut up into stalls and rented as a meat market. Incidentally, it became a center of political wiles and guile, for the butchers were active in politics in those days. Silas Farmer, in his "History of Detroit," states that the second story was occupied only by the city clerk and collector, while the mayor, sewer commissioners, surveyor, and assessor, in 1857, were in the old female seminary building on the site of the present city hall, and that from 1866 until 1871 some of the city offices such as surveyor and sewer commissioners were located in the Williams Block on Monroe Avenue. The upper floor of the old city hall was mainly taken up with the council chamber, which was also used for citizens' meetings, as a theatre, as a church and for other miscellaneous gatherings. The building was vacated by the city in July, 1872, and in the following November was torn down. A three-story structure for a public hall and markets, called the Central Market Building, was erected on the same site and opened in August, 1880. The second story of this building was occupied by the board of health, also the poor and park commission, in 1881, and the third story was used by the Superior court in 1883 and for a few years thereafter.

THE PRESENT CITY HALL

The site upon which the present city hall stands has had a checkered history. When the military reservation was platted in 1830, there was a large lot left between Griswold and Fort streets, Michigan Avenue and the Campus Martius. It was the only part of the military reservation which was east of Griswold Street. This lot was 283 feet long on the Griswold Street side, twenty feet front on Lafayette Avenue and twelve feet on Fort Street; the easterly side was the Campus Martius of 245 feet, and the lot had a Michigan Avenue frontage of 144 feet.

The Association for the Promotion of Female Education requested the city authorities to give them this lot and they erected on it a large three-story brick building fronting on Griswold Street, and in it maintained a school or seminary for young ladies for some years. The deed to the association is dated March 29, 1830. The school was not a success and the association leased the building and lot to the University of Michigan for 999 years. The formal lease was executed March 30, 1843. At this time there was an engine house, No. 2, erected in 1836, belonging to the fire department, on the south end of the lot on the Fort Street corner. In the lease to the university, it was provided that the city could retain the engine house site as long as it desired.

There was a time in the history of the city when the people and the newspapers encouraged the introduction and extension of railroads as of benefit to the town. The Detroit & St. Joseph Railroad, now called the Michigan Central, wanted a central location for depot grounds, and the western portion of the Campus Martius was selected as the proper place to locate the buildings.

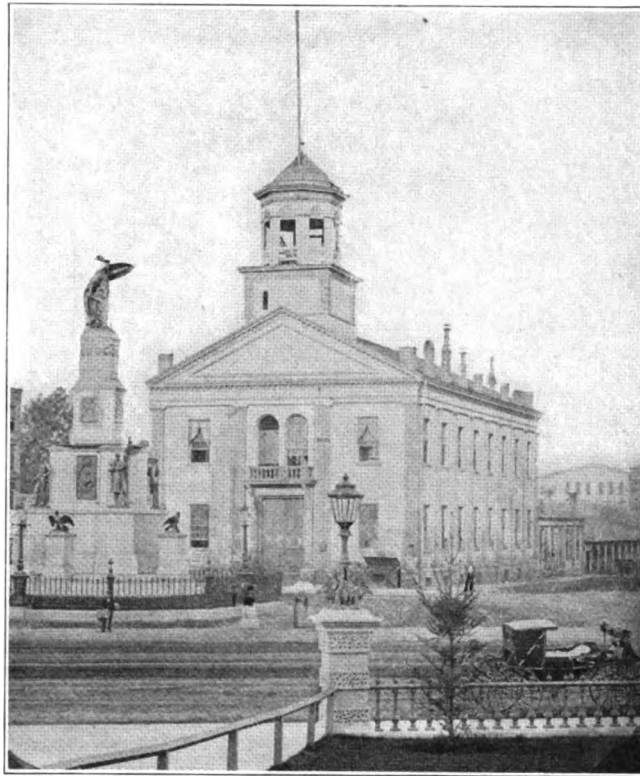
On August 4, 1836, Edmund A. Brush, in behalf of the railroad, wanted to lay the track down Michigan Avenue and also asked permission "to occupy so much of the public ground adjacent to the female seminary as might be necessary for a terminating depot." Permission was granted to lay the track on the south side of Michigan Avenue. The road was also allowed to use all that it needed of that part of the Campus lying west of Woodward Avenue. At this time the railroad was owned by a private company, but in the early part of 1837 the legislature provided for the organization of a state commission of internal improvements and in May of that year the commission acquired the railroad, and thenceforth it was known as the Central Railroad. Justus Burdick was the first president of the commission and David C. McKinstry was the acting commissioner of the Central road.

The first track was laid down Michigan Avenue and around the west side of Woodward Avenue to Fort Street. A petition of the citizens was presented to the common council in January, 1838, asking that the track be continued down Woodward Avenue to the public wharf at the foot of the street. The petition was referred to a committee consisting of the mayor, Henry Howard; recorder, Ross Wilkins, and aldermen John McDonell and Thomas Chase. A plan was prepared which was submitted to the council with the report of the committee favorable to the project. The resolution, which was adopted February 5, 1838, outlined the plan for this work as follows:

"Resolved, That permission be, and it is hereby given to the state or others to make, in accordance with the plan on record, a cut in the center of Woodward Avenue, fourteen feet wide and as deep as may be found necessary, commencing as near the crossing of Congress Street and terminating at or below the crossing of Atwater Street, as shall be found practicable, but so as in no wise to interfere with or injure the grand sewer, for the purpose of laying down a railway track from the depot at the Campus Martius to the water at the foot of Woodward Avenue. Provided, however, that the state or parties constructing the same shall secure the sides of said cut with a stone wall or with timber, and shall cover over in the same way all of said cut that can be so covered without obstructing the passage of the cars which may be employed in transporting goods on said track, preserving through the whole line the grades of the several streets and so constructing the crossings as not to present any obstructions or impediment to the free passage of said streets, or of the water course thereof. And to construct a good and sufficient rail on both sides of said cut as shall not be covered, and at the crossings of the same, except at the commencement and termination of said cut, and to put lamps at convenient distances and to keep them lit during the night, and to make the whole of said work safe and secure and also to keep the same always in repair.

"Provided, also, That none of the expense of constructing said work, nor for keeping the same in repair shall be paid by said corporation (the city).

"Resolved, That the use of steam engines or locomotives is expressly forbidden on the track, the construction of which is authorized by these resolutions."



OLD CITY HALL, CAMPUS MARTIUS, 1870



OLD CITY HALL AND SURROUNDINGS IN 1862

The plan was accepted by the state with the provision that the lighting of the subway would not be insisted upon. A profile of the grade was submitted and accepted in June following. This did not include much of a cut, for the grade was made to correspond with Bates Street. The track was laid to Atwater Street and consent was given to extend it on either side to the city limits, but as the state did not want to bear this expense, private land owners were permitted to lay tracks along Atwater Street to connect with the road. Advantage was not taken of this permission and the road was but little used. The commissioner of internal improvements in 1840 reported that the work had been completed, "but no use had been made of it, and the apathy manifested by those for whose convenience it had been constructed, seems strongly to indicate the fact that as a public thoroughfare, it is perfectly useless." The track was then taken up and that part of the route abandoned March 26, 1844.

The city leased to the state for 999 years, from August 19, 1837, all of the campus lying west of the line of Woodward Avenue and east of the lot occupied by the seminary. The provision in the lease was that the land should be "used for a depot and the general stopping place for cars carrying passengers on the Detroit and St. Joseph Railroad and for no other purpose." The lease was to cease when the premises were abandoned as depot grounds. At the same time the city gave to the railroad a lease of the central portion of Cadillac Square, extending westwardly from Bates Street to the old city hall and market, which was in the center of the street fronting on the Campus. The lease permitted the railroad to run a track across Woodward Avenue to connect with the tracks at Bates Street. The Cadillac Avenue grounds were intended for freight yards. Two of the residents on Cadillac Square (then called Michigan Grand Avenue) were David Cooper and Charles Jackson. Upon their petition, the court enjoined the railroad from proceeding with their work, and the supreme court decided that the city should not lease or dispose of a street in the manner attempted. The result was that the railroad established its freight yard and buildings on the south side of Michigan Avenue, a short distance west of Griswold Street.

After the railroad passed into the hands of the Michigan Central Railroad Company in 1847, the depot was established at the foot of Third Street. The Campus depot ceased to be used for that purpose in 1848, but the state continued in the ownership of a portion of the buildings for some years. The university conveyed the seminary building to the state in 1854 and some of the state offices were maintained in the building. In 1853 a portion of the old depot building on Griswold Street was leased to Andrew Ladue and Francis E. Eldred. This building is referred to in the deed from the university to the state as "the main structure of the large wooden building originally erected for a warehouse of the Central Railroad." The seminary building is here referred to as "The Yellow State Building." The state sold everything—lease, lot and buildings, to the city January 23, 1856, for \$18,816.66.

Agitation for a new city hall had begun before this time, but now, as the city was sole owner of the property, it was proposed to proceed with the new building.

Proceedings were begun in 1859 to vacate so much of the Campus as lies west of Woodward Avenue in order that the land might become the city hall site. Guy F. Hinchman and Sarah Abbott, executors of the will of James Abbott, whose home was on the site of the present Hammond Building, at-

tempted to restrain the city from excavating the Campus and from erecting the city hall at that place. It was stated that those connected with this movement wanted the city hall built on the Grand Circus. Mr. Hinchman's suit was begun May 31, 1860. Although he failed in the suit, the institution of it delayed the work of building for that year, and in the succeeding year, 1861, the War of the Rebellion coming on, prevented further work for some years. The suit begun by Mr. Hinchman in the court of chancery is numbered 1750.

In 1850, John Palmer and others residing near the square petitioned the council to have the Campus graded, fenced and ornamented with shade trees. The committee of the council made a report July 9, 1850, recommending that the prayer be granted. The city had leased this corner to a circus company for one day in 1849 and had received \$100 for the use of the ground and the license. The money was now authorized to be expended in leveling the ground and there was added to it a like sum subscribed by John Palmer and other neighbors and another hundred dollars taken from the road fund. The transformation must have been startling, for the "Free Press" of August 2, 1851, said regarding it: "The Campus Martius makes quite an appearance with its young trees and its oat crop springing up fresh and green among the bricks and mortar surroundings. A similar disposition of the area on the opposite side of the street towards the city hall would be a good idea. It would make Woodward Avenue one of the pleasantest, as it is now one of the busiest and most important thoroughfares of the city."

The property was not cared for and the council, in 1851, found that "but one chain had been placed through the posts around the Campus Martius, and the same is now left exposed, so that the cattle and other animals are destroying the improvements made by the city appropriation."

The trees and grass were short-lived among the bricks and mortar and in 1853 the "Advertiser" said: "The Campus Martius looks very forlorn. The supposed shade trees are only poles, and the only green thing on the square is a big dock weed," so the city leased the corner to the railroad circus for an exhibition in September of that year. In June, 1854, the same circus company paid the city \$250 for a three days' lease of the lot.

The present city hall itself was a long time in contemplation. As early as 1857, committees on almshouse and public buildings jointly reported in favor of so amending the charter "that the bonds of the city may be issued for such a sum of money as must be required to build such public buildings for said purpose, as this council shall deem expedient, for the purpose of constituting a fund, to be used for the purpose of erecting public buildings in the city; namely, an almshouse, a city jail, a city hall and such other public buildings as may be deemed necessary." The recommendation was adopted and the amendment to the charter was made by the legislature. Two years later the subject of a city hall was taken up as a separate proposition and at the last of a series of meetings the controller, James M. Edmunds, submitted a definite plan for a building upon the following basis: "The basement will contain heating apparatus, coal rooms, store rooms, water closets, etc. The first floor will contain eight offices, two rooms and a vault, each office containing 448 square feet floor surface; one office with a floor surface of 525 square feet, two halls each twenty feet wide, crossing at right angles in the center, making a public entrance on each of the four fronts.

"The second floor will contain four offices, two rooms and vault, each office



OLD AND NEW CITY HALLS



REMOVAL FROM OLD CITY HALL IN 1872

having a floor space of 821 or more feet; three offices, two rooms and a vault, one committee room, one council chamber 60 x 90 feet, the halls of the same width as on the first floor.

"The third floor will contain one circuit court room, with 5,400 square feet of surface; one supreme court room, with 2,400 square feet of surface, two judges' consultation rooms, two attorneys' consultation rooms, one library, two jury rooms, one sheriff's room.

"The building to be constructed of hewn stone and fire proof. The elevation to be massive and attractive, and on whatever location it may be placed, the building and entire grounds to occupy one entire block, that it may present four fronts, and a public entrance on each front."

This plan was strikingly similar to the one that was actually adopted a dozen years later. The estimated cost of the building was \$250,000, and the common council authorized the issue of bonds for that amount. The proposed site was then a part of the Campus Martius. The steps necessary to vacate it for the purpose of the building, the competitive submission and examination of plans and other preliminaries filled up the time until the spring of 1861, when the Civil war commenced and building operations of this kind were suspended. The subject was taken up again in the summer of 1865, but it was not until the fall of 1866 that a contract for the excavation was let. The final plans for the structure were drawn by the architect, James Anderson, and in 1867 the contract for the building was let to N. Osborn & Company of Rochester, New York, for \$379,578. Their contract called for the completion of the building July 1, 1871, and they fulfilled it and had two months to spare. The city gave them a bonus of \$3,000 for the privilege of occupying the building earlier than the time called for. This was done as a measure of economy and for the convenience of the county, which was required to vacate other quarters. Of the result one of the local papers said at the time: "The contractors, Messrs. Osborn & Company, are entitled to great praise, not only for the promptness with which they have done their work, but for the manner in which they have done it. It is conceded on all hands, that every stone and brick has been laid in a conscientious and faithful manner. Those who have watched the building closely pronounce it a first-class piece of work, and really the structure speaks for itself, both to the credit of the taste of the designer and the skill and honesty of the builder." The building is 204 feet long and 90 feet wide. The height of the building to the cornice is 66 feet and to the top of the flagstaff 200 feet. The walls are constructed of Amherst sandstone, quarried near Cleveland, Ohio. Some remodeling was done upon the city hall in 1906.

It was also matter of comment that not only was the building completed within the specified time, but within the stipulated cost, and that without a suspicion of fraud or graft. This constructive work was going on at the same time as that on the New York City courthouse, made infamous by the frauds of Tweed, Sweeney & Ingersoll, and the contrast between the two records was matter of bitter comment in the New York press. The estimated value of the land upon which the building stood was \$195,000. The total cost of the building, including the plans, excavation, structure, heating apparatus, clock and bell was \$519,949. Furniture, ornamenting the grounds, interest on bonds, printing and other incidentals added \$82,181 to this, making a total cost, exclusive of grounds, of \$602,130. The corner stone was laid August 6, 1868, with an address by Charles I. Walker. The building was dedicated July 4, 1871, the council

held their first meeting therein on the 18th, and for the half century since then it has been one of the busiest and most useful structures in the city.

Other items of interest concerning the city hall follow. The four stone figures on the first section of the tower are each 14 feet in height and represent Justice, Industry, Art, and Commerce. In 1884, Bela Hubbard commissioned the sculptor, Julius Melchers, to make four statues, of Cadillac, La Salle, Father Marquette and Rev. Fr. Gabriel Richard, which he presented to the city and they were placed in niches on the east and west fronts of the city hall. The bell in the tower, weighing 7,670 pounds, cost \$2,782. The clock cost \$2,850, has four dials each 8 feet 3 inches in diameter, and the mechanism was first started July 4, 1871. The two cannon on each side of the front steps on the east were captured from the British at the battle of Lake Erie, when Perry routed the English fleet under Barclay. These pieces were brought here from Erie, Pennsylvania, placed on the old government wharf between Wayne and Cass, then served as posts to which to tie vessels, but were later secured for the city by private subscription and gift in April, 1872, the larger by the citizens, on the 12th, and the other by Moore, Foote & Company, on the 17th, and on July 4, 1874, they were placed in their present position.

Built originally to accommodate both city and county, the building has now become inadequate to the needs of the city alone. The city courts and many of the county offices are accommodated in the five-story Municipal Courts Building, corner of St. Antoine and Macomb, which was completed and occupied in 1917 and which cost \$845,000. The board of health and public welfare commission occupy a separate building at St. Antoine and Clinton Streets. The department of buildings and safety engineering has the larger part of a remodeled old court building erected in 1889 at Clinton and Raynor Streets, and there are several other officials and commissions scattered throughout the city.

THE GOVERNMENT BUSINESS

The co-partnership existing between the Government of the United States and the people of the City of Detroit is a firm which does business that, in actual dollars and cents, is far greater than any of the members of this unique firm would conceive in his own judgment. The exports and imports which appear on the books of the customs office; the tonnage registers and the inspections and examinations which are connected with the lake marine; the marine hospital, the river and harbor improvements and the lighthouse service which are directed from this port; the internal revenue collections for the district of which Detroit is the center, and to which it is the main contributor; the postoffice business, which comes in direct touch with almost every resident; the military service connected with the establishment at Fort Wayne; the United States courts which adjudicate, not only the ordinary court cases for the eastern district of Michigan, but some of the most important admiralty cases that ever come up on the lakes; all these represent business that touches the citizen at many points. All of this business has to be housed, but it is a noticeable fact that the housing accommodations have almost always been short of the requirements. The transportation of mail, from the day of the lone messenger footing it overland to the day of the fast train and airplane, has scarcely kept pace with the needs of the service.

Prior to January 1, 1803, no postoffice existed in Detroit. The mail, both going and coming, was an intermittent affair, depending upon the overland

carrier, the weather and seasons and many other conditions. Letter writing was not a common practice in the old days: in fact, to be able to read and write was an unmistakable sign that one was wealthy and educated. We note in other chapters of this work the lack of schools and the customary procedure of the common people in signing wills, deeds and other documents by a cross-mark. The post commandant, and some of the officers, the leading merchants, and better social class were the only ones who indulged in the luxury of letters, and they found the service very tardy and exasperating. At the time of the Pontiac siege (1763), mail ordinarily required from two to three weeks between Detroit and Niagara. Indians were very often employed as mail runners, going in pairs, sometimes with an interpreter, and their speed depended in great measure upon the amount of rum promised them at their destination.

During De Peyster's term as commandant under the British rule, and after the Revolutionary War, some semblance of an orderly mail service was operated. Three months was the ordinary time for a letter to reach Detroit from Quebec.

The first post road in Michigan, part of a line from Detroit to Cincinnati, was opened in March, 1801, but discontinued three years later, when a road from Cleveland to Detroit was established. A mail service with Washington was inaugurated in 1802 and ten years later the mail required forty days to reach the Capital City from Detroit. During the early years of the Nineteenth Century, the mails were very poorly operated. Excerpts from letters written by Governor Lewis Cass to the postal authorities at Washington give some hints of the condition of affairs at this time. In December, 1815, he wrote:

"At all times since our arrival at this place in 1813, the mail has been carried with singular irregularity—an irregularity for which the state of the roads will furnish no excuse. I passed the mail carrier last summer between the mouth of the Raisin and Mansfield. He was on foot, and I should say not fit to be trusted with sixpence."

On December 30, 1815, Cass again wrote:

"The post-rider has just arrived without a letter or paper. Our last National Intelligencer is November 7. The last mail brought me a letter from the War Department, of October 30 * * * The misconduct is with the postmaster at Cleveland. Mr. Abbott informs me that this postmaster, if the mail from Pittsburgh arrives five minutes after he has closed the mail for this place, will not forward, but retains it until the next week * * * Cut off as we are from the world and from other means of information than the mail, we look with eagerness for its arrival, and nine times out of ten we find ourselves disappointed."

Cass continued to report the inefficiency of the mails to Washington. Little improvement was noted, however, although some attempt was made to move official mail with a bit of regularity.

By 1817 an important innovation was introduced into the postal service. The post-boy was equipped with a horn. The inhabitants listened for the sound of this horn on mail days and its first note was the signal for a general scurrying to meet the post-rider.

The second post-road in the territory was established in May, 1820, running between Detroit and Mt. Clemens via Pontiac. A road to Saginaw was opened in 1823 and to Ann Arbor and Fort Gratiot five years later. In 1827 the first mail stages began running to Ohio, and in 1830 a daily southern and eastern mail, by way of Pittsburgh, started. Mail was yet slow, however, as a letter

required two weeks to reach New York from this place. Ten years later this time had been shortened to about nine days. Postal rates varied according to distance during the early days. A letter traveling thirty miles was carried for six or eight cents at different times, and the price varied until for a distance of 450 or 500 miles the rate was twenty-five cents. Postage stamps did not come into use until 1847 and the Free Press of August 16, 1847, carried an item as follows:

"Post office stamps have been received at the office in this city from the Department, for the prepayment of postage. They are of two denominations, five and ten cents, and will be a great accommodation to the public. All that has to be done is to prefix one of the little appendages, and the letter goes direct."

These stamps in 1861, during the silver shortage, were freely used as currency. Postal cards were not used in Detroit until 1873. Envelopes were first used in 1839. Before their advent, the letter paper was folded together and sealed. Money orders were first issued from the Detroit office November 1, 1864, and the system of registering letters began in 1855. Free mail delivery by carriers was started in Detroit in October, 1864.

The postmasters of the Detroit office, and the year of their appointment, follow: Charles Curry was the first postmaster at Detroit, but the date of his appointment is indefinite. There exists in the Burton Historical Collection a letter to Curry from the postmaster-general, acknowledging receipt of \$56.25, his account for the quarter ending June 30, 1803; Frederick Bates, 1803; George Hoffman, 1806; James Abbott, 1806; John Norvell, 1831; Sheldon McKnight, 1836; Thomas Rowland, 1842; John S. Bagg, 1845; Alpheus S. Williams, 1849; Thornton F. Brodhead, 1853; Cornelius O'Flynn, 1857; Henry N. Walker, 1859; Alexander W. Buel, 1860; William A. Howard, 1861; Henry Barns, 1866; Frederick W. Swift, 1867; John H. Kaple, 1875; George C. Codd, 1879; Alexander W. Copland, 1886; George R. Woolfenden (acting); Elwood T. Hance, 1889; John J. Enright, 1893; Freeman B. Dickerson, 1897; Homer Warren, 1906; William J. Nagel, 1913—.

The postoffice itself was a movable institution, located at the place which was most convenient to the postmaster for the time being. The locations of the office have been numerous. According to Farmer's History of Detroit the first known location was under Abbott, when it was housed in a log building on the southwest corner of Woodward Avenue and Woodbridge Street, and in 1831 moved to a brick building on the south side of Jefferson Avenue below Wayne Street; following this it was, in 1831, again located at the northeast corner of Jefferson and Shelby; in 1834 at another location in the same block; in 1836 was moved to 157 Jefferson, near Randolph; later in the year moved to northeast corner of Jefferson and Shelby; in 1837 moved to 105 Jefferson; in 1840 located in a brick building farther west in the same block; in 1843 established in the basement of a stone building on the southwest corner of Jefferson and Griswold; and in 1849 was opened on the first floor of the Mariners' Church, northwest corner of Woodward and Woodbridge. Here it remained until the first postoffice building was constructed. Part of the time the postoffice was in one building, the customs office in another and the United States courts in a third. They were never brought together in a Government owned structure until 1860, when the building at the northwest corner of Griswold and Larned was opened.

The subject of building a postoffice in Detroit for the use of the department



OLD POST OFFICE AND U. S. CUSTOM HOUSE



**EXCAVATION FOR OLD POST OFFICE ON
GRISWOLD AND LARNED**

**This is one of the oldest Detroit photographs extant,
taken in 1857.**

and for holding courts was agitated for some years, but the first appropriation of money was made August 4, 1854. The property was sold to the Government on November 13, 1855, by Mrs. Henry Barnard for \$24,000. Ground was broken for the new building in August, 1857, and the corner stone was laid May 18, 1858 by ex-Governor William M. Fenton, grand master of grand lodge, F. & A. M. The roof was put on in May, 1859, and the building was first opened for business at noon, January 30, 1860. The Government was nearly six years in buying the site and erecting the building. Henry N. Walker was the postmaster at this time. The building cost \$162,800, in addition to the cost of the site. A. H. Jordan was the architect. This building served its original purpose for over thirty years and still houses a number of Government offices.

The story of the site of this old postoffice building is an interesting one. The military reservation was that part of the old town lying between Jefferson and Michigan Avenues, Griswold and Cass Streets. It was reserved for the use of the military department in 1809 and was donated to the city by the war department in 1826. The fort was at that time destroyed and the lands turned over to the city government.

The first plat of the military reservation designated the lots on the northwest corner of Larned and Griswold Streets by the numbers, 18, 19 and 20, each lot fronting fifty feet on the north side of Larned Street. At this time Griswold Street was only fifty feet wide. When it was decided to make the street ninety feet wide, as it is at present, a new plan was made and the lots faced Griswold Street and were numbered 1, 2 and 3. These are the lots on which the old postoffice building is located. This land was at one time designated as a site for the city hall, but the plan to build here was not carried out and the city, being the owner of the land, offered it to the Methodist Church Society in exchange for their Farrar Street property. The proposal to make the trade was submitted by the mayor, John Biddle, and Aldermen Peter J. Desnoyers and Jerry Dean, as a committee of the common council, but no trade could be effected.

The lots were sold after this failure to trade to Francis P. Browning in 1832. Mr. Browning was a very prominent merchant of his time and engaged in many enterprises. Perhaps the most important was that of carrying on an extensive sawmill at the foot of Woodward Avenue. It was the time when log houses, in the city, were going out of vogue and the making of lumber for frame houses was a very important occupation. Mr. Browning and his associates were extensively engaged in cutting pine timber at the "pinery" on the Black River and on the St. Clair River in the vicinity of the present City of Port Huron, and floating it down the river to Detroit to be made over into more valuable building material. Mr. Browning was considered a man of large means for his time and it was quite proper that he should become the owner of the land above described, that he might erect a fine residence suitable alike to the location, the finest residence district of the city, and to himself as one of the foremost citizens. A two-story brick residence was soon erected on the land, but Mr. Browning occupied it only a little more than a year, when he sold to Peter J. Desnoyers, March 14, 1834, for \$8,000. A few months later the city was visited by the Asiatic cholera and one of the victims of the pestilence was Frances P. Browning.

Mr. Desnoyers occupied the property with his family until his sudden death in 1846. In the partition of his estate, August 31, 1847, the property passed

to his daughter, Josephine S. Desnoyers. Miss Desnoyers married Henry Barnard, who was a prominent educator and for some years superintendent of education in Massachusetts. As stated before, the Government received the property from Mrs. Barnard.

The present ornate and imposing Federal Building was more than three decades in the making. The first appropriation for it was voted by Congress in May, 1882, \$600,000, if a new site was purchased and \$500,000 if the old site was used. Six months later a government commission reported in favor of utilizing the old site. This calamity was happily averted, though it took long discussion and vigorous protests to accomplish that. The old site was in the lowest ground in that section, close by the bed of the old Savoyard Creek, and entirely inadequate for the uses for which it was intended. A second commission selected the south half of the block bounded by Fort, Wayne, Lafayette, and Shelby Streets. Then came another long controversy over the question whether half the block was sufficient. The chief promoter of that location was at considerable expense in gathering facts from other cities to prove that the half block would be ample for the needs of the city for a lifetime. Wiser counsels finally prevailed and the whole block was purchased in 1885 and 1887 at a cost of \$400,000. The whole appropriation was increased to \$1,100,000. Additional appropriations were made from time to time and the final cost of the main structure, with land and furnishings, was about \$1,550,000. Excavation was begun June 29, 1890. The work of construction was slow. The first floor was occupied by the postoffice in November, 1897, and it was many months after that before the whole building was completed. This portion of the building is 200 by 152 feet in dimensions, four stories in height with basement and loft. The height of the tower is 243 feet. The exterior is of the so-called American style of architecture and the interior is Romanesque.

The city had grown so fast during the period of construction that the building was not fully occupied before its capacity was outgrown. Some of the offices went back to the old building on Griswold Street and agitation was begun for the enlargement of the new. This ultimately resulted in an addition of three stories with the basement and loft on the north half of the lot. This was so skillfully handled architecturally that the completed structure stands as a symmetrical whole. The basement, the ground floor and part of the second floor of the building are occupied by the postal force. The customs and internal revenue offices take up the rest of the second floor. On the third floor are the district court rooms and the offices of the clerk, district attorney, marshal, etc. In the basement and on the fourth floor there is a variety of other governmental offices. The building is uncomfortably crowded and the next move contemplated is another million dollar plant for mail distribution near the Michigan Central depot, leaving the present structure mainly for office uses.

CHAPTER XV

PUBLIC UTILITIES

HOW THE FIRST DETROITER SECURED WATER—BERTHELET'S PUMP—UNDER CITY CONTROL—REMOVAL OF THE WORKS—EXTENSIVE ENLARGEMENTS—FILTRATION AND THE DETROIT FILTER PLANT, BY THEODORE A. LEISEN—DEVELOPMENT OF FILTRATION—CLASSIFICATION OF FILTERS—FILTRATION IN THE U. S.—HYGIENIC RESULTS—DETROIT PLANT—INTRODUCTION OF GAS—EXPERIMENTS IN STREET LIGHTING—BEGINNING OF MUNICIPAL LIGHTING—THE EDISON PLANT—TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICE—FIRST STREET RAILWAY LINES—DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM—A STATE OF WAR—RECENT INCIDENTS AND BEGINNING OF MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP SYSTEM—MOTORBUS SERVICE.

For a century after Cadillac founded the settlement of Detroit, the question of securing clean, fresh water was one which did not puzzle the inhabitants. It flowed past their doors in abundant quantity and all that was necessary was a bucket. No contamination existed to spoil the water and imperil the health of the community, nor were there any restrictions upon the amount each person might use. Sometime later, when barrels were placed upon the wharf, the village authorities levied a tax of one dollar upon those who took water from this supply. The public wells did not come in until after the fire of 1805. These wells were dug and pumps installed at advantageous points in the village and were of great convenience, although some opposition was encountered regarding those upon the Campus Martius as so many people and cattle fell into them. The old two-wheeled French cart, with its water barrels, and the yoke by which a person might carry a bucket upon each end, were common sights in the streets of Detroit during the early days. From 1820 until 1822 the question of public "water works" was discussed by the officials, but nothing ever came of it.

The first attempt toward an improvement in the method of securing water was made by the governor and council, when, in 1824, they passed an act authorizing Peter Berthelet "to erect a wharf on the Detroit River in continuation of Randolph Street, and running to the ship channel of said river, provided the said Peter Berthelet, his heirs and assigns, shall, at all times during the existence of the grant, at his own, or their own, expense, erect, make and repair, at some convenient place at or near the end of said wharf, next the channel of the river, a good and sufficient pump, at which all persons who may reside within the city of Detroit, shall be, at all times, free of wharfage or other expenses, entitled to take and draw water for their use and convenience; and for that purpose a free use of said wharf shall be given for carts, wagons, sleighs or other machinery to be used in drawing and carrying away the water." The dock and pump were built and remained until 1835, when the city council removed the property.

In 1825 Bethuel Farrand, father of Jacob S. Farrand, submitted to the council a plan for a water works system, and the official body authorized him to put his scheme into execution. He, with Rufus Wells, cut tamarac logs from the banks of

the Clinton River in the summer of 1825, with which to construct pipes, but within a short time after the work was begun, Wells bought out Farrand's interest and in March, 1827 the council passed an ordinance granting to Rufus Wells "the sole and exclusive right of watering the city of Detroit." Mr. Wells erected on the Berthelet wharf at the foot of Randolph Street a pump house twenty feet square, with a cupola forty feet high, in which was a large cask, to which the water was raised by two pumps of five-inch bore each, operated by horse power. From this the water was conveyed in tamarac logs to a reservoir which stood where the present water works office is, corner Jefferson Avenue and Randolph Street. The reservoir was sixteen feet square and six feet deep, with a capacity of 9,580 gallons.

The original act of the council was repealed in 1829 and a new one was passed granting to Mr. Wells and three associates, known collectively as the Hydraulic Company, the exclusive right of supplying the city with water until 1850, and this was afterward extended to 1865. During this ownership, the purity of the water from the river was questioned and with the view of finding a purer supply, the boring of a well was undertaken. It was extended to a depth of 260 feet and then abandoned.

In 1830 the company constructed a new reservoir, near the southeast corner of Wayne and Fort Streets, with a capacity of 21,870 gallons. Water pipes, made of wood with a three-inch bore, were laid from the river to Jefferson Avenue, and the new works went into service August 21, 1830. The water was pumped by means of a small engine located on the southwest corner of Jefferson and Cass Avenues. A year later a second reservoir, holding about 120,000 gallons, was built. The first reservoir remained in use until 1839, and the second one performed intermittent duty until as late as 1842. This company continued its operations in spite of the fact that the enterprise was carried on at a financial loss. But there were still complaints of an inadequate supply of water, and in 1836 a committee reported to the common council that the company had forfeited its rights and privileges, and that the grant had become null and void and reverted to the corporation. The city then took possession and paid the old company \$20,500 for its visible property.

UNDER CITY CONTROL

The city then for fifteen years ran the works, through committees of the common council, amidst complaints of mismanagement, inadequate supply, and an annual deficit in the treasury amounting for the period to \$85,125. At last, in 1852, the works were turned over to a board of five trustees and one year later, by legislative act, this board was renamed the board of water commissioners, was appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the common council. For nearly sixty years this board had charge of the water works. Under the city charter adopted in 1918 the appointment and removal of commissioners has rested with the mayor, without reference to the common council. The city has been fortunate in securing for membership upon this board eminent citizens who have served with zeal and good judgment and without compensation. During the forty-seven years after the board was created, it had only four presidents: Edmund A. Brush, who served twenty-six years; Alexander D. Fraser, three years; Chauncey Hurlbut, twelve years; and Jacob S. Farrand, six years. Mr. Hurlbut not only gave to the city unstinted and memorable service, but left to the board a considerable legacy, the income from which is expended in beautifying the

present water works grounds. Since the conclusion of Mr. Farrand's term as president in 1890, that office has generally gone from year to year to the commissioner whose term was the next to expire. Under the old system of control and management, there was constant complaint of an inadequate supply of water. But the new board, with wise foresight, generally kept ahead of demands and even ahead of popular appreciation of what the demand was likely to be. For only a short time in the last decade, then on account of the rapid growth of the city, has the capacity of the works and mains been short of the requirements.

There could hardly be a more striking illustration of the growth of Detroit than that furnished by a little exhibition of iron pipe at the north end of the water works building. In 1830 a pipe three inches in diameter carried the city's supply, and this served for ten years. In 1840, a ten-inch main was laid and this was sufficient for fourteen years. In 1854, a twenty-four-inch main was laid from the works on Orleans Street to Clinton, and in 1856 it was extended to the reservoir at Wilkins and Orleans Streets, a mile and half from the river. In 1875 the first forty-two-inch main was laid and the maximum of forty-eight inches was reached a few years later. The first iron pipes were laid in 1838, along Jefferson Avenue from Randolph to Woodward Avenue.

When the city first took over the water works system, purchase was made of "Antoine Dequindre of three water lots in front of the Dequindre farm, with a front of 350 feet on the river for \$5,500," and the work of building started immediately. In 1837, a year later, the building of the reservoir at the foot of Orleans Street was begun. This reservoir, or "round house" as it was called, was circular, fifty feet high in brick, with an additional twenty feet in wood. The iron tank inside was twenty feet high and sixty feet in diameter, and was in the upper part of the building; it had a capacity of 422,979 gallons. This reservoir was used until 1857, and then after three years' partial use was abandoned, and torn down in 1866. It is said that this old round house was copied by Noah Sutton from the old Manhattan Works of New York City.

Property upon the Mullett farm was purchased in 1851 as a site for an additional reservoir, but this action aroused so much opposition that after the water works came under the control of the board of commissioners this property was sold. In 1854 ten acres were bought on the Dequindre farm, a mile and a half from the river, and a new reservoir begun on the property. This reservoir, which was completed in 1860, was bounded by Wilkins, Calhoun, Riopelle and Dequindre Streets, and consisted of two basins enclosed by a thirty-foot, sloping clay embankment, 103 feet thick at the base and 15 feet wide at the top. Each of the two basins was 200 feet square at the top, 114 feet square at the bottom and $28\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. The capacity of the two basins was 9,000,000 gallons. In 1858 a new intake pipe was sunk, with the end 175 feet from the wharf-line and thus a better and cleaner supply of water could be obtained.

REMOVAL OF THE WORKS

In the early '70s, agitation commenced for the removal of the water works. The Orleans Street lot was too small for a second pumping station, which would soon be needed. There was danger of contamination of the water at that point by the construction of factories and sewer outlets above, and there was grave danger from fire, as the works were near lumber yards, and close by the Grand Trunk car shops which contained a large amount of inflammable material. The latter danger was emphasized by the destruction of the Chicago water works

in the great fire of 1871. Two years of warm discussion followed in the city and in the legislature, to which it was necessary to go for permissive legislation. In January, 1874, a tract of fifty-nine acres was purchased from Robert P. Toms. It extended from Jefferson Avenue to the river and was four miles from the city hall. To this an adjoining tract of forty acres has since been added and all compose the water works park as the city now knows it.

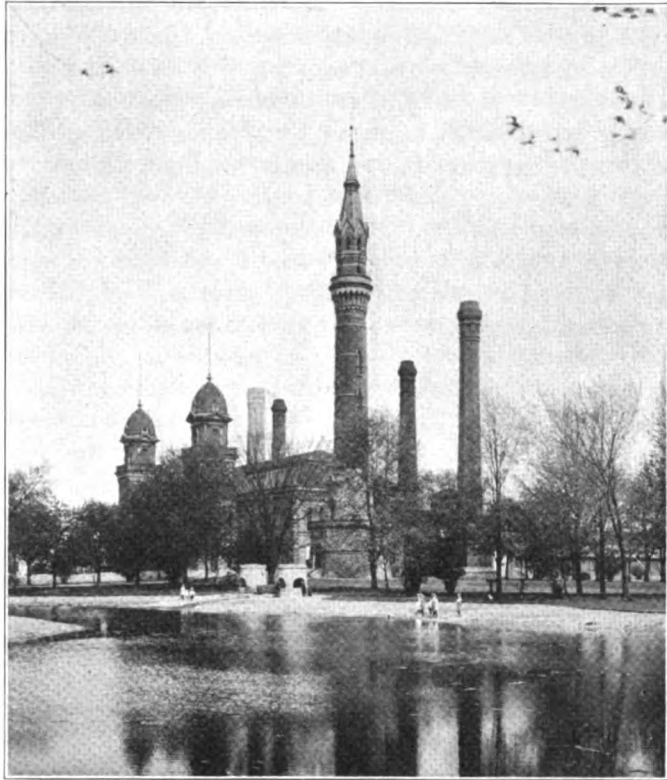
The first equipment here included a pumping station with two engines, boiler house, storage shed with navigable canal leading to it from the river for the transportation of coal, a settling basin 365 by 775 feet, and an intake pipe sixty inches in diameter and 1,100 feet in length, taking water from a depth of 22 feet. There was also a standpipe 124 feet high, encircled by a pressed brick tower. After a few years, the use of the latter was discontinued, the water being pumped directly into the mains.

The purchase of the new site was not without opposition, however, and the matter was not definitely settled until a formal report was made by investigators as to the desirability of the location. Work upon the new plant was begun in December, 1874 and completed in three years. Water was first supplied therefrom on December 15, 1877. There were, in the engine house at first, three engines, all designed by John E. Edwards. One of them was first used in 1877, having been built by the Detroit Locomotive Works; another was completed in 1881 at the Riverside Iron Works, and in 1885 the third was finished.

EXTENSIVE ENLARGEMENTS

In the subsequent period, enlargements have been made in every direction to keep up with the rapidly growing demands. A new intake tunnel was projected to a point above the head of Belle Isle, where the Detroit River leaves Lake St. Clair, the water there being twenty-eight feet deep. Pipe extensions were made in every direction, a second pumping station was built and several new engines added to the equipment. At the end of the fiscal year 1918, there were in operation three engines with a capacity of 24,000,000 gallons of water daily, three with 25,000,000 gallon capacity and four that pump 30,000,000 gallons each, a total daily capacity of 267,000,000 gallons. Two additional engines, each with a daily capacity of 37,000,000 gallons, were ordered that year, to be completed as soon as war conditions would permit. The total quantity of water pumped was nearly 53,000,000,000 gallons, of which over one-half was metered. The meter service has since been extended so as to cover more than nine-tenths of the system. Notwithstanding a large increase in population, the amount of water pumped fell off the next year over 4,000,000,000 gallons, but a year later mounted over the 55,000,000,000 point. The distributing system according to recent figures, includes 1,328 miles of pipe, of all sizes ranging up to 48-inch mains. The number of service connections in 1919 was 154,207, which number has since been proportionately increased. These figures seem very large when compared with the statistics of earlier years. In 1853 water was supplied to 4,283 families, there were $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles of pipes, and during that year there were 303,531,743 gallons pumped. By 1880, there were 33,904 families using water, 10,576,571,254 gallons were pumped and there were 301 miles of piping. The meter rate of water to the consumer is \$1 for the first 1,000 cubic feet per quarter, 50 cents per 1,000 for the next 3,000, and 35 cents per 1,000 for all additional.

The first expenditure for the present water works site was \$35,000, paid for



WATER WORKS PARK

the land, which sum seems insignificant when one considers that the total value of the whole system is approximately \$18,000,000. The value of the land, buildings and pumping plant is placed at \$2,649,600.

In the operation of the Detroit system of water supply, the city has been divided into low and high pressure districts. The low pressure district embraces all territory below a contour line approximately forty feet above the level of the Detroit River, and the high pressure district everything between the forty and the sixty foot contours. The pressures maintained at the pumping stations average forty-seven pounds for the low service and sixty-five pounds for the high service, resulting in an average pressure of about thirty pounds at the ultimate points of distribution at normal stages.

The water supply is taken in at an intake crib in the Detroit River near the upper end of Belle Isle, 3,200 feet southeastwardly from water works park, and flows thence through a 10-foot diameter brick tunnel to the shore shaft, whence it is distributed either into the settling basin, or through the by-pass conduits into the various conduits leading to the water galleries of the pumping stations. At the shore shaft the water is treated with chlorine gas as a disinfectant, in proportions of from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of liquid chlorine to a million gallons of water, or in the ratio of 0.2 to 0.3 part of chlorine to 1,000,000 parts of water. The result of the disinfecting treatment has been the reduction of bacteria from an average of 187 per cubic centimeter in the river water to 14 in the treated effluent, and a reduction of 86% in B. Coli. After the chlorine treatment, the water flows normally through the so-called settling basin to the several conduits, and through four screen-houses with wire screens of $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch mesh, and thence to the water galleries and suction pipes of the pumps. Thence the water is forced by the pumps through four 48-inch and five 42-inch mains into all the branches of the distribution system.

During the year 1919, plans were matured for the installation of a complete filtration system, and a bond issue of \$12,000,000 to cover its cost was submitted to the people at an election in August, 1920, and carried. The question of filtration is one of the principal municipal subjects now before the people of Detroit and it is not amiss in this connection to publish an authoritative article upon this topic. Detroit will eventually have one of the best and most complete filtration plants in the world and it is of interest to Detroiters to know the history of the filtration idea, as well as the local conditions and the Detroit plant.

FILTRATION AND THE DETROIT FILTER PLANT

BY THEODORE A. LEISEN

The purification of public water supplies has become a subject of paramount importance in the minds of sanitarians and others interested in municipal welfare because of the rapidly increasing tendency towards concentration of urban population and manufacturing industries, with the consequent increase in pollution of the water ways which necessarily serve as the source of water supplies for most communities.

While the desirability of a pure and wholesome supply of water for domestic consumption always has been recognized theoretically, yet practical efforts to obtain it had not been conspicuously evident in many of the growing municipalities of this country until the latter part of the Nineteenth Century.

Cities bordering on the Great Lakes were particularly fortunate in having had a provisional solution for their water problems in the past, as by frequent

extensions of their intake pipes or tunnels they have managed to preserve a reasonably unpolluted water supply, but less favorably situated eastern and interior cities, dependent solely for their supply upon the waters of rivers on which they border,—rivers foully contaminated with the sewage and industrial wastes of towns located farther up the streams, and in some cases even by their own sewage—had recourse only to storage and sedimentation as a partial and inadequate remedy for minimizing the polluted condition of the water until filtration was presented as a panacea for this particular evil.

It was astounding to see with what apparent equanimity and even apathy the inhabitants viewed this growing menace to the health of the communities, and even more surprising to note the opposition which the earlier advocates of filtration of public water supplies encountered from the laymen as well as from the medical fraternity, and it was only by a protracted campaign of education that some communities were finally convinced of the benefits and efficacy of filtration as a practical sanitary and aesthetic solution of their water supply troubles.

DEVELOPMENT OF FILTRATION

Before taking up the description of the Detroit filtration plant it may be of interest to touch briefly on the early development of filters for municipal water supplies and furnish some data showing the sanitary results attained by the adoption of water purification works:

Eliminating any special reference to the earlier sporadic attempts at methods and processes designed to clarify water, it may be stated that filtration as applied to public water supplies apparently had its incipience in 1829 at East Chelsea, London, England, when upon recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Metropolitan Water Supply, the Chelsea Water Company constructed and placed in operation the first filter plant of which there is authentic record. In 1849 England suffered from a cholera epidemic, and the theory was then first advanced that cholera was a water-borne disease, and the epidemic directly traceable to polluted water. A few years later an act of Parliament compelled the London Metropolitan District to filter its entire water supply, thereby stamping the system with official approval.

Development of water filtration both in England and on the Continent was very gradual and many scientists remained skeptical of its merits as an effective means of safeguarding the public against water-borne diseases, but the severe cholera epidemic in Hamburg in 1892 brought such convincing proof of its efficacy that further controversion of the self-evident fact was futile. During that year Hamburg, one of the few German cities having an unfiltered water supply, lost 8,605 persons by death from cholera, while Altona and Wandsbeck, separated from Hamburg by only imaginary boundaries, but having filtered water supplies, remained comparatively free from the disease. The death rates per hundred thousand of the three sister cities during the epidemic were—Hamburg, 13,440; Altona, 2,300; and Wandsbeck, 2,200. Along one street which forms the boundary between Hamburg and Altona, cholera was rampant on the Hamburg side, whereas the Altona side was free from it, and the only difference was that Altona had a filtered water supply. Many later incidents confirmed the evidence furnished by the Hamburg case, but none was more convincing.

The earliest serious effort towards investigating the subject of filtration of

public water supplies with a view to its adoption in this country was made in 1866 when Mr. James C. Kirkwood was commissioned by the City of St. Louis to make a study of European filters, and report on the desirability of the application of the principle to the Mississippi River water. His report published in 1869 was the first important treatise on the subject issued in the United States. Fortunately his recommendations were not accepted, as the water at St. Louis could not have been successfully treated by the type of filter then in use in Europe,—the slow sand filter. It is interesting to note that fifty years elapsed before St. Louis actually installed its filter plant, although for several years its water supply was greatly improved by coagulation and sedimentation.

CLASSIFICATION OF FILTERS

Broadly speaking, filters are divided into two classes:—slow sand and mechanical or rapid sand filters, the latter type being a development of this country, and the solution of the treatment of our highly turbid waters, which the older slow sand type never could have handled successfully.

The slow sand type, as the name implies, is operated at a very slow rate, averaging less than four million gallons per acre per day. The rapid sand filters are commonly operated at a rate of from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five million gallons per acre, and later experiments have shown that with some waters this can be increased to one hundred and eighty million gallons per acre. Both types use sand as a filtering medium, but the typifying characteristics of the rapid sand filter are first:—the preparatory treatment of the water before it reaches the sand bed, and second:—the method of washing the filters. In the slow sand filters the water is conveyed to the sand beds without any previous treatment except such as may be afforded by plain subsidence, where storage reservoirs exist. With the rapid sand method a coagulating medium, usually aluminum sulphate or sulphate of iron is employed to assist and hasten sedimentation, mixing chambers and coagulation basins being integral parts of the filter plant. The coagulant which is introduced into the water before it reaches the mixing chamber is immediately decomposed by combination with the alkaline constituents usually present in the water (or artificially supplied when lacking) forming a gelatinous precipitate known as aluminum hydrate or hydroxide of iron, according to the coagulating medium used, which has a tendency to unite the minute particles of suspended matter into masses or “floo” and coincidentally, enmeshing the bacteria. These combined masses of matter are quickly precipitated in the passage of the water through the coagulation basins where it flows under reduced velocity, the percentage or reduction in these basins being determined by the length of the period of subsidence allowed. On an average probably fifty percent settles out in the coagulation basins, and the residue is deposited on the upper surface of the filter beds as the water filters through the sand. The combined action of coagulation and filtering usually removed practically one hundred percent of the turbidity, and about ninety-nine percent of the bacteria.

All filter beds become clogged after passing a given quantity of water, the total quantity passed being governed by the condition of the raw water. Usually a filter will pass from fifty to two hundred million gallons per acre before the clogging creates a prohibitive loss of head. Slow sand filters are cleaned by scraping off a thin upper layer of the sand which has become impregnated with an accumulation of sediment. Rapid sand filters are washed by reversing the

flow of filtered water, which, bubbling up from the bottom, holds the finer sand practically in suspension, washing off the adhering coagulum and mud, which overflows into the wash water troughs, and is conveyed thence to the sewer.

The relative merits of slow sand and rapid sand filters was a subject of ardent controversial discussion among sanitarians during the earlier stages of filter development, but in the last ten years the rapid sand type has forged to the front, and today over seventy-five per cent of the filtered water delivered to American municipalities is furnished through the medium of rapid sand filters. The plans for the Detroit plant provide for the rapid type.

FILTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The first municipal filter in the United States was built at Poughkeepsie, New York in 1874,—an uncovered slow sand type, of crude construction, with a capacity of three million gallons daily and was followed two years later by a similar plant at Hudson, New York.

During the decade following, a few small filters, some of the slow sand type, and some of the enclosed pressure type, were installed but it was not until after 1892, following the publication of the exhaustive experiments on filtration by the Massachusetts State Board of Health, and the subsequent construction of the slow sand filters at Lawrence, Massachusetts, that the art of filtration became a real and recognized issue in this country, and this period marks the inception of a rapid and progressive increase in the population supplied with filtered water. In 1890 there were approximately but 300,000 people supplied with filtered water, while at present there are over twenty million inhabitants of the United States enjoying the benefits of filtered water supplies; and as a natural sequence, the typhoid fever death rate per 100,000 of urban population decreased from 48 in 1890 to 13 in 1917.

HYGIENIC RESULTS

As evidence of the direct effect of pure water on reducing typhoid fever, the following data are submitted, giving statistics of the average typhoid fever death rates of a few of the large cities for periods of several years before, and several years subsequent to the introduction of filtered water:—

AVERAGE TYPHOID FEVER DEATH RATE PER 100,000

	Before Filtration	After Filtration	Percentage of Reduction
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	54	10	81%
Columbus, Ohio.....	83	16	80%
Louisville, Kentucky.....	58	17	71%
Lawrence, Massachusetts.....	122	17	86%
Minneapolis, Minnesota.....	35	4	88%
New Orleans, Louisiana.....	40	23	43%
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.....	63	20	68%
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.....	120	18	85%
Hamburg, Germany.....	51	9	87%

The water supply of Detroit is remarkably good when the conditions surrounding its source are taken into consideration, but its turbidity periodically is far greater than aesthetic taste would desire and its bacterial content, while not high in numbers, evidences frequent indications of colon bacillus before chlorine is

introduced. Typhoid fever is well under control, the typhoid death rate being comparatively low, and it is improbable that any very great number of cases could be traced directly to the drinking water and no such high percentage of reduction can be expected in this city with the advent of filtered water, as has been shown in other localities mentioned where the prior conditions were so much worse, but it is fallacious to state, as has been claimed, that none of the typhoid cases emanate from the drinking water and that in consequence filtration will not improve the conditions. In 1914 hypochlorite was resorted to as a germicidal medium, followed a year later by chlorine gas, and this treatment has been continued uninterruptedly to the present time, and despite the objections to the occasional taste imparted to the water, and jocular criticism of the chlorine highball, this treatment, although a poor substitute for filtration, must be given credit for its part in assisting to maintain the high health standard of Detroit. Reasonably conclusive evidence of this is shown by the health statistics. The average typhoid fever death rate was 22 per hundred thousand of population for eight years previous to 1914, while from 1914 to date, the period during which chlorine was used, the average was 11 per hundred thousand. It is apparent therefore, that the raw river water does present a menace to the health of the City.

DETROIT FILTRATION PLANT

The question of filtering the water for Detroit has been agitated for several years, but as in the case of many other communities it encountered considerable opposition, due largely to a lack of true knowledge of the conditions, or a proper conception of the attainable results, and in some cases possibly to that innate spirit of conservatism which decries every innovation. The experimental filter constructed in 1917 was a potent factor in educating the public to the possibilities of filtration and in demonstrating the difference between a clear sparkling filtered water and the unfiltered tap water. When the question was presented to the public in August of this year, the vote on the bond issue,—one half of which was for the express purpose of constructing a filtration plant—was overwhelmingly in its favor, and in consequence filtered water for Detroit soon will become an assured fact.

A general plan for the proposed filtration plant was prepared by the writer in 1916-17, founded on a careful study of existing works in their relation to the proposed plant, particularly with reference to the utilization of the Low Lift Pumping Station as a booster station pending completion of the filters, and based on the theory, then advanced, that Detroit River water could be successfully treated at a much higher rate than had been attempted previously—a rate of from 160 million to 180 million gallons per acre having been advocated as feasible. The installation of the experimental filter was recommended solely to test this hypothesis and the results obtained through the operation of the plant have fully demonstrated the soundness of this theory.

EXPERIMENTAL RESULTS

Without attempting to enter into a detailed statement of daily or monthly results obtained by the test filter, it seems advisable to submit in the briefest manner possible a resume of the salient points deduced, and the average of one year's operation,— January to December 1919 inclusive,—is selected for this

purpose. During the period under consideration the test filter was operated at rates varying from 154 to 208 million gallons per acre per day, the average rate being 170 million and while positive conclusions cannot be drawn, there were indications that the highest rate was getting beyond the limits of conservative safety. The following tabulation gives the average results of one year's operation in concise form:

	River Water	Filtered Water	Percentage of Removal	
	Max.	Aver.	Average	
Turbidity—parts per million	380	38	0.0	100%
Bacteria—Agar 37°—24 hrs. per C. C.	270	23	2.8	88%
Bacteria—Agar 20°—48 hrs. per C. C.	3100	167	13.0	80%
Bacteria—Gelatine 20°—48 hrs. per C. C.	2900	167	18.0	90%
B. Coli per 100 tests of 10 C. C.		18.3	1.3	93%

The use of agar at body temperature as a culture medium is supposed to be restrictive in its action, limiting the results to indications of pathogenic and intestinal bacteria, while the other media will indicate all the saprophyte organisms which are normal to water, but not toxic. The colon bacillus group would include typhoid germs, but is not necessarily proof of their existence.

It should be noted that the results recorded were obtained without the use of any sterilizing agency, and in all probability the added application of chlorine in quantities too minute to be perceptible would have given a final efficiency approximating one hundred per cent. The proposed Filtration Plant is expected to produce results at least equal to the experimental one.

FINAL FILTER PLANS

During the absence of the writer for a period of nearly two years certain general plans were prepared and a report submitted covering a complete filtration plant. Upon returning to the problem, after said absence, the original plans prepared in 1916-17 were again investigated and carefully compared, from the viewpoint of construction as well as operation, and the conclusion reached that these original plans provided for a more compact, more economical and more workable plant than was possible by any of the other plans which had been prepared and submitted in the interim, and in consequence the original plans have been adhered to in practically every detail except where equipment previously ordered necessitated a change.

The general design of the new filtration plant is divided into three separate structures, first: the Low Lift Pumping Station; second, the Coagulation Basin, Filter Beds and Wash Water Tanks all combined under one roof; and third, the Filtered Water Reservoir.

The proposed filter for Detroit will be the largest single rapid sand filtration plant in the world. The plans in their entirety contemplate a plant having a daily filtering capacity of from 320 million to 360 million gallons, with provisions for meeting peak loads of short duration up to a 400 million gallon rate. No provision has been planned for any future extensions to the filter because when the average daily consumption approximates 300 million gallons, the limits of capacity of the intake tunnel and the pumping equipment, as well as the filter plant, will have been reached, and any further development on the present site would be injudicious if not impossible.

LOW LIFT PUMPING STATION

The Low Lift Pumping Station which now is under construction is 63 feet by 175 feet located immediately over the ten foot diameter intake conduit, the latter being torn out for the full length of the station. The water will flow from the conduit into the screen chamber at the southerly end of the station where seven electrically operated revolving screens, each 6 feet wide by 25 feet high from base to normal river level will serve to intercept all coarse floating material and ice formation, provision being made for cleaning the screens while in operation. The screening element is composed of copper wire 14 B. W. gauge, three meshes to the inch, which leaves clear openings about one quarter inch square, and provides a clear water way through the screens in the ratio of seven to one of the cross sectional area of the intake conduit. From the screen chamber the water will flow into the suction well 26 feet wide by 11 feet deep directly under the floor of the pumping station.

The station will be equipped with five motor operated centrifugal pumps having a combined capacity of 465 million gallons, designed to deliver water to the mixing chamber of the coagulation basin against a head of about thirty feet. Arrangements have been made to utilize this station as a Booster Station to furnish water to the suction pipes of pumping engines in the old station should a combination of extremely high consumption and low river water make such service necessary prior to completion of the filter plant. The engine floor will be 20 feet below ground level, a broad balcony extending around the station at the entrance level.

FILTERS

The Filtration works proper are all under one roof in a structure 480 feet wide by 810 feet long, with a three story building at the center of the north end which forms the main entrance to the filters, and constitutes the tower for the wash water tanks, providing also space for the chemical and bacteriological laboratory and other offices. Immediately south of the entrance building are the filter beds occupying a space 480 feet by 270 feet and south of these the coagulation basins, with the mixing chamber and chemical feed and storage space between.

The mixing chamber is considerably smaller in proportion to the capacity of the plant than those which have been provided in most recent filter installations, but is designed to provide thorough and rapid mixing at high velocities, by means of a diversified system of baffles. The chamber is 18 feet wide and 240 feet long, covered for the greater portion of its length so the water may start through it under a slight pressure. Alternate sets of vertical and horizontal baffles are placed throughout the full length of the channel, and as the coagulant solution is introduced where the water flows in from the low lift station, the result will be a perfect admixture by the time the coagulation basins are reached.

Chemical bins and mixing apparatus and chemical storage space are provided above the mixing chamber, dry feed chemical mixers being used instead of large solution tanks.

The coagulation basin which is divided into two equal parts, covers a space 480 feet wide by 525 feet long, and has a total capacity of 30 million gallons, providing a subsidence period of over two hours when the whole filter is operated at its maximum rate. During cleaning periods, which probably will not occur more than once a year, one section of the basin will be closed off while the other section remains in operation.

Each section of the coagulation basin is divided for the greater portion of its length by a baffle wall, so that the coagulated water flows at a low velocity a distance equal to twice the length of the basin. The bottoms are sloped to low points where mud valves permit slushing the accumulated sediment into the sewer.

On account of prevailing low winter temperatures, the coagulating basin will be covered and a steel trussed roof type of construction was adopted as affording a better opportunity for observation of coagulating effects, and also permitting a more pleasing architectural treatment at no additional cost. This arrangement makes the external elevation of both filters and coagulation basins practically the same.

Between the coagulation basin and the filter beds there extends a coagulated water conduit for the full width of the structure from which the coagulated water flows into each of the conduits feeding a double tier of eight filter beds.

The filter consists of eighty beds each having 1088 square feet effective sand area, divided into five double rows of eight beds with a pipe gallery between each double row, the operating floor forming the cover for the pipe galleries. Each bed is one-fortieth of an acre, and has a filtering capacity of four million gallons daily at 160 million gallon rate or four and one half million gallons at 180 million gallon rate. The filter is covered with a steel trussed roof, having continuous raised monitors over the operating galleries, thereby affording provision for ample light and ventilation.

Arrangements for sterilization through the medium of liquid chlorine is provided in a space over one of the filter beds on the westerly side where, if found necessary, chlorine can be introduced at the end of the main filtered water collector before it enters the filtered water reservoir.

All water conduits up to the point where the water is delivered on to the filter beds through 24 inch gate valves are of concrete, and in the design of these the effort has been to convey the coagulated water to the beds with the least disturbance possible to prevent the breaking up of the "floc." All conduits for the collection of the filtered water and its conveyance to the filtered water reservoir are of concrete also.

The wash water troughs are of cast iron, 34 feet long, extending from the rear end of the filter bed to the wash water channel at the front or gallery end of the beds, and supported at the centre from a beam, which forms a walk across the middle of the beds.

The strainer system will be a manifold system of cast iron pipes, branching from two main cast iron collecting pipes built partially into the concrete bottom. The type of strainers, whether perforated pipes or strainer cups, will be determined later, depending upon the results of some investigations as well as upon the economic aspect of the situation.

Each filter bed has separate control, manipulated from an operating table placed opposite each bed and directly above the pipe gallery. All valves are hydraulically operated, but the large sluice gates will have motor control.

The filtrate from each bed flows through a rate controller into the filtered water conduits under the pipe gallery floor, which in turn empty into the main filtered water collector which traverses the building from east to west under the filter beds and pipe galleries and across the north end of the Low Lift Pumping Station into the Filtered Water Reservoir.

The filtering medium will consist of about 14 inches of gravel placed around

and above the strainer system, in even layers varying in size from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch at the bottom to 1-10 inch at the top. Over this will be spread 24 to 26 inches of sand 0.40 to 0.90 millimeters, having a uniformity coefficient of 1.6 to 1.7 and an effective size of 0.40 to 0.50.

FILTERED WATER RESERVOIR

The filtered water reservoir, which will occupy the site of the existing settling basin, will be an all concrete structure with flat slab reinforced concrete floor and roof, the latter supported on concrete columns. The roof will be covered with earth and sodded or seeded to form an addition to the park area to be utilized either for tennis courts or other recreational purposes. The reservoir when full will contain forty million gallons, and will serve as a balancing factor to meet the fluctuating conditions of consumption without disturbing the rate of filtration.

GENERAL CONSTRUCTION

Owing to the unstable nature of the soil the whole filter structure will have to be supported on a pile foundation, this portion of the work now being under construction. A number of test piles were driven, and borings made, and the information derived therefrom proved conclusively that piling would be necessary under all portions of the structure. As the greater portion of the filter foundation is above low water level of the river, concrete piles were called for, and the contract was awarded for "Raymond" piles, a type in which a tapering steel shell is first driven, and the shell poured with concrete. As the work progressed it was found that the character of the sub-soil changed radically in comparatively short distances. In some instances piles less than thirty feet long gave ample bearing values, while at points twenty-five feet distant forty foot piles did not attain that degree of stability considered requisite to the proper support of the superimposed load.

As the limit of length of the Raymond pile is about thirty-eight feet, it became necessary to furnish some substitute, and composite piles are being used in all areas when a penetration of thirty-eight feet shows insufficient stability. The composite pile consists of a wooden pile 45 to 55 feet in length which is driven first, and is followed by fifteen feet of concrete pile, the connection between the two sections being formed by a tenon nine inches diameter and eighteen inches long turned on the head of the wooden pile and the insertion of four five-eighth inch twisted steel rods driven into the head of the pile to a depth of twenty inches and projecting up into the concrete eighteen inches. The result is a pile having a total length of from sixty to seventy feet with the wooden portion well below the water line.

All the filtration structures are of reinforced concrete up to the water level in the coagulation basin and filter beds. The super-structure will be of face brick and the exposed concrete walls will be veneered with brick in order to produce a pleasing exterior.

CONCLUSION

In view of the phenomenally rapid growth of Detroit and vicinity it is impossible to predict with any degree of accuracy what the future will require, but before the average consumption approaches the stated quantity of 300,000,000 gallons, a new intake crib and tunnel farther up the shore of Lake St. Clair with a long gravity conduit and pumping stations in the northerly

and northwesterly part of the city and a second filtration plant somewhere between the intake and the first pumping station probably will be the solution.

Discussion has been rife for years in advocacy of going to Lake Huron for the source of supply, but a casual investigation confirms the self-evident fact that the cost of execution of such a project would be out of all proportion to the benefits derived. With an ample supply of water in close proximity to the city, which can be purified by means of filtration at a very small fraction of the expense that would be entailed in bringing the supply from Lake Huron, it would seem almost futile to argue the question, and any engineer who would seriously advocate the Lake Huron scheme, would of necessity expose himself to the probability of merited adverse criticism, particularly as no saving in operating expenses can be effected as pumpage costs would be the same, or possibly greater.

INTRODUCTION OF GAS

Before the days of gas manufacture, Detroit passed through all the lighting experience of wax tapers, tallow dips, star and stearine candles, whale and lard oil, camphene and burning fluid and, at a later period, commencing in 1861, went extensively into the use of kerosene. Silas Farmer wrote that in 1850, over a year before gas was manufactured elsewhere, H. R. Johnson made gas for his hotel at the foot of Third Street. The first gas company was organized in 1849, but did not put its product upon the market until two years later. The first company was called the City of Detroit Gaslight Company, but was reorganized in 1851 as the Detroit Gaslight Company and under that and other names has been in continuous operation ever since. In September, 1851, the streets were for the first time lighted with gas. The works were located on the north side of Woodbridge Street, between Fifth and Sixth. In 1867 new works were erected at the foot of Twenty-first Street. In 1871 an opposition company, called the Mutual Gaslight Company, was incorporated and built works on the eastern river front near Meldrum Avenue. The usual result of this kind of competition followed, with streets torn up for two sets of pipes, and with uncertainty as to future prices of the product. For a time the consumers prospered. The old company had been charging \$3.50 per thousand feet for its product, but with the advent of the new company it came down to \$2.50. As competition became keener, there were progressive reductions until the price came down to 50 cents a thousand as the standard, while the city and a few favored customers paid 10 cents. This sort of competition was, of course, ruinous, and the companies came to a "gentlemen's agreement," under which the Mutual Company was to supply all customers east of Woodward Avenue and the City Company all west of that thoroughfare. Rates went up again and the complaints of the people also went up against poor gas and a high price. Then natural gas from the Ohio fields came into use and a new company was organized to supply that product, which remained largely in use until 1893, when the pressure began to fail. About this time Mayor Pingree took a hand in the business in the interest of the public. On a fairly well sustained charge that the two artificial gas companies were violating the ordinance under which they were operating, he practically forced a consolidation. The price of gas for lighting was reduced from \$1.50 a thousand to \$1.00 net, and gas for fuel to 80 cents. Provision was made for further reductions as the consumption increased. Under this provision, the price has since been

reduced to 79 cents net for small consumers, and lower rates for those using large amounts. At present the company supplies gas for light, power and numerous other uses under the name of the Detroit City Gas Company. The company is constantly expanding in every direction to meet the growth of the city and the needs of the increased number of consumers.

EXPERIMENTS IN STREET LIGHTING

The advisability of lighting the streets for the safety and convenience of the citizens was first broached in 1827, but it took eight years to devise and perfect a plan. This involved the use of twenty sperm oil lamps, which number was soon afterwards increased to forty. Interest in the matter soon subsided and after three months the lamps were allowed to go out. The use of naphtha lamps for the streets was next tried in 1877. The combination of the naphtha and gas lights supplied the needs of the city for over thirty years, or until electricity began to come into use.

The Brush Electric Light Company was incorporated in 1880 by Wells W. Leggett, George N. Chase, and William M. Porter. The company was reorganized in December, 1881. A small dynamo was set up in the Free Press basement and current supplied to a few subscribers on lower Woodward Avenue—about fifteen lights in all. In 1882 a franchise was granted to the Brush Electric Light Company to construct lines in the streets, and in June of that year the company proposed to light the central portion of the city at 50 cents per lamp per night, as per moonlight schedule. Up to this time the gas and naphtha lights had been put out whenever the moon was timed to rise, even if the sky was so cloudy that the moon could not be seen. For that year the influence of the gas company, with that of a host of lamplighters and their friends, and the natural hesitation about entering into a comparatively untried method of street lighting, led to a rejection of the Brush Company's proposal and gas and naphtha still glimmered in the streets. The Brush Company put up one tower in Cass Park, as an object lesson, and the next year renewed its proposition.

The board of aldermen again voted in favor of the gas and naphtha method, but the city council, which then constituted an upper house of the city legislative body, amended the resolution so as to provide that Woodward Avenue, from Adams Avenue to the river, and Jefferson Avenue from Third to Brush, should be lighted by electricity. The amendment was concurred in, and the Brush company placed in this district twenty-four electric lights, displacing 116 gas lamps. The contrast between this section of the city and others was so marked that the next year, 1884, the Brush Company was awarded the contract for lighting the whole city, agreeing "to erect seventy-two towers, six not less than 104 feet in height, employing 300 arc lamps of 2,000 candle power each, including ten lights to be distributed at certain points in the City Hall and Central Market building."

In one respect the company went beyond its contract, for the tower in front of the city hall was about one hundred and ninety feet high, and that at the postoffice corner on Griswold Street was 172 feet. There was some complaint afterwards that the tower lamps "lighted the heavens but not the streets." Nevertheless, they were popular and they were showy. To one approaching the city, especially by water, the appearance of these brilliant clusters of lights glinting over the city was exceedingly striking. They gave Detroit the reputa-

tion, through a long period, of being the best lighted city in the country. They were in use to some extent for over thirty years, but as improvements were made in arm and mast lighting, the towers were gradually displaced.

The contract was let to the Brush Electric Light Company from year to year until 1890, when that company was under-bid by the Detroit Electric Light & Power Company, organized in 1889 by William B. Morgan, George H. Hammond, Jr., Joseph B. Moore, Andrew Hair, G. E. Fisher, W. H. Fitzgerald, George M. Vail and others. The latter company was not able to make an arrangement for use of the towers of the former, but had to build new ones, so that for several years following on many of the street corners the city was treated to the sight of two towers diagonally opposite each other, one with lights and the other without. During the period of private lighting the number of street lamps increased from 24 to 1,279. The annual cost per light varied from \$129 to \$240.

BEGINNING OF MUNICIPAL LIGHTING

Frequent complaints about the service, the varying cost and the feeling that the city might sometime be at the mercy of a combination between the two companies lent force to the agitation that Mayor Pingree commenced in 1890 in favor of a municipally owned plant. His recommendations bore fruit and the legislature of 1893 passed an act providing for the appointment of a board of six public lighting commissioners, providing that the city might contract for the lighting of the streets for any period not exceeding three years, or that it might purchase lands or erect buildings, and direct the commissioners to establish a plant for public lighting, but forbidding it to engage in private or commercial lighting, and requiring also that, before establishing a plant, the question should be submitted to the vote of the electors.

In accordance with this act commissioners were appointed and the question was submitted at the election April 3, 1893. The vote was 15,282 in favor of the plan and 1,245 against. Following this the council authorized the issue of \$300,000 in bonds, land was purchased at the foot of Randolph Street and a commencement was made on the present public lighting plant. It provides for lighting the streets, parks and boulevards, the public school houses and all other municipal buildings. Its street equipment at the time of its latest report included eighty-eight miles of conduits, 1,656 miles of copper wire strung on 34,777 poles. It had a total of 10,375 arc lights in operation with a record for the year of 22,672,250 hours at the switchboard and a cash cost of operation of \$432,556.

THE EDISON PLANT

In the diversity and magnitude of its operations the Detroit Edison Company far outranks the Public Lighting Plant. Its history, together with that of its predecessors to whose business it succeeded is, in brief, as follows: The Edison Illuminating Company was organized April 15, 1886, for the purpose, among other things, of operating the Edison system of direct current lighting and power. It began in November, 1886, to deliver current through an underground network of tubes serving the central business area of the city. The direct-current service was later extended northward, covering an area, having Woodward Avenue as its center line, approximately four miles long and one mile wide.

The Peninsular Electric Light Company was formed on June 17, 1898, as a reorganization of a company of the same name incorporated June 16, 1891, which was the successor of the Brush Electric Light Company. This company began in September, 1881, to operate a series of arc-lighting circuits connected to lamps hung outside of stores on lower Woodward Avenue. In 1883 it contracted with the city for street lighting according to the Brush system. In 1891 the Peninsular Electric Light Company, succeeding the Brush Company, began the supply of incandescent lighting by alternating currents. In 1898, the Peninsular Electric Light Company, as reorganized, came under the same management as the Edison company and began the extension of its lines, supplying single-phase and three-phase alternating current for all purposes throughout the urban area and into adjacent villages; the Edison company continuing to serve the central district with direct current.

In 1903 the Detroit Edison Company was incorporated under the laws of New York for the purpose, among other things, of engaging in the manufacture, distribution and sale of electricity in the City of Detroit and elsewhere. Under this authority it absorbed the two companies mentioned, together with some minor interests, and has expanded its operations through three different developments, the Detroit electric properties, the Eastern Michigan electric properties and the rights of certain steam-heating properties, namely, the Central Heating Plant, a subsidiary company. Under the first of these it serves the City of Detroit with commercial lighting and power, and with the second it renders the same service in the cities of Monroe, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Mount Clemens and Marine City and numerous villages in the intervening territory. The electric service covers an area of 740 square miles with a population of a million and a quarter. In the outside cities mentioned it supplies factory power, and lights the streets as well as household and business places. In these, as well as in Port Huron and Pontiac, it supplies power for the local electric railways. In Detroit it supplies all the lighting except that done by the municipal and private plants, supplies sixty per cent of the factories with power, and furnishes a large part of the current of the electric railway system.

For supplying the current the company has extensive water power developed on the Huron River, and power plants in the Delray and Connor's Creek districts of Detroit. The output of the Detroit power houses alone in 1917 was 672,200,600 kilowatt hours. Ten years earlier it was just about one-eleventh as large. The property of the company is valued at \$65,000,000. The new service building, ten stories in height and costing \$2,500,000, located on Second Avenue between Beech and Elizabeth, was occupied early in 1921. In 1920 the company took over the electric lighting plants in River Rouge, St. Clair and Oxford, which had been municipal affairs. A new million-dollar heating plant, the third unit in the down town heating facilities owned by the Detroit Edison Company, has recently been constructed at the southeast corner of Congress and Cass. The other two units are located on Farmer Street and Park Place.

TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICE

The use of the telegraph first came to the attention of Detroit in 1845, when lectures were given in September by one Dr. Boynton, at the Presbyterian session-room. Late in the following year, Ezra Cornell, having constructed a line of telegraph from Baltimore to Washington for Professor Morse, to-

gether with J. J. Speed, Jr., contracted with the owners of the patent to extend a line from Buffalo to Milwaukee, also taking in the principal towns on the Great Lakes. The contractors came to Detroit in the winter of 1846-47 and made this their headquarters. Subscriptions were obtained which insured the success of the enterprise and the first wire of the "Speed" line, as it was called, was placed in commission between Detroit and Ypsilanti on November 29, 1847. The office was in the rear of the second story of the building owned by Mr. Newberry, northeast corner Jefferson and Cass Avenues. In the winter of 1848 the line reached Chicago. The company, which became known as the Erie and Michigan Line, had several locations immediately afterward.

A line projected by Henry O'Reilly, and named for him, was completed between Detroit and Buffalo on March 1, 1848, and on that same date the first New York message was received. The third line, called the Snow Line, built by Josiah and William D. Snow, was built to Chicago by way of Monroe.

After this, for a period of eight years, the companies changed names frequently and entered into litigation with each other which eventually resulted in a compromise or consolidation. The name of the new organization was the Western Union Telegraph Company and the date of its establishment was April 4, 1856. The office of the new company was at first located at 52 Griswold Street, but was often moved afterwards.

On July 16, 1857, the first telegraph cable was laid across the Detroit River. On August 16 and 17, 1858, following a premature celebration on the fifth, the completion of the Atlantic cable was acclaimed by the citizens in customary fashion—parades, bonfires, dancing, music and speech-making.

In 1863, the United States Telegraph Company built into Michigan, but became a part of the Western Union three years later. The Atlantic and Pacific Line was built from Toledo to Detroit in 1868. The American Union Line was established here in 1880. In February, 1881, all the companies represented in Detroit consolidated. In 1881, during the summer, the Mutual Union Company came in, but was sold to the Western Union in 1883. The Bankers and Merchants Telegraph Line opened in 1884, was reorganized as the United Lines Company in 1885. In 1883 an organization known as the Michigan Postal Telegraph Company was organized. The district telegraph system was inaugurated at Detroit in 1875 by a stock company formed for that purpose.

The Postal Telegraph-Cable Company was organized in New York in 1886 and an office opened in Detroit in 1887, with six employes. Quarters were secured in the rear of Ives & Sons bank on Griswold Street.

The way for the most modern of public utilities, the telephone, was prepared in this city by a two years' experience with the American District Telegraph. The latter company was organized in the winter of 1875-6 and the following spring strung wires and placed many signal boxes in the business part of the city, thus establishing the value of a means of speedy and direct local communication by messengers. When the telephone instrument was introduced it was a question with many whether it was simply an ingenious toy or an agency of practical use. In 1877 the manager of the District Telegraph Company put an experimental telephonic line between his home and his office. It worked satisfactorily and a few public exhibitions of the capabilities of the instrument followed. In 1878, through a station in the basement of the District Telegraph office, a few business telephones were installed, and from this small

beginning the extension of the business was rapid. It soon required a larger central exchange and switchboard which were established in the Newberry Building. In 1893 a large building was constructed at Washington Boulevard and Clifford Street exclusively for this service, and in 1918 a still larger building on Cass Avenue opposite State Street was completed. Both structures are now required for the use of the company which controls the service. State service was inaugurated in 1881, and long distance service to remote cities in 1893. The service was extended across the continent in 1916. A notable event in connection with that was a dinner with 200 guests at the Board of Commerce, when by receivers at each table the guests were simultaneously placed in communication with the Chamber of Commerce and city officials in San Francisco.

In the early days of the service a number of different companies were formed in the state, but by combination and absorption they were all merged in the Michigan State Telephone Company, organized in February, 1904. The supremacy of that company was disputed by a company organized through the agency of Mayor Pingree as a protest against the high rates which the old company was charging. In the course of the next two years the new company, which was called the Detroit Telephone Company, had laid conduits with a capacity for 10,000 telephones and installed a switchboard with capacity for 6,000, though the latter number never was reached. The business took the usual course in such cases of a ruinous rate war, the inconvenience to the public of two sets of phones and the final absorption of the weaker company by the stronger. As an illustration of the magnitude of the present business it may be stated that a telephone directory of recent date, covering Detroit and eleven adjacent villages, contained over 160,000 names.

FIRST STREET RAILWAY LINES

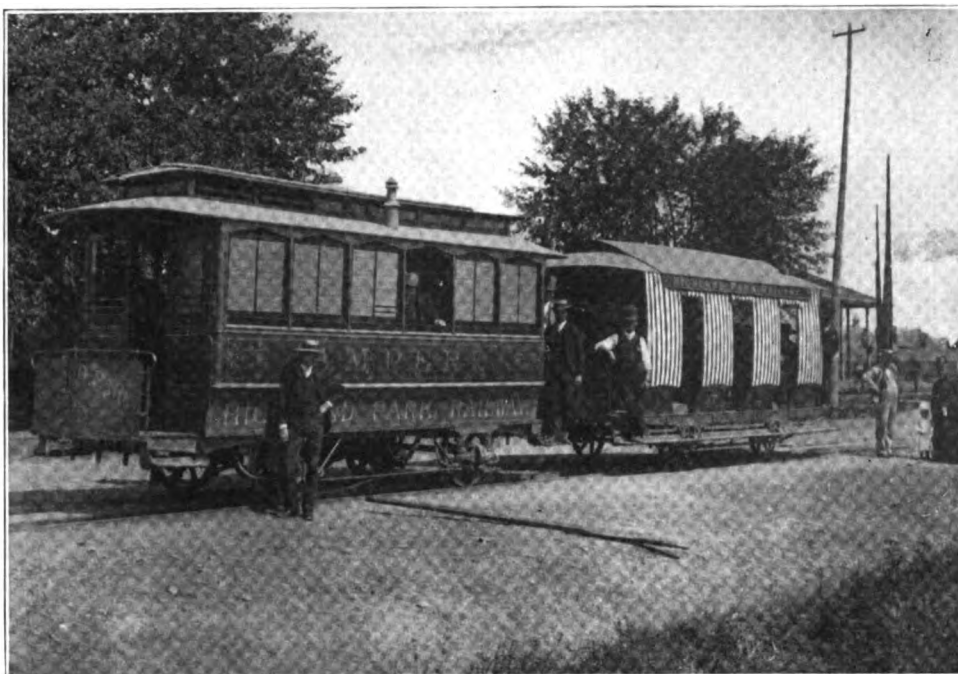
The street railway system of this section had a very small beginning. Under an act passed by the Legislature of 1855, an ordinance was adopted by the common council permitting "certain persons to establish and operate street railways in Detroit." Under a suspicion that the promoters who asked for the ordinance wanted a franchise for speculative purposes, a deposit of \$5,000 was required and on this account the ordinance was declined. Another start was then made and in November, 1862, an ordinance, which was practically a franchise, was passed, granting to C. S. Bushnell, John A. Griswold, Eben N. Wilcox and Nehemiah D. Sperry the right to build and operate a street railway system. The streets and avenues which it covered were Jefferson. Woodward, Michigan, Grand River and Gratiot. A line was also authorized on Fort from Twelfth to Third Streets, down Third to Woodbridge and east to Woodward. The cars were to be drawn by animals only and were to be run at the public convenience, but in no case oftener than once in twenty minutes. Speed was limited to six miles an hour. The fare was fixed at five cents and a franchise tax was imposed of \$15 per car per year. The sole outcome of this venture for several years was the building of a mile and a half of track on Jefferson from Dequindre to Third Street, and one on Woodward Avenue to Elizabeth Street. The track construction was cheap, the cars not very comfortable, the time of running was infrequent, the speed slow, the travel light, and by 1867 the company was nearly bankrupt. In that year a thorough

reorganization was made. The capital increased to \$500,000, and such substantial citizens as Sidney D. Miller, Elijah W. Meddaugh and Frederick E. Driggs came in as stockholders, while James McMillan and George Hendrie held a large block of stock as trustees. Mr. Hendrie became manager and was the conspicuous figure in Detroit street car matters for the next twenty-five years.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM

So far as efficiency and real accommodation to the public went, this was the beginning of the street car system in the city. The Woodward Avenue line was extended as far as Erskine Street, and the Jefferson Avenue and Fort Street lines to Elmwood. The Grand River Avenue line was commenced in 1868, the Congress and Baker in 1873, and the Central Market, Cass Avenue and Third Street, in 1875. These were all commenced by other companies, but were ultimately purchased by the Detroit City Railway. The Brush, Trumbull, Myrtle and Chene Street lines followed at intervals of a few years.

There had been more or less friction between the street railway company and the city government for some time, but the "Thirty Years' War" commenced in 1890. Hazen S. Pingree took his seat as mayor in January, made a declaration in favor of municipal ownership of street railways and prepared to take part in any controversy that might arise. The opportunity soon offered. The employes of the railway company struck for higher wages and more favorable working conditions and a riot occurred in which one car was run into the river, another overturned and traffic seriously interrupted. Mayor Pingree refused a request to call out the state troops, but addressed the rioters and finally brought about a settlement by arbitration. About the same time the company brought in a new ordinance giving it a franchise for thirty years, with fare at six tickets for 25 cents. The council passed, the mayor vetoed it and called a mass meeting of citizens, which was held on July 7, 1891, and almost unanimously sustained his position. About a fortnight later the Detroit City Railway Company sold out to a new company called the Detroit Citizens Railway Company. The old company had been very slow about making improvements. Horses were still the motive power. Detroiters were often twitted with the fact that Port Huron and Sault Ste. Marie were ahead of them with electric railways. The new company remedied this by preparing at once to install an electric system. The city election in November, 1891, turned largely on the street car question, and Mr. Pingree was reelected by a vote larger than that of his two opponents combined. It hardly needed this vindication to induce him to continue his fight with the company. He next attacked the existing franchise of the company. The original grant was from 1863 to 1893. In 1879 it was renewed under more liberal terms for thirty years from that date. This the mayor attacked on the ground that the renewal could not be granted until the first franchise had expired. The case was fought all the way up to the United States Supreme Court. The mayor's next step was to secure the organization of the Detroit Railway Company, which built sixty miles of track, the so-called three cent lines, which sold tickets eight for 25 cents. This was after some years absorbed by the old company, but the franchise rate of fare continued until in one of the dickers it was voluntarily relinquished by the city in 1918.



HIGHLAND PARK RAILWAY

First electric line connected with horse cars on city lines running out Woodward to railroad crossing. Early '90s.



DETROIT RAILWAY COMPANY

Opening Day, 1895

A STATE OF WAR

From 1894 for twenty-five years there was intermittent warfare between the city and the Detroit Citizens' Railway, or, as it was named in 1900, the Detroit United Railway. The "street car question" was the subject of more dissension, more political intrigue, more acrimonious disputation and more negotiation than all other public services combined. The surveys, appraisals, reports, agreements, settlements and tentative franchises that were printed make a large body of literature, and the mayors and aldermen who were elected or defeated on this issue make a numerous company. Twice the people voted by large majorities in favor of the abstract principle of municipal ownership, but every proposition that was brought forward to accomplish that purpose was voted down. In 1906 the "Codd-Hutchins" plan was negotiated, providing for ten tickets for 25 cents during the five "rush hours" of the day, and a straight 5 cent fare the rest of the time. The people rejected it by vote of 30,978 no to 14,411 yes. In 1910, ten different propositions giving the company the right to make needed extensions were rejected by votes of about three to one. In 1912 the "Thompson-Hally" ordinance was submitted. It fixed fares at eight tickets for 25 cents from 5 A. M. to 8 P. M., with transfers, secured certain extensions and gave the city the right to purchase. It received 22,308 affirmative votes and 30,733 negative. In 1913, by vote of 40,531 to 9,542, the people favored authorizing the city to "acquire by purchase, condemnation or construction and to own, maintain and operate street railways within the city and within a distance of ten miles from any portion of its limits." To carry out this authority the Couzens' Street Railway Commission offered in 1915 a contract for municipal purchase of existing lines, the price to be determined by the circuit courts after the purchase. For this so-called "pig-in-the-poke" plan the vote was yes 32,514, no 35,676. In 1919 Mayor Couzens' purchase plan was submitted. It provided for the purchase of all the lines at an agreed price of \$31,500,000. The vote was 63,883 yes and 70,271 no. At the same time there was submitted a charter amendment providing for the issue of \$24,000,000 in bonds with which to make the initial payment on the purchase. This was also rejected by 64,236 negative votes to 60,157 affirmative. Finally, in April, 1920, the mayor submitted another plan, providing for the issue of \$15,000,000 in bonds, the proceeds to be used in building and equipping 100 miles of new track and taking over fifty-five miles of the D. U. R. lines on which the franchises had expired. This carried by a vote of 89,285 to 51,093. The first result was the excavation of two blocks on Charlevoix west of Connor's Avenue. On August 24, 1920, the mayor drove the first spike in the construction of the St. Jean line and thenceforward the work progressed, despite numerous obstacles. On February 2, 1921, approximately six miles of M. O. (municipal ownership) lines had been completed and on that date service was started on the Charlevoix and St. Jean lines. Something more than six thousand passengers traveled that day on the two lines, paying the company over \$260. Through a barrage of criticism, of residents' petitions, court actions, newspaper comments, elections and official difficulties, the construction of the M. O. lines has continued. The quality of the road-bed, the steel ties, the rails have been assailed; the employment of a \$100,000 a year engineer has been attacked; and the small cars, each with a one-man crew, first used on the crosstown lines, have threatened to become the subject

of as many jokes as a certain other well known Detroit commodity. The year 1921 was a year of rapid maneuvering on the part of both the city administration and the D. U. R., with the weight of public opinion—at least as expressed at the polls—on the side of municipal ownership. Five cent fares came back on the D. U. R. lines in June and in August the company refused the city's offer of \$338,000 for its Fort and Woodward lines. There came also the ordinance known as the "ouster" ordinance, by which the D. U. R. was to be forced off the Woodward and Fort routes, and which was ratified by the vote of the people in November, 1921. However, the ouster has not been put into effect to date, but is held in abeyance until conditions have the opportunity to become better. After the November election, announcement was made that the city and street car company would both use the lines in question, having alternate cars on the lines, the city using the modern Peter Witt cars in vogue in other cities. Transfers from both D. U. R. and M. O. lines were to be interchangeable.

The most recent development in the street car situation was the decision by Judge Clyde L. Webster in the Circuit Court on December 12, 1921, by which the sale of the thirty miles of day-to-day agreement lines was to be made by the D. U. R. to the city. These lines include the Hamilton, Grand Belt and Linwood. The city, by the terms of the decision, is to pay the D. U. R. \$692,277 for 105 motor cars and twenty-three trailers, and to pay the Guaranty Trust Company of New York \$1,605,000 for the tracks, poles and overhead equipment which they hold as security for a mortgage upon the D. U. R. The traction company constructed these day-to-day lines under the agreement that the city could buy the track and equipment if it desired to operate cars over these routes. The question of purchase by the city having come up, the Guaranty Trust Company held that its security would be jeopardized. Judge Webster held that the city's right to purchase held precedence, but that the city should pay the trust company the amount determined upon as the cost of the track and overhead equipment, thus giving them a cash security instead of a property security. Under the terms of the mortgage given the trust company, the D. U. R. had the right to sell equipment and rolling stock which became useless in the operation of the lines, consequently the court held that the cars, being useless to the traction company after the sale of the track, could be sold by them. The city began running M. O. cars over the Trumbull line, alternating with the D. U. R. cars, on the morning of December 14, 1921.

The Detroit United Railway corporation is the possessor of all the capital stock of the Detroit & Port Huron Shore Line Railway, the Sandwich, Windsor & Amherstburg Railway, the Detroit, Monroe & Toledo Short Line Railway, and the Detroit, Jackson & Chicago Railway. The corporation owns a track mileage of approximately nine hundred and thirty miles. Over 500,000 passengers are carried every year.

MOTORBUS SERVICE

In 1919 there was incorporated under the laws of Michigan the Detroit Motorbus Company, which was designed to operate double-deck motorbusses as passenger carriers upon the streets of Detroit. These large busses, similar in type to those made famous by New York City, each has a seating capacity of forty-eight people. The company, which started with an authorized capital stock of \$1,500,000 (150,000 shares of common stock at \$10 per

share), inaugurated its service on Jefferson Avenue on June 11, 1920, with eight motorbusses, since which time the running service has been extended to Cass and Second Avenues, John R Street, Grand Boulevard, West, Drexel Boulevard, and Lafayette, West. New motorbusses are constantly added to the company's "fleet" as fast as the demand increases. Over two and a half millions of people were carried during the first six months of the company's existence.

CHAPTER XVI

FIRE AND POLICE DEPARTMENTS

BY WILLIAM STOCKING

THE TWO DEPARTMENTS THAT MAKE FOR SECURITY AND ORDER—EARLY PRECAUTIONS AGAINST FIRE—THE FIRST FIRE ENGINES—OLD FIRE DEPARTMENT AND HALLS—MODERN METHODS INTRODUCED—THE FIRST POLICE PATROLS AND WATCH—SOME PRIMITIVE METHODS—A MODERN DEPARTMENT ESTABLISHED.

The danger from fire was one of the earliest and most constant worries of the early settlers of Detroit. Two attempts of Indians to burn the fort and town and the fire of 1805 which wiped out the latter, emphasized the peril. A grand jury in 1796 made presentment that they conceived it necessary for the safety of the public that regulations should be established for the prevention of accidental fires, mentioned two chimneys which were insufficient and "presented" their owners and also declared that the chimney on the court house was equally "insufficient." In 1802 an ordinance was adopted requiring that all chimneys should be swept every two weeks between October and April, and every four weeks the rest of the year, under penalty of \$5 fine for neglect.

If a chimney caught fire the fine was \$10. The ordinance also required that every householder and shopkeeper should keep on his premises two bags holding three bushels each for carrying out goods in case of fire; to keep in his house where it would not freeze a light barrel filled with water, and to keep two hand buckets and a ladder for each chimney. The barrels were fitted with handles or ears and by means of poles each barrel could be carried by two men. Every householder was required to turn out on the first alarm of fire and to send barrel or buckets to the scene of the conflagration. The penalty for failure to turn out was fine of \$2 or two weeks in jail, and that for failure to send equipment was a fine of \$5. Complaints were frequent that the ordinance was not obeyed, and fines furnished quite an income. It is noted that on one occasion three of the town trustees, their secretary and the assessor were all fined. The mode of procedure in case of fire was to form two lines from the river to the burning building, passing the buckets of water up one line and the empties back to the river by the other. There were two elements of weakness in this method. A good deal of the water slopped over in transit and unless the line was formed before the fire had much headway, no one could get near enough to reach it with the contents of the buckets. In the latter case the energies of the department were devoted to the protection of adjacent buildings by flooding them with water.

THE FIRST FIRE ENGINES

The system broke down completely in the fire of 1805, but there was no great change in the regulations until 1811 and no very efficient organization



MUNICIPAL BUILDING, CLINTON AND RAYNOR STREETS, 1890

till 1816, when an old engine formerly belonging to Commodore Perry's flag ship was purchased, and three squads of men were organized. They consisted of twelve householders as axe men; six to man battering rams provided for demolishing buildings, and twenty-four hook and ladder men. Two years later the organization took another form with fourteen regular fire engine men, eleven axe men and fourteen bag men, each division being under a captain of its own. In 1819 the people voted a tax levy for the purchase of a more modern fire engine, but the purchase was not made until six years later when the famous "Protection" came to the city. This was the pride of the department, remained in the service for thirty years, and after that occupied an honored place in Fourth of July celebrations and firemen's parades. It was the organizing engine for six different companies, changing each time its name and location. It was the custom of the common council when the growth of the city called for an addition to the fire department, to give the newly purchased and consequently more efficient engine to one of the centrally located companies, while the old machine found its way to the outer wards. Here it was somewhat repaired, dressed with a new coat of paint, changed its name without legislative enactment, and became the pride of a new fire company. The old company, "Protection No. 1," retained its organization and name, and its status as a downtown company until, upon the advent of the steam fire engine and the organization of paid companies in 1860, the old fire department disbanded. In 1827 Eagle Company No. 2 was organized; six years later came Wolverine Company No. 3.

On April 27, 1837, occurred the second disastrous fire, which started on Woodward Avenue near the dock and spread to Bates Street, destroying fifty-six buildings. This fire caused a great deal of excitement, and much newspaper discussion. Not a few claimed that it could have been extinguished in a single hour had the firemen endeavored to accomplish such a desirable end. The firemen, in a communication inserted in a daily paper and addressed to the citizens, declared that they were powerless to extinguish the fire sooner. They had but three engines, and one of these was comparatively useless for want of hose.

This discussion resulted beneficially, for a fourth engine, Lafayette No. 4, was added to the department, and the "Hurlbut Hose Company" and "Rescue Hook, Ladder and Axe Company" were formed and equipped.

OLD FIRE DEPARTMENT AND HALLS

The fire companies drew to their membership many of the most prominent citizens. Anson Burlingame, then a resident of Detroit, was for years an active member of Lafayette No. 4. The names of Zachariah Chandler, William R. Noyes, William B. Wesson and Eben N. Wilcox appear on the same roll, while James A. Van Dyke, Henry M. Roby, John Owen, Chauncey Hurlbut, George L. Whitney and Peter E. DeMill were prominent members of other companies. The companies became socially attractive, departmental spirit was aroused and closer organization followed naturally. In 1839 the first firemen's hall was opened at the corner of Larned and Bates Streets. The lower floor was occupied by Protection Company No. 1, Hurlbut Hose Company No. 1, and a hook and ladder and axe company. The hall on the second floor became a center of social and educational activity. It was also used for common council meetings, and in 1852 for a school.

In January, 1840, another forward step was taken in the organization of "The Fire Department" under a charter granted by the legislature. The department was a Tontine insurance organization, which insurance corporation eventually met its fate before the Supreme Court. Its constitution and by-laws set forth that they were designed for the more perfect organization of the department, and to provide for the relief and maintenance of disabled and indigent firemen and their families. The officers of the association were to consist of a president, vice president, secretary, treasurer and collector, to be chosen at the annual meeting on the third Monday of January. Robert E. Roberts was the first president and in the list of those subsequently holding that position appear the honored names of John Owen, Chauncey Hurlbut, James A. Van Dyke, Eben N. Wilcox, John Patton, Benjamin Vernor, Stanley G. Wight and others of the same type.

The organization soon outgrew the hall on Larned Street and in 1849 paid all the money in the treasury for a lot at the southwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Randolph Street. This was the site of the old Indian council house, which was burned in the great fire of May 9, 1848. The new building is still there. In 1852 the department first occupied the New Fireman's Hall, built chiefly with borrowed money and costing about twenty thousand dollars. It at once set about paying this debt. Several of the engine companies contributed; donations were received from private citizens, and the lady friends of the firemen gave an art exhibition and fair that netted \$1,000. The lower portion of the building was rented for stores, and a few years' time saw the fire department free from debt. In 1858 the front and roof of the building were reconstructed at an expense of \$6,000.

Under the successive names of "The Fire Department Society" and "The Fire Department of the City of Detroit," this organization was for many years not only an important civic center but also a dominant political factor in Detroit, and long outlived the volunteer fire fighting force of the department. In 1855 it bought a lot in Elmwood Cemetery, on which, twenty years later, it built the firemen's monument. In 1858 it opened a library and reading room, and began providing courses of popular entertainment. It survived as an organization until 1886.

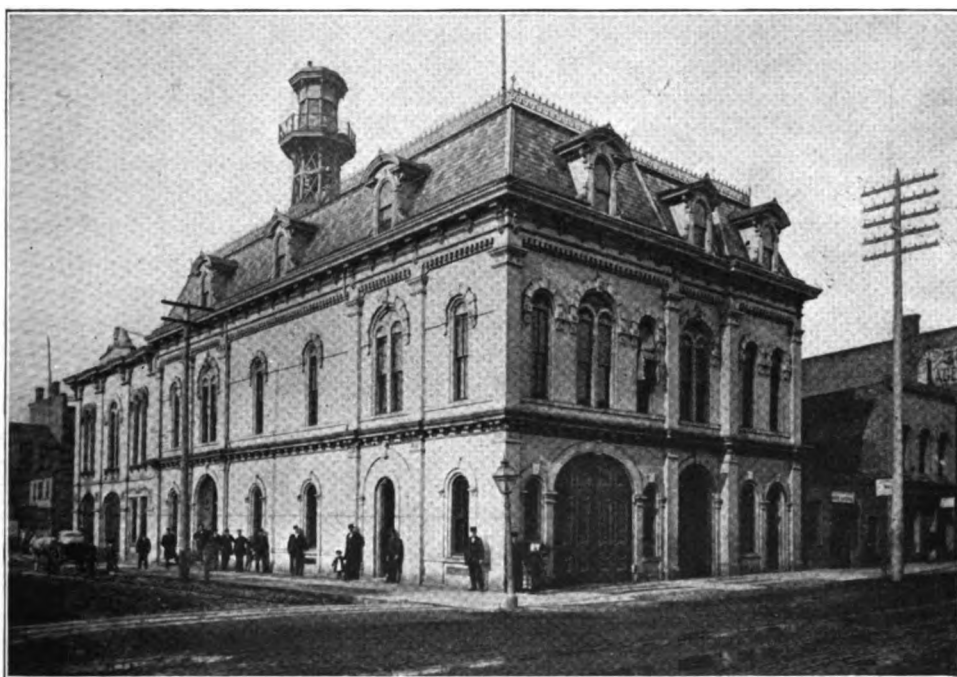
MODERN METHODS INTRODUCED

In 1860 on recommendation of the Common Council Committee on Fire Department the first steam fire engine was purchased and named Lafayette No. 1. It was located in the building on the northeast corner of Larned and Wayne. In the course of the next five years four more steamers were introduced, paid companies were organized to operate them and the old volunteer companies were disbanded. Up to 1867 the service was in charge of a committee of the common council, but an act passed that year created a commission consisting of four members appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the common council. Its first annual report criticized the manner in which engine houses had before that been constructed, complained that after being built they had been much neglected owing to inadequate appropriations, and made a few suggestions for improvements which were speedily carried out.

James Battle, chief engineer, who continued in the service for two score years, reported six steam fire engine companies and one hook and ladder company in commission, with 49 fire alarm boxes, 171 hydrants and 130 cisterns.



OLD FIREMEN'S HALL, JEFFERSON AND RANDOLPH IN 1870



FIRE HEADQUARTERS, 1881, CORNER LARNED AND WAYNE

The commission of four members each with a term of at least four years, and serving without pay, has proved to be an excellent working organization. A large number of capable and public spirited citizens have given of their best to the service, the department has always been supplied with the latest in fire equipment and has been uniformly rated one of the best in the country.

For purposes of comparison, statistics for 1919 show that the fire fighting division of the department employed 1,337 men with sixty-four companies quartered in fifty-four houses located strategically in all parts of the city. Two of the companies operate fire boats stationed in the river. The others for the most part operated motor-driven apparatus. There were 8,547 hydrants, connected with the street mains, 525 reservoirs and 54,000 feet of pipe lines. The appropriation for the fiscal year 1919-20 was, for maintenance, \$1,764,416, and for new buildings and for equipment, \$411,745, a total of \$2,176,161. With the growth of the city this equipment is constantly increased.

THE FIRST POLICE PATROL AND WATCH

For the first hundred years of its existence Detroit was a military post and garrison town, and dependent for its policing chiefly on the military sentinels and patrols. But in 1801 constables were for the first time appointed and the next year a complete civil government was established. Under this the marshal was responsible for the enforcement of the ordinances and the peace of the town. In 1804 "for the better police and in order to insure additional security from the dangers to be apprehended from the Indians as well as other persons and from fire" a patrol was formed, the members of which, in regular rotation, were employed as a night watch. Its organization and duties were thus defined:

"The said watch shall be composed of five persons, one of whom shall be elected captain, or conductor for the night, all whose legal and proper orders shall be promptly obeyed by those, a majority of whom have chosen him.

"The said patrol shall have power, and it is hereby made their especial duty, to take up, question, and confine in the watch-house, all disorderly and riotous persons found in the streets or elsewhere, within the limits of said town, after the commencement of their watch, and all persons of every description, after the hour of eleven o'clock in the evening, who cannot, or who refuse to give a satisfactory account of themselves, to be further dealt with agreeable to law.

"It shall be the duty of the said watch, on observing a light in any house, after the said hour of eleven, to enquire the occasion thereof, lest it should be burning without the knowledge of the family."

It was further ordained that the court house should be adopted as a watch-house for the purposes of the ordinance, and that "the first watch, be held on the evening of the first day of September next, and to be continued each and every night after till the first day of December next; such persons as may be ordered to keep the watch, to be and assemble, at said court house at the hour of nine, in the evening, and not depart therefrom, except to patrol through the town, till daylight in the morning."

SOME PRIMITIVE METHODS

The watch thus appointed served out its term. For nearly half a century after that there were numerous short lived experiments in the same direc-

tion. In 1825 "at a meeting of the mayor, recorder, aldermen and freemen, in consequence of a supposed attempt to set the city on fire the meeting proceeded to deliberate on the means of frustrating such attempts hereafter. As a temporary means of security a subscription paper was drawn up and signed by a sufficient number of those present for a volunteer watch to be kept up until other and permanent measures for the protection of the city can be taken." In 1833, after a riot caused by the attempted rendition of a fugitive slave, a watch was maintained for three months. In 1835 out of a night watch of twelve men, six, including two captains, were reported within the first month as being drunk and disorderly.

In the absence of sufficient police force and adequate court protection the common council sometimes took matters into its own hands. In 1841 in order to get rid of a notorious house of evil resort it formally resolved "That the marshal is hereby empowered and directed to proceed with sufficient force and apparatus to the corner of Randolph Street and Michigan Grand Avenue, and pull down and so demolish all the buildings hitherto owned and occupied by Slaughter, Peg Welch & Company as will forever incapacitate them from being used as the abode of human beings, to the end that not only retributive justice shall be visited on those who have been guilty of such practices, but as a precedent to others who may come after them, and a warning to those that already exist of their impending fate." This order, with moral attached, was duly carried out. However, Peg Welch sued the marshal for damages and he was compelled to pay. The case went to the Supreme Court. At a later period the moral and law-abiding citizens went further yet, and set fire to a few houses of that class without even waiting for an order from the common council.

A MODERN DEPARTMENT ESTABLISHED

In 1859 mercantile interests combined to pay a regular force for patrolling the few blocks which constituted the business district. In 1861 an act was passed for establishing a regular force with a police commission consisting of the mayor and two appointive members. The anti-negro riot in 1863 showed that the measures provided by that act were inadequate, and in 1865 an act was passed much broader in its scope and more complete in its details. This was the Metropolitan Police Act, and it was so wisely drawn that, with few amendments it remained the basis of police operations for thirty-five years. It was passed largely through the influence of John J. Bagley, then alderman from the Third Ward.

It provided for the appointment by the governor, with confirmation by the senate, of four commissioners, to whom the entire control of the force was confided. Appointment by the governor gave the commissioners the status in theory of state officers, though in practice they were city officials. The method of appointment had the effect, as it was intended to have, of keeping the members clear of local politics. In practice the commissionerships were always evenly divided between the two leading political parties. To carry out the same policy the members of the force itself were forbidden to take part in political discussions when on duty, to contribute to political funds or to use their influence in elections. The men on the working force of the department were submitted to rigid examination before appointment and served under strict regulation afterwards. They were required to be over twenty-one and



OLD BLOCK HOUSE WHICH
STOOD ON WHAT IS NOW JEF-
FERSON AVENUE BETWEEN
CASS AND WAYNE



OLD JAIL WHICH STOOD ON THE
SITE OF PUBLIC LIBRARY



GRATIOT AVENUE POLICE STATION, 1874

under forty years of age, citizens of the United States and residents of Michigan for two years, possessed of good health and sound bodies, of steady habits and good moral character, and never having been convicted of any crime. They were not allowed to engage in any other business but must give their whole time to the work of the department. They were forbidden while on duty to use violent, coarse, profane or insolent language, to drink or smoke, nor, except in the immediate performance of duty, were they allowed to enter a place where intoxicating drinks were sold. Numerous precepts tending to promote orderly and exemplary behavior were inculcated in addition to the official regulations. It was upon this basis that the excellent police force in Detroit was built up. The first meeting of the commission was held March 9, 1865, and on May 15 following the force was organized.

The commissioners first appointed were Jacob S. Farrand, John J. Bagley, Lorenzo M. Mason and Alexander Lewis. There had been considerable opposition to the act, coming mostly from the city marshal, constables and deputy sheriffs, but at the end of the first year the commissioners were able to report that this had very much diminished if it had not entirely ceased to exist. The force at that time consisted of one captain acting as superintendent, three sergeants and forty-seven patrolmen.

From this small beginning has grown the immense department of the present. It has grown mainly by natural expansion and development, though there have been two important changes in the form of organization. An Act of May 4, 1901, gave the council power to appoint one commissioner in place of the four who had constituted the board. At the expiration of the term of the first commissioner so appointed, the appointment was vested in the mayor, with confirmation by the common council. The charter adopted in 1918 gave to the mayor the sole power of appointment and removal of the commissioner.

From 1865 until 1867 the central station and police offices were in the Hawley block, northwest corner of Woodbridge and Bates Streets, but on January 1, 1867, the Woodbridge Street, or Central, Station was occupied and rented by the commission. In 1872 it was bought, enlarged, and reoccupied in January, 1874. Another station on the northeast corner of Gratiot and Russell was occupied August 14, 1873, and on the same date the department took possession of the station at the southeast corner of Michigan and Trumbull. In 1883 the city gave the police commissioners East Park, bounded by Farmer, Randolph and Bates Streets, and during that year and 1884 the police headquarters building was erected at a cost of \$55,000.

The first provision for mounted policemen, the forerunner of the present highly trained mounted squad, was made in 1873, when two mounted policemen were authorized to patrol the outskirts of the city. However, the need for such a branch of the department was not so imperative as at the present time, and by the end of the year 1876 the first "mounted" were gone.

During the year 1873 the various offices and stations were connected telegraphically for the first time. A police patrol wagon was first used in March, 1871, and in 1885 the telegraph signal boxes, forty-one of them at different points in the city, were first used in conjunction with the "wagon." After the advent of the automobile, Detroit was one of the first cities in the country to motorize its fire and police departments. In the early part of 1908 the old "cycle squad" gave way to the motorcycle squad which consisted first of six men under the supervision of one sergeant.

As in the case of the fire department, we quote the following statistics to show the development of the police department of Detroit:

For service in 1919 the department had 1,820 persons on the payroll, including 1,682 commissioned men, 8 matrons and 129 other employees. The appropriation for maintenance of the department was \$2,890,416. The administrative work covered the following varied activities: General office work, purchase and accounting, offense records, property records, criminal identification, licenses, medical attention, inspection of weights and measures, dog pound, garage and repair shop, care of police signals, care of buildings and grounds. The active police duty comes under the various heads of uniformed street patrol, mounted patrol, motorcycle patrol, stationary traffic, auto ambulance and arrest, precinct station, harbor patrol, sanitary patrol, detective duty, house of detention and a large number of special service details.

During the year the men on the force entered 13,361 complaints for felonies, made 7,628 arrests, and secured 1,905 convictions. The complaint for misdemeanors numbered 37,486, the arrests 31,976, and the convictions 17,702. Of the arrests for misdemeanors 2,598 were for violations of the prohibitory liquor law. As illustrative of a very new variety of felonious enterprise and police activity it is noted that during 1919 there were stolen in Detroit 3,482 automobiles valued at \$3,165,327. Of these the police recovered 2,529 with a value of \$2,479,554.

The cornerstone of the new police headquarters building was laid on the afternoon of December 28, 1921: this building is to be located at the corner of Clinton and Beaubien Streets.

CHAPTER XVII

PENAL AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

WILLIAM STOCKING, Contributing Editor

JAILS AND JAIL LOCATIONS—THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION—EARLY CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS—THE FIRST ORPHAN ASYLUMS—OTHER EARLY CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS—MODERN CHARITIES—MCGREGOR INSTITUTE—BOYS' HOME AND D'ARCAMBAL ASSOCIATION—THE COMMUNITY UNION—DETROIT PUBLIC WELFARE COMMISSION—CARE OF POOR IN WAYNE COUNTY.

The jail locations in early Detroit were nearly as numerous as the subsequent postoffice sites. Before the fire of 1805, the jail was generally a small affair, necessitating constant attention in order to keep it together in sufficient state of repair to confine the prisoners. The old records of Detroit contain many references to the jails, whether the guard house, converted house or any other structure which may have served the purpose. After the conflagration in 1805, which reduced the old town to ashes, one of the blockhouses was taken and used as a place of detention. This building was at the extreme eastern end of Ste. Anne Street, about the location of the intersection of the present Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street. (Silas Farmer wrote that this old blockhouse was located on what is now Jefferson Avenue, between Cass and Wayne.) This blockhouse did not serve the purpose very long, as in 1808 the governor and judges authorized the hiring of a house owned by James May, the same to be used as a jail, but this was not done until a few years later. James May offered to sell this house to the legislative body in 1812 and the records of the latter show that they agreed to give May almost 1,400 acres of land in the Ten Thousand Acre Tract "for the purpose of building a jail and court house in Detroit." This bargain was not consummated, however, as in the latter part of 1813, after the cessation of hostilities, May put in a bill against the Government for "one year's rent of two buildings in the City of Detroit, leased to the governor and judges of the territory, for court house and jail, taken possession of by General Brock after the capitulation, and applied to his Majesty's use for a gaol, and barracks for militia."

This jail mentioned was a stone and wood building on the northwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Cass. Judge Woodward and Gen. J. E. Schwartz were afterward owners of this property, and eventually it became the Mansion House Hotel. In 1815 the jail was in a wooden structure on the north side of Jefferson a few doors east of Shelby, and enclosed by a picket fence. Then, from 1817 until 1819, a picturesque old blockhouse on Jefferson Avenue near Randolph was used for the detention of criminals and suspects.

The first structure that had anything like a permanent occupation for jail purposes was completed in the spring of 1819, at a cost of \$4,700, on the triangle

between Gratiot, Farmer and Farrer streets. This was a building forty-four by eighty-eight feet, and surrounded by a picket fence. It was plenty large for the accommodation of all the prisoners in durance at any one time, but does not seem to have been strong enough to hold them all, for in 1834 the whole company of inmates broke jail and escaped. This old structure was the scene of several hangings and of a number of exciting episodes. It remained in use till 1847 when the supreme court decided that the county had no title to the land on which it was located and declared the building a public nuisance. It was torn down the next year, and the lot eventually became the site of the downtown public library.

The site at Clinton and Beaubien streets which has ever since been occupied as sheriff's residence and jail was purchased in 1847 for \$1,000, and the first buildings hereon were constructed the next year. Additional land was afterward bought for \$3,550. This jail was the starting point for the anti-negro riot in 1863, and the scene of numerous other exciting events. The sheriff's residence has been several times remodeled and once torn down and entirely rebuilt. The jail buildings have been subjected to many modifications in the way of enlargements and reconstructions. The present structure is comparatively modern but inadequate. Its capacity is 178, giving a cot to each prisoner. By a re-organization of the criminal courts, securing more speedy trials of persons accused the number of prisoners has been gradually reduced.

While the jail serves as a place of detention for persons awaiting trial from the City of Detroit as well as from the rest of the county, the city has its own penal institution for prisoners convicted and sentenced. This institution was in its inception linked with other public buildings and its establishment came about through a kind of evolution of ideas. In 1857 the council committee on public buildings made a report recommending the erection of a city almshouse at a cost of \$100,000. They thought the money to prosecute the work should be raised by the sale of city bonds and recommended that the Legislature be asked to so amend the charter "that the bonds of the city may be issued for such a sum of money as may be required for the purpose of constituting a fund to be designated a general improvement fund to be used for the purpose of erecting public buildings in the city, namely, an almshouse, a city hall and such other public buildings as may be deemed necessary." The recommendation was adopted and the amendment to the charter was made. The city almshouse and jail and the city hall project were, however, soon afterwards divorced from each other. The former was first completed, although the almshouse idea was soon dropped out and a strictly penal institution was created.

In August, 1857, Zebulon R. Brockway, who was destined to become a conspicuous figure in Detroit's penal and reformatory affairs, made a tour of inspection in company with most of the members of the common council and a number of other citizens, to the various sites proposed for such an institution. At a meeting of the common council on the 5th of August, seven definite offers were made of lots, but the controller was instructed to advertise for bids. In response fourteen proposals were received, the price ranging from \$4,000 to \$80,000. One of these was the Malcher Farm (sometimes called the "Church Farm"), running back from the river to the Mack Road, containing ninety-six acres, with 575 feet of river front. It could have been bought for \$60,000. This proposition was favored by Mr. Brockway and many others, and a citizens' meeting was called December 8, 1857, to consider it, the particular proposition



**POLICE COURT ROOM, REAR OF
JAIL IN CLINTON STREET, 1870
(Torn down)**



OLD DETROIT JAIL

before the meeting being one to issue \$50,000 in bonds to go toward the purchase of this farm.

To this meeting the controller presented an estimate based upon an opinion given by Mr. Brockway that for a house of correction alone not more than eighteen acres would be needed. He thought that this might be purchased within the city limits for \$9,000 and that suitable buildings might be erected for \$50,000. This was a damper on the Malcher Farm proposition, which was, however, very hotly debated in the large and rather boisterous meeting. As was occasionally the case in Detroit's citizens' meeting period, the heat of the controversy resulted in a failure to agree upon anything and the whole matter was left in abeyance for two years.

THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION

In 1859 the citizens voted an issue of bonds to the amount of \$50,000 for the construction of "a workhouse," and as a site selection was made of the south part of an old city cemetery running along the east side of Russell Street, north of Alfred Street. Two years later the institution was opened under the name of "The Detroit House of Correction." The Legislature passed an act establishing the House of Correction on March 15, 1861. The first buildings cost about \$75,000. Subsequent additions of buildings and machinery and the enhancement of land values brought the value of the whole property up to \$650,000.

Of the condition of Detroit before this institution was established an official report said: "Criminals seemed to multiply, a mob of roughs burned six disorderly houses in the Tenth ward; a deputy sheriff was murdered on Congress Street early in the evening; burglaries were almost nightly occurrences; assaults and drunken disturbances were rife soon after sunset. The city was without police save a constable for each ward, deputy sheriffs, and the city marshal. There was no efficient organization of these, and apparently no power to prevent the perpetration of offenses, either against the person, the property, or the peace. The jail, then the only place of detention for all classes of offenders, was too small, and was therefore continually crowded with inmates, and to such an extent that it was impossible to enforce discipline or cleanliness. The youths, and even children, eleven or twelve years of age, were in unrestrained communication with the worst characters. Thus a school for crime was maintained at the public expense, and in the upper wards of the jail men and women were not thoroughly separated from each other. Of course the structure was unsafe for the detention of important criminals, and escapes were of frequent occurrence. Such was the character of the jail and its management, that the grand jury indicted it as a public nuisance some five different times, and there is little question but it was the hotbed from which sprang much of the noxious social growth, that so ran over the city, to the disgrace and detriment of society at large. Yet the difference of opinion or diverse personal interest of individuals prevented any progress of improvement for nearly two years."

The establishment of the house of correction and the organization of the police department which came soon afterwards, both contributed to an improved condition of affairs in the city.

The management of the house of correction was vested in three inspectors acting with the mayor and for the first eleven years Zebulon R. Brockway was

superintendent. In 1881 a fourth inspector was added. In February, 1862, a start was made toward giving regular employment to the prisoners. Against considerable opposition a steam engine and boilers were put in and a factory was equipped for the manufacture of chairs. This has continued to be the main industry up to the present time, though the manufacture of brushes, pearl buttons and cigars has also been taken up. It has generally been a paying institution, the profits turned over to the city having in a number of different years reached as high as \$40,000. In 1899 the profits were at their highest, \$75,000. In recent years a portion of the earnings has been paid to the prisoners themselves or to their families. In addition to local convicts the institution has had the custody of many prisoners taken under contract with the United States Government and with different counties in this state.

The institution has been noted for the maintenance of excellent discipline, and has aimed at reformatory influences as well as penal exactions. The latest report of the superintendent, after giving an account of the improvements recently made in the buildings adds the following in reference to the methods and purposes of the institution:

"The next important step was the building up of an institution spirit and morale, both to do good and make good. The men were taught, as far as possible, both by talks and precept to like the work and have an interest in their work. As a result of this, production was increased. The next was the attempt to build up a pride in the men so that they would be ashamed to revert to their past life and also that they might be too proud to return to the institution again for the commission of some offense. The men were graded according to the nature of their offense, and segregated into groups so that the long time men celled, worked, and ate together, while the short time men were also segregated into groups of thirty, sixty, and ninety days, etc. The boys of nineteen years and especially youthful first offenders were placed in the brush shop so that they might work away from the influence of the older and more hardened type of institution men.

"The men were given yard privileges all during the summer, and there was an attempt to institute organized play and recreation activities. During the fall and winter months there have been lectures, vaudeville and movies on Sunday afternoons for the entertainment of the men and women housed in the institution.

"Every system of penology should have clearly for its end the protection of society, but protection of society should not only mean the temporary removal of those who have violated the laws, but should, as far as possible, prepare the offender for a position in society when he returns to it. For this purpose every practical measure possible should be adopted so as to make sure the maintenance of high standard of health and physical development."

In January, 1922, the city council authorized the commissioners of the Detroit House of Correction to proceed with the construction of a new prison on the prison farm, in Plymouth Township, two miles from Northville. The structure will cost \$2,500,000, to be raised by bond issue, the sinking fund charges on which will be raised from revenue derived from materials sold by the prison chair factory. Completion of the structure will mean the abandonment of the old building at Russell and Alfred streets, which is now accommodating twice as many prisoners as intended when it was erected.



PROTESTANT ORPHAN ASYLUM ON JEFFERSON AVENUE, 1881

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

The oldest benevolent society in Detroit, the Protestant Orphan Asylum, goes back to 1818, when a number of ladies met at the home of Mrs. Benjamin F. Larned and organized the "Ladies Society of the City of Detroit." Its purposes were charitable, with especial stress upon the needs and care of orphan children. The historical names of Larned, Edwards and Hunt appear among the founders. No men were admitted to membership in this society, but they might, upon invitation, attend meetings and give advice. Judge Woodward, Maj. Benjamin F. Larned and Austin E. Wing are mentioned as being thus favored.

In 1822 a more formal organization was made under the name of the "Female Benevolent Society of Detroit." A copy of the constitution is found among the Askin papers in the Burton Library. The preamble says: "We, the undersigned, in obedience to the call of Divine Providence to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and teach the uninstructed do constitute ourselves a society with these purposes as our object, and that we may affectionately accomplish our views we adopt for our regulation the articles of the following Constitution." That instrument states in more detail the objects to be "to afford relief to the poor, to visit the widow and fatherless in their affliction, to alleviate the sufferings of the sick, to provide for the education of children whose parents are unable to afford it, and to place such of them as can be procured under the care of honest tradesmen and mechanics; or in families where they can be bred up with care and trained to industrious, moral and religious habits. These and such other offices as come within the range of their views they do promise and obligate themselves to fulfill so far as their pecuniary means and the course of Divine Providence admit." Itemized accounts of receipts and expenditures appear in the manuscript reports that follow. Among the supplies for the sick, wine and brandy frequently figure along with jellies and other delicacies.

Among the ladies who were particularly active in this organization were Mrs. Lewis Cass, and Misses Eliza Trowbridge, Catherine Palmer, Mary Steele and Harriet Wing. Among the men who were contributing and advisory members were Henry J. Hunt, Stephen C. Henry, DeGarmo Jones, Austin E. Wing, Charles Larned and John Biddle. There was a special committee of twelve members appointed to visit the sick. In addition to work in the city the Association also looked after Indian children at Fort Gratiot and Miami River.

THE FIRST ORPHAN ASYLUM

Some of the persons connected with these early charitable groups were also engaged in the movement for an orphan asylum which was started in 1836. Under a special act of the legislature the promoters were incorporated the next year as the Ladies' Protestant Orphan Asylum. The directresses in the order of their precedence were Mrs. Charles C. Trowbridge, Mrs. Robert Stuart, and Mrs. Thomas Palmer, and the asylum was opened in a building donated rent free by Cullen Brown, on Beaubien Street south of Fort Street. Under different names and methods and in different locations the institution has, with the single exception of one period of six years, been maintained from that time to this. Its incorporation under the present name dates from June 8, 1889. The institution is located at 988 Jefferson Avenue. The grounds for the asylum were donated by Mrs. Elouiza Hunt on September 4, 1837.

OTHER EARLY CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

St. Vincent's Catholic Orphan Asylum was also the indirect outgrowth of work commenced nearly a century ago. In 1834 the Catholic Female Association was organized "for the relief of the sick and poor of Detroit." Almost coincident with its organization a cholera epidemic broke out in the city and the parish priest, Father Kundig, was burdened with the care of thirty children whose parents had fallen victims to the scourge. The Female Association undertook the care of a portion of these in a building on Larned Street near Randolph. A large portion of the funds for current expenses was raised by fairs which were extensively patronized. In the spring of 1836 Father Kundig leased twenty acres of land adjoining the county farm, which was on the north side of Gratiot Avenue west of Mount Elliott Avenue, erected a building and gathered the children there. They were cared for largely by the Female Association, though Father Kundig either personally or as superintendent of the poor assumed the work of providing the funds. Partly as a result of the panic of 1837 and the depression that followed, Father Kundig went bankrupt and some of his creditors, aspiring to the reputation as the meanest men in town, seized the clothing belonging to the thirty children then in the asylum. The county purchased some of the other property. In 1839 the asylum was closed and the children were distributed among farmers and acquaintances.

A similar work was revived in 1851 by the Sisters of Charity who opened a house under the name of St. Vincent's Catholic Female Orphan Asylum in an old building on the south side of Larned Street near Randolph. After two removals the home was established in the brick building formerly known as the Bishop's residence on Randolph Street between Congress and Larned. This had a capacity of 150 pupils and was used till 1876. In July of that year the present building was first occupied. It is on a spacious lot 252 x 260 feet on McDougall Avenue between Larned and Congress streets. The main building is 130 x 68 feet with two wings each 60 x 32 feet. Girls only are admitted to the asylum which has accommodations for 250 at a time. It is liberally supported by assessments upon the Catholic congregations of the city.

On June 2, 1857, there was a meeting of sixty ladies in the First Congregational Church to consider the establishment of an organization for the special purpose of breaking up house to house begging by children. The conference resulted in the establishment of "The Industrial School," which for half a century was one of the most popular and useful of local institutions. It started October 5, 1857, in an upstairs room at 26 Monroe Avenue with sixteen scholars. In May, 1858, it moved to the northwest corner of Washington and Grand River avenues, where it rented a long two-story building. In 1866 it bought the property, and in 1879 replaced the old building by a handsome three-story structure. The school was open to girls under fourteen and to boys under ten. The pupils were taught useful occupations, and were given the elements of a book education. One daily meal was furnished to regular scholars and tickets payable in clothing were given as rewards for good lessons and attendance. The building would accommodate 200 pupils, though those in attendance rarely reached that number. This institution was a favorite of the old board of trade. Its annual entertainments of mingled seriousness and burlesque were noted social affairs, as well as very helpful to the Industrial School funds.

St. Anthony's Male Orphan Asylum, one of the more prominent of the early institutions, was opened on May 26, 1867, and was located on the Gratiot Road (Gratiot Avenue), on the Malcher, or Church, Farm. This was a Catholic institution, originally managed by a corporation of trustees, but in 1877 changed to the care of the lay members of the Franciscan Order. The asylum was for young boys only, and was later moved away from Detroit.

MODERN CHARITIES

There now exists in Detroit an institution which is known nationally and which is unique in character. This is the McGregor Institute, first called the McGregor Mission. This institution was the conception of one man, Thomas McGregor, who, in 1888, founded a similar mission in Toledo. With the object of establishing similar homes in the cities around the Great Lakes, he came to Detroit in 1890 and on December 17th he launched the McGregor Institute. The first home was in a brick building on Larned Street, just west of the Armory. Mr. McGregor died soon after, but his work was taken up immediately by his son, Tracy McGregor. Two years later a mission on Cadillac Square was merged with the McGregor Institute and the Larned Street building was abandoned for the quarters of the first named. Eight years later, in 1900, the building on Brush Street was constructed and opened on Thanksgiving Day. In 1915, Mr. Tracy McGregor was succeeded as superintendent by Mr. Murray McGregor. The object of the McGregor Institute from its beginning has been to assist the "down and outer" to regain his feet, give him food and lodging, assistance in securing employment, medical treatment if needed, and to keep him from begging on the streets. He is allowed to pay for this service, a very small amount, if able to do so; otherwise he gets it for nothing. Liberal gifts, subscriptions, and the endowment of the founder, have contributed the greatest amount to the support of this institution.

The Boys' Home and D'Arcambal Association is another charitable work which is deserving of mention. This is a private work, developing from the old D'Arcambal Home of Industry for Discharged Prisoners, founded by the late Mrs. Agnes D'Arcambal about 1890. After the founder's death, the association was incorporated under its present name and began the work of caring for the youth of the streets. The boys were housed at first in the old Biddle House on Jefferson Avenue, and later moved to Lafayette near Third. In 1907, the institution was removed to the present farm at Farmington. Here the "Ford Republic" was organized by the boys in honor of Mrs. E. L. Ford, who financed the building of their dormitory. The institution is supported by the Community Fund, also the fees from the city and county for boys sent there by the juvenile court.

The Home for the Friendless began in May, 1860, when the first Ladies' Christian Union was organized. For the first few years this institution for women was housed in different locations, but in 1874 a home on Warren Avenue, near Woodward, was dedicated and has been used until the present time.

The Thompson Home for Old Ladies owes its existence to Mrs. David Thompson, who, in 1874, contributed \$10,000 as a fund for the establishment. In December, 1882, Mrs. Thompson made a further donation by purchasing for the home a lot on the southeast corner of Cass and Hancock, where, in 1884, she erected a forty-room building.

The Women's Hospital and Foundlings' Home was the outgrowth also of

the Ladies' Christian Union, the second one of which was organized January 29, 1868. The first home of the institution was a rented place at 40 Cass Avenue. A home was erected in 1875 and opened in January, 1876, on the west side of Thirteenth, between Linden and Mulberry. The Women's Hospital and Infants' Home is now located at 443 Forest Avenue East.

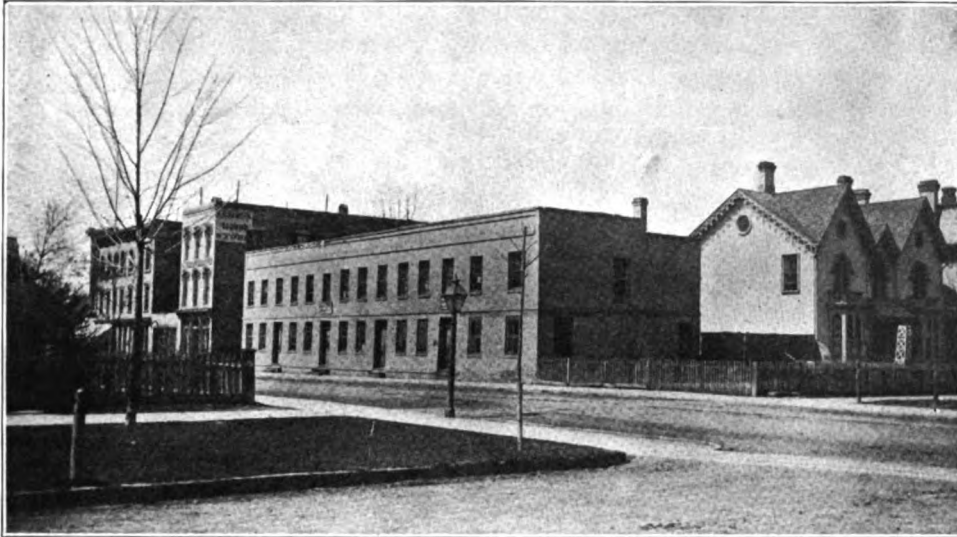
The House of Providence, for destitute children and unfortunate women, was organized in 1869 and incorporated in 1872. The home has always been in charge of the Sisters of Charity and was first opened in August, 1869, on Fourteenth, between Dalzelle and Marantette Streets. The home is now located at Grand Boulevard and Fourteenth.

St. Joseph's Retreat, once known as the Michigan Retreat for the Insane, located at Dearborn, had its beginning in 1860, when Sister Mary De Sales established a home for the insane on Michigan Avenue just beyond Twenty-fourth Street. The grounds had originally been used for farm purposes and for the convalescents of St. Mary's Hospital. In 1870 a brick building was erected. The institution was incorporated in December, 1870, and again in November, 1883, by the name of St. Joseph's Retreat. The decision to move to Dearborn was made in 1885 and a \$150,000 building was erected at that place, and opened October 28, 1886.

St. Luke's Hospital and Church Home, located at 224 Highland Avenue, had its origin in a bequest of \$1,500 made by Mrs. A. C. Caniff, which, at the death of her husband, was to go to St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church as the start of a hospital to be known as St. Luke's. On July 18, 1864, the hospital was opened for patients in a building on the south side of Lafayette between Griswold and Shelby. In 1865 land was purchased on the south side of Fort Street, beyond Clark Avenue. A building was erected here in 1868. This institution is supported by the church parishes, and cares for the aged, sick and poor.

Detailed mention of the charitable and semi-charitable institutions of old and modern Detroit is impossible by reason of their very number. They include institutions that are religious, partly religious, and those of strictly charitable and economic character. Among the more prominent are: the Arnold Home for the Aged and Hospital for Incurables, William Booth Memorial Home and Hospital (Salvation Army), Brothers of Mary (Carmelite Home for Aged Poor), Childrens' Free Hospital Association, Detroit Hebrew Orphan Home Society, Evangelical Deaconess Home, Florence Crittenton Home, Frances E. Willard Home for Girls, German Protestant Home for Orphans and Old People, Home for Aged People (King's Daughters and Sons), Home for the Aged Poor (Little Sisters of the Poor), Home for Homeless Women and Children (Volunteers of America), Jewish Old Folks Home, Phyllis Wheatley Home for Aged Colored Women, St. Francis' Home for Orphan Boys, St. Joseph Home for Boys, Salvation Army Home and Hospital, United Jewish Charities, South Slavic Workers' Home, Ukrainian Home, and Serbian-American Hospital and Relief Association. In addition to these named, there are many others, including a large number of settlement houses and maternity homes.

As early as 1878, there came into existence the Detroit Association of Charities, which has its counterpart at the present day. Fifty-two different churches and charities joined in this association, the object of which was to prevent imposition, repress street begging, and assist the deserving poor. As in many other charitable movements in Detroit at this time, Mrs. Morse Stewart



**THE FIRST INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL BUILDING ON NORTHWEST CORNER OF
WASHINGTON BOULEVARD AND GRAND RIVER AVENUE IN 1879**



**SECOND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL BUILDING, CORNER OF GRAND RIVER AND
WASHINGTON BOULEVARD
Still standing**

was the guiding spirit. She virtually inaugurated this particular work, as she did numerous other charities. Mrs. Stewart was Isabella Graham Duffield, daughter of Rev. George Duffield, for thirty years pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. Mrs. Stewart gave her life to the labors which she loved, and her philanthropic service to the community, which ended only with her death in 1888, have hardly been surpassed by any individual since that time.

THE COMMUNITY UNION

As mentioned before, a group of the strictly charitable associations had long been grouped under the general care of the Associated Charities. In 1917, in order to avoid the annoyance and duplication of work that came from separate solicitation of funds for each institution, forty-two different agencies were brought together in a "Community Union," or "Detroit Patriotic Fund," as it was first called, and a single seven days' "drive" was arranged for raising the amount needed for all. This was combined with the Red Cross and other war and relief funds. The total amount asked was \$7,070,000, of which \$661,400 was for the Community Fund, and the amount was over-subscribed. In November, 1919, the Community Union included in its budget fifty-six public welfare agencies. These agencies, it was stated, served no fewer than 100,000 people in the course of a year, and the amount asked for their support in 1920 was \$5,500,000. The settlement houses, those societies which aid the poor and sick, assistance to foreigners unused to their new surroundings, mothers' clubs, sewing, cooking and home-making schools, instructions in hygiene, nurseries, medical and dental clinics, recreational activities, and the various community centers are but a few of the diverse departments of the Community Union.

DETROIT PUBLIC WELFARE COMMISSION

Through its public welfare commission, established by the new city charter to take the place of the poor commission the City of Detroit itself performs a notable work in the field of charities. Its work has to do with outdoor relief and institutional relief, such as aid for the needy, old age pensions, prisoners' dependents, burial relief, transportation for non-residents, medical care, Receiving hospital, indigent sick in private hospitals, Eloise Infirmary, Eloise Hospital for the Insane, and the Eloise Tuberculosis Sanatorium. The various duties of the commission are performed through the following bureaus: relief, medical, social service, employment, registration, ambulance, purchasing and accounting. The work of the board of health and other city departments all goes to make up the vast effort which the City of Detroit puts forth to care for her unfortunate citizens.

The work of the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the Volunteers of America, private associations, manufactories, and individuals, is a record of charitable achievement ranking with those of the larger cities of the country.

CARE OF POOR IN WAYNE COUNTY

By a legislative act of June 23, 1828, the people were authorized to vote on the question of a Wayne County poor house, but they voted against erecting a building. However, by the acts of July 22, 1830, and March 3, 1831, the board of supervisors was empowered to purchase 160 acres of land for a poor farm and site for a poorhouse, and to erect thereon a suitable building.

Nothing further was done in the matter at this time, but on the 8th of March, 1832, the supervisors passed a resolution to expend \$1,200 on the project, and appointed a committee to seek a suitable site. On March 27th of the same year, the supervisors purchased about seventeen acres from John L. Leib, in the Township of Hamtramck, for \$200. This land is now the northwest corner of Gratiot and Mount Elliott avenues. At the time the site was over two miles from the city limits.

Charles Moran and Edmund Brush, who were appointed a committee of the supervisors on purchase and plans, entered into a contract with David French on October 4, 1832, for a poorhouse after plans and specifications approved by the board. The house was to be of frame, sixty-six by twenty-five feet in dimensions, and of two stories. For his work, French was to have been paid \$950, but the actual cost was lower than this amount.

Very little is known about the first county house, owing to the loss of its records. The first keeper, J. P. Cooley, managed the institution for a year and a half, under the direction of the board of supervisors, but not exactly according to their ideas. In 1834 the board of superintendents of the poor was created, and Rev. Martin Kundig was made the first superintendent by the supervisors. The administration of the poor house was turned over to him. The Sisters of St. Clare were placed in direct charge of the institution under the new regulations and remained in charge until the inmates were moved to the second poorhouse in 1839.

During the period of Rev. Martin Kundig's administration, the cholera epidemic broke out in Detroit for the second time, and the poor house was soon filled with children whose parents were carried off by the plague. To relieve their pitiable condition, the kind-hearted Father Kundig purchased a site adjoining the county property, and erected thereon a free orphans' home. The Female Association aided in the support of this home. The legislature aided Father Kundig in 1834 by voting him \$3,000.

The cares and vexations of Father Kundig were many. He had contracted to care for the poor during the year 1837 for twenty-two cents a day. There were about 100 in the poorhouse, and of these about sixty were bedridden. A panic swept over the country and foodstuffs became very dear. The county paid him in county warrants which were drawn upon an empty treasury. He wrote to William Woodbridge on May 19, 1837, to the effect that he could get no money from the county, that he had none himself, that he could borrow none, but still was obliged to support the inmates with potatoes at \$1.25 a bushel and everything else in proportion. Father Kundig lost everything of value which he possessed, but he remained as superintendent until April 10, 1839, when the location of the poorhouse was changed to Nankin Township.

The removal of the county poor farm from the city to the country was caused by several reasons. The city poor had increased in numbers, as had the county poor, and although the county poorhouse was erected for the use of the county, the city had contracted to care for its destitute at the same place. There was need of more space, where farm work could be carried on, and where the home and grounds were not endangered by the enveloping growth of the city.

The new home in Nankin Township was in the midst of a forest and was a log house formerly used as a tavern and known as the "Black Horse Tavern." One nearly impassable road led to the place. The board erected a two-story

frame building east of the log house. In February, 1845, the board let contracts for a brick building on the site of the log house. The material was supplied by the county, the brick having been made on the flats north of the river, while the heavy timber was cut and hewn in the county woods. The new building was seventy-eight feet long, thirty-six feet wide, and two and a half stories high. A large fireplace supplied the heat. Two cells were constructed in the northeast corner for "drunks," unruly inmates and violent "crazys" and, the better to restrain the latter, chains were fastened in the walls. The brick building was used by the keeper and his family, with some of the older and more feeble inmates, while the old building, of wood, was used to house the remainder of the inmates. In 1856, owing to the increased number of those to be cared for, the frame building was moved to the east of the brick and the latter extended forty feet, and when finished the combined buildings had a frontage of 118 feet. In 1859, a seventy by thirty-four feet wing, extending north from the west end of the main building, was authorized and constructed.

In 1865 a new keeper's residence was built. In 1873 the board raised the main building and wing, and put on new roofs. In 1876 an addition was built to the wing, extending north thirty feet. During these years the number of inmates steadily increased and the poorhouse was in a constantly crowded state. In 1887 the board decided to erect modern buildings and laid the matter before the people at the spring election. The vote was in favor of the erection of two wings at a cost of \$50,000. The structures were completed in March, 1889. Both wings were practically alike, 140 feet long, 42 feet wide, with finished basement under all.

In 1894 the board went before the supervisors and asked to be allowed to use the earnings from the state for a new center building. The request was granted. The bids were opened in April, 1895, and work begun in the same month. The old brick building, erected in 1845, was torn down, also the keeper's residence, and upon the site was built the center building, 118 feet long, connecting with the two large wings, 57 feet deep, with a projecting front for the keeper and his assistants. It was completed and turned over to the board in February, 1896.

The term "Eloise" designates the whole group of Wayne County buildings which are located on Michigan Avenue, in Nankin Township, sixteen miles west of Detroit. These buildings are now grouped as the Eloise Infirmary, the Eloise Sanatorium, and the Eloise Hospital.

The infirmary is the development of the Wayne County Poor House, called the Wayne County Alms-House in 1872, and the Wayne County House in 1886. On June 2, 1913, it became the Eloise Infirmary. In 1914 the women's annex to the infirmary was added. The story of this institution and the buildings is narrated in the preceding paragraphs.

The Eloise Sanatorium is the new hospital for the treatment of tuberculosis by the outdoor method, which had its inception in 1903, when two tents, with brick foundations, were erected. The first sanatorium building was completed in May, 1911, and opened for patients on June 6th following.

The Eloise Hospital is the name adopted August 18, 1911 for the group of buildings devoted to the care of mentally diseased inmates, and formerly known as the Wayne County Asylum. Distinction was first made between the rational and insane patients on March 22, 1841. One Bridget Hughes was the first person admitted as a "crazy," which was the designation at the time, and she

remained an inmate for fifty-three years. The first asylum building of any consequence was a two and a half story brick, consisting of a center structure and two wings. This was completed in 1869 and the insane patients housed therein. Two wings were added in 1876. The center was reconstructed in 1899 and in 1904 and 1905 a wing was added each year. The building known as Building C, first called the Women's New Building, was erected in 1894. Building D, originally called the Women's Insane Hospital, was constructed in 1904.

The postoffice at this place was established in 1894 and named for Eloise, the little daughter of Freeman B. Dickerson, then president of the board. The board applied the name to the institutions later. Additional wings and small buildings have been added to the group as needed and the combined institutions have now grown to be among the largest of their kind in the country. A detailed history of "Eloise" has been published under the authorship of Stanislas M. Keenan, and is very exhaustive in the treatment of the different buildings and general development.

CHAPTER XVIII

PARKS AND BOULEVARDS

By WILLIAM STOCKING

A HISTORY OF BELLE ISLE

By CLARENCE M. BURTON

THE FIRST PLATTING OF THE TOWN—WIDE STREETS AND OPEN SPACES—THE PROGRESS OF MODERN DEVELOPMENT—THE GRAND BOULEVARD—PARK DEVELOPMENT—THE PLAYGROUND FEATURE—AN AMBITIOUS PLAN FOR THE FUTURE—A PARADISE ON LAKE AND RIVER—CHARMING DIVERSITY OF WATER TRIPS—BELLE ISLE, BY CLARENCE M. BURTON.

The complete destruction of the town of Detroit by fire in 1805 supplied the opportunity for the laying out of a modern city. There were no houses left to interfere with the drawing of entirely new street lines. Accordingly the old streets were vacated, the old lot deeds canceled, and in place of them a new lot was assigned to each resident. Judge Augustus B. Woodward, who was the dominant figure in the local government, had seen and admired L'Enfant's plan for the city of Washington and set out to reproduce that plan in Detroit. He proposed that the center of the new town should be a circle, intersected by two streets each 120 feet wide. Radiating from the circle should be avenues, alternately 200 and 120 feet wide. At the distance of half a mile or so from the circle should be new focal points from which other avenues should radiate. To the streets and avenues he proposed that historic names should be given. The plan was ridiculed and was never half carried out. But as far as it did go it gave to Detroit its most distinctive features. To it we owe the avenues that were named after the first five Presidents of the United States. To it we owe Grand Circus Park, The Campus Martius, several of our widest avenues and the few triangular parks that remain near the center of the city, together giving an impression of space and openness unusual in the business center of an American town. The work thus laid out was afterwards supplemented by the intelligent platting of farms on either side of Woodward Avenue. That Avenue passing through the Campus Martius and the Grand Circus has always divided the city into two nearly equal parts, and for a long period was the most conspicuous residence street in the city. On either side of it the Cass and Brush farms were subdivided into wide streets and spacious lots, making together an area which was considered one of the best residence sections of the whole country. Detroit, to quote a common newspaper characterization, "with its wide, well paved and well shaded streets, its numerous small parks, its palatial residences and its imposing churches, ranks among the most beautiful cities in the country." With this reputation its citizens were too well content, and for a long period but little attention was paid to park development or improvement. Even the Grand Circus, which was without embellishment, and left almost without care, was

surrounded with a high picket fence with gates opened only a few hours on Sunday. In fact there was such smirking satisfaction with what they had that the people threw away two opportunities for acquiring magnificent new parks at very little expense. One of these, Linden Park, in the eastern section, was a tract of forty acres, with the most diversified forest growth of any tract of similar size in the county. It was offered by Moses W. Field as a free gift with the sole condition that the city should expend \$3,500 on its improvement. The city did not comply with this condition and the property reverted to the owners. The opportunity to acquire, at a very low price, a park of 340 acres, including fifteen acres of river front, in the same section of the city was, after two years of wrangling, finally thrown away and a number of other suggestions for park improvement were turned down. In 1879, however, the people of Detroit awoke to the importance of improvements in this line and steps were taken which resulted in giving to the city its two chief adornments, Belle Isle Park and the Grand Boulevard.

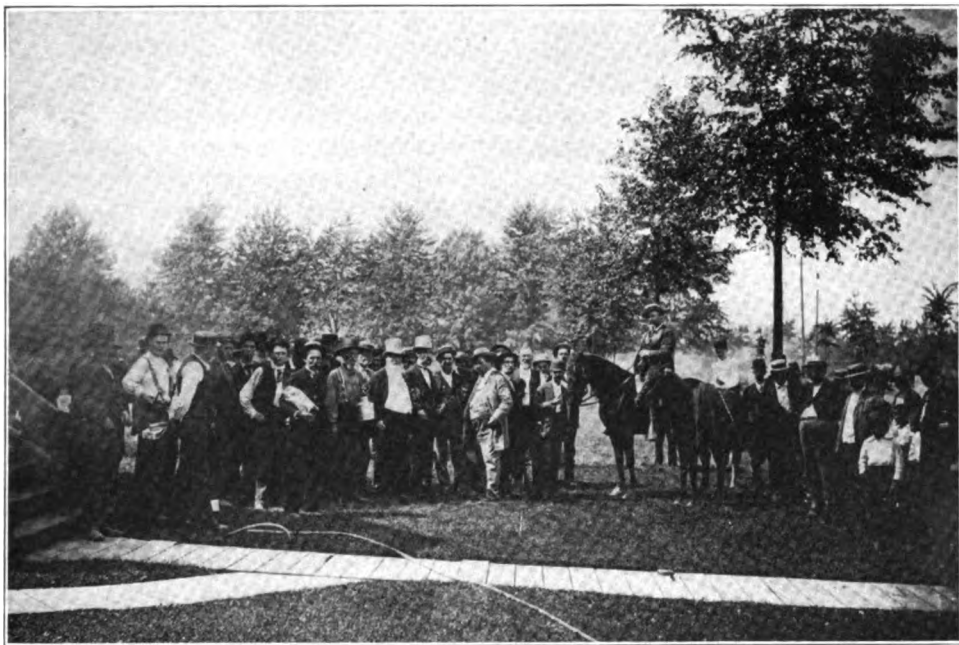
THE GRAND BOULEVARD

Detroit's Grand Boulevard is now well within the city limits at every point, but it was originally more of a township than a city proposition. Its earliest and most zealous promoters lived in Greenfield. Its first prophet was Edward Chope of that township, a man of means, considerable leisure and abundant zeal. In 1876 he commenced a boulevard campaign on his own account. In personal interviews, in newspaper communications and in committee hearings, whenever he could get a community together, he urged the importance of securing right-of-way for a boulevard before land in the suburbs had become so valuable as to make the first cost prohibitive. He was ably supported in this campaign by J. P. Mansfield, another Greenfield man.

In the legislature of 1877, Edwin F. Conely introduced a bill "to provide for the construction of boulevards in the townships of Greenfield, Springwells and Hamtramck and on the line between these townships and the City of Detroit, and in the City of Detroit." He afterwards substituted for this a bill "to provide for the establishment of a boulevard around the City of Detroit from Jefferson Avenue in the township of Hamtramck to the River Road in the township of Springwells." This bill went through all of the preliminary stages, but lacked three votes of the number necessary for final passage. There was a strong lobby against the measure, and one of the leading citizens, in his vigorous opposition, declared that the boulevard, if it ever materialized, would be a "goose pond in spring and fall, and a goose pasture in summer," also "a burden and a nuisance."

Notwithstanding this defeat, the agitation continued, and in the next legislature Eber W. Cottrell, a member of the house from Greenfield, introduced and championed a similar bill, which, as a companion to the Belle Isle purchase bill, finally passed.- The act sought to secure a joint interest on the part of the township and the city. It provided for one commissioner from each of the townships and gave the towns authority to appropriate money for the improvement after securing for such appropriation the approval of a popular vote. It protected the city from excessive expenditures by providing that the location of the boulevard and all appropriations for its improvement must be approved by the common council and board of estimates.

The attempt to interest the towns was not successful. They did not care



DEDICATION AND OPENING OF GRAND BOULEVARD
James Randall in center in light clothes; Mayor Pingree mounted

to spend money for an improvement that they knew would ultimately be brought within the city limits, and none of them ever voted a cent for it. The city was for a time not much more liberal. In 1880 it appropriated \$250 for the expenses of the commissioners; in 1882, \$2,500; and in 1881 and 1883, nothing. Public-spirited citizens paid out of their own funds for much of the preliminary expense incurred. There was a long controversy over the route to be selected. One party favored the "inside route," which would have brought the whole north line inside the railroads. The "outside route", which was finally adopted, was opposed by many as being too far away from the business and residence portions of the city. The decision was largely influenced by liberal donations of right-of-way on the proposed line. It was not until 1883 that a conclusion was reached and the line was located very nearly as it exists today.

The first land given for the boulevard was the south half of the right-of-way through the old Bagg farm, from Woodward Avenue to Russell Street, donated by Frisbie & Foxen. Colonel John Atkinson donated the north half of the same line, and thus the first half mile of boulevard, 150 feet wide, became public property. On a pleasant afternoon in the latter part of 1883, a formal dedication was made by a meeting of citizens near the junction of Woodward Avenue. A luncheon of sandwiches, beer and pretzels was served, a brass band provided music, and Sylvester Larned, Colonel Atkinson and James P. Mansfield made speeches. The fences were taken down, the first sod was turned, and afterwards sold for \$100, and the small assembly scattered.

This was only a meager beginning and subsequent progress was slow. The first house on the line of the boulevard was built by James A. Randall in 1884. The first house on the east side was built by William Stocking in 1888, and for several years after that there was only one other house to obstruct the view from Congress Street near Jefferson to the point where the Boulevard turned toward the west, a distance of more than two miles. The first improvements on the west side were made by Bela Hubbard, who was always a liberal supporter of the enterprise.

The city appropriations were small, \$20,000 in 1885; \$15,000 in 1886; and \$25,000 in 1887; but in the meantime individual effort was not wanting. At different times, William Foxen, B. Lauder, James A. Randall, John V. Ruehle, William W. Wheaton, John T. Foxen and others worked on committees to secure the right-of-way, and a considerable fund was subscribed and expended in buying land from persons who opposed the improvement, the right-of-way through these tracts being afterwards donated by the purchasers. As finally opened from Jefferson Avenue on the east around to Fort Street on the west, the highway was 11.29 miles in length and covered an area of 213 acres, fully nine-tenths of which was donated. The land was worth at that time all the way from \$500 to \$2,500 an acre, some of it as high as \$40 or \$50 a front foot. As thus laid out this promise of a magnificent thoroughfare was largely a tribute of private energy, zeal and munificence. The sections between Jefferson Avenue and the river on the east and Fort Street and the river on the west were subsequently acquired by condemnation and purchase at considerable expense.

In 1887 James A. Randall took hold of the enterprise with a zeal and activity that earned him the title of "Boulevard Randall." At this time the small city parks were in charge of the board of public works, Belle Isle in charge of one commissioner and the boulevard of another. There was often a clashing of

interests and a general lack of unity of purpose and plan. Mainly for the purpose of changing this, Mr. Randall got himself elected to the legislature of 1889 and secured the passage of an act bringing the boulevard and all the parks under one commission, of which at a later period he was very properly appointed a member. His greatest service, however, was in securing authority to the city for borrowing \$500,000 for paving the roadway of the boulevard. This was really the start of the work, which, with subsequent appropriations, has given to the city its magnificent twelve-mile driveway, which is surpassed in popularity and use by but very few in the country. James E. Scripps and Bela Hubbard were also leaders among those who made the boulevard possible for Detroit.

Even after the roadway had been made easy for teams the progress in building was exceedingly slow. Sections of the thoroughfare were still considered "too far out." There was no street car line parallel with it and, except at a few crossings, it was comparatively inaccessible. Many of the owners who bought frontage on speculation put such a high price on their lots as to discourage investment, and they had to consent to reductions in price before the public "took hold." The length of the line was also a drawback to its early occupation. A stretch of over eleven miles was suggestive of isolation and a lack of neighborliness. In the end it was really the automobile that was the making of the boulevard. Its broad, smooth roadway offered facilities for pleasure riding and made all portions of the line accessible to everyone with a car. Late in the '90s, the writer, with a real estate dealer, took a ride over the eight miles of boulevard from Jefferson Avenue around to Grand River. They met or passed less than a dozen vehicles on the whole trip. Before the auto came into general use, not more than one-fourth of the lots on the boulevard were occupied. Now there are very few vacant. It is unfortunate that neither building restrictions nor a building line were adopted when this thoroughfare was first opened. There have been a few manufacturing and business encroachments on its line, but for the most part it is occupied by residences, varied in design and many of them of very pretentious architecture.

As noted before, the smaller downtown parks, or breathing spaces, such as Capitol, Library, Grand Circus parks and the Campus Martius, were part of the governor and judges plan for the platting of the city. Until about 1844, these small tracts were places of deposit for refuse mostly; no effort was made to improve them. As the years went by, however, the ground was raised, trees and flowers planted, walks and fountains placed within the areas, and other efforts made to add beauty to them. Two of the oldest parks in the city given by individuals are Elton and Crawford, presented by Crane & Wesson in 1850. Cass Park was given to the city by Lewis Cass in 1860; Stanton and Macomb, both by S. K. Stanton, in 1861; and T. J. and Daniel J. Campau gave Adelaide Campau Park to the city in 1865. Honorable Thomas W. Palmer gave the beautiful acreage known as Palmer Park in 1893. Many of the smaller parks were originally swales and sloughs, filled up by their owners, and then presented to the community as points of beauty. Clark Park was half donated by John P. Clark and half bought by the city; Owen Park was the gift of John Owen, Perrien Park came from Joseph Perrien, and so on down the list. The names of the principal parks in Detroit, the acreage and the estimated valuation follows:

	Acres	
Adelaide Campau Park.....	1.199	\$ 18,550
Arden Parkway.....	1.936	20,500
Belle Isle Bridge Approach.....	1.020	267,000
Belle Isle Park.....	707.000	16,200,000
Boston Boulevard Parkway.....	5.734	87,500
Brush Boulevard Parkway.....	1.290	39,300
Cadillac Square.....	.552	325,000
Campus Martius.....	.174	625,000
Capitol Park.....	.510	472,500
Cass Park.....	4.966	150,000
Chicago Boulevard Parkway.....	5.008	87,500
Clark Park.....	31.601	363,800
Clinton Park.....	1.068	88,000
Crawford Park.....	.746	17,000
Elton Park.....	.740	17,000
Grand Boulevard.....	220.768	3,186,800
Grand Circus Park.....	5.566	4,967,700
Hamilton and Virginia Parkway.....	1.810	7,500
Harmonie Park.....	.448	120,750
Lafayette Boulevard.....	2.277	15,000
LaSalle Boulevard.....	3.830	42,000
Macomb Park.....	.557	20,000
M. C. R. R. Esplanade (Roosevelt Park).....	11.350	505,010
Medbury Boulevard.....	3.440	47,500
Northwestern Park.....	1.598	20,000
Owen Park.....	6.990	264,000
Palmer Park.....	140.410	645,000
Parker Parkway.....	.373	4,500
Perrien Park.....	5.180	66,000
Pingree Park.....	15.740	297,000
Scripps Park.....	1.333	29,050
Second Avenue Parkway.....	1.110	20,000
Stanton Park.....	.605	9,000
Virginia Park.....	.181	22,000
Voigt Park.....	6.795	98,400
Washington Park.....	2.862	1,750,000
West Park.....	.754	145,300

PLANS FOR PARK EXTENSION

For about forty years after the acquisition of Belle Isle and the inauguration of the boulevard movement the people of Detroit rested upon the reputation thus acquired.

Finally through the prodding of certain progressive city officials and civic organizations, the people were aroused to the fact that while the area of the city had increased from sixteen to eighty square miles and the population had increased six-fold, the park area had remained nearly stationary. From being among the cities well provided in this respect Detroit had dropped to a very low rank. Under this impetus the citizens in the spring of 1919 voted a bond

issue of \$10,000,000, the proceeds to be spread over a series of years in the development of a park and playground system. The carrying out of this purpose was entrusted to the city plan commission working in conjunction with the recreation commission and the park and boulevard department.

The city plan commission was fortunately well prepared for this duty. From a survey made years before at the instance and expense of the Board of Commerce, and from reports and recommendations made by its own official predecessors (City Plan and Improvement Commission), the commission inherited a mass of material which greatly facilitated its work. It was able speedily to map out a general plan of parks and playgrounds which it transmitted to the common council with the recommendation that the site selected be purchased outright or condemned. The latter body at once set about carrying out the recommendation.

The ambitious plan thus formed contemplates an increase of the park acreage from about 1,100 to 3,100. The new purchases are well distributed geographically. The most valuable is on the north, where an addition of 172 acres to Palmer Park more than doubles the area of that charming pleasure ground, besides giving it a mile of Woodward Avenue frontage. To the extreme east is Connor's Creek Parkway of 192 acres extending along that stream from Kercheval Avenue north to Gratiot. Near this Parkway is a tract of 225 acres including the Campau Woods and called the East Side Park. On the opposite side of the city is Ferndale Park in the village of that name. It is near the Fordson plants on the River Rouge and covers seventy-two acres. In the northeastern part of the city there are two smaller additions, Nardin Park of five acres and The Sullivan Tract of forty acres. Independently of these outside schemes the additions to the park system for the year included Roosevelt Park, twelve acres in front of the Michigan Central station, and Memorial Park, on the river front between Owen Park and the waterworks.

But the crowning acquisition of the whole system is the River Rouge Park of 1,060 acres stretching along that river from Warren Avenue north to the Pere Marquette Railroad, a distance of two and a half miles. For half a mile the east line of the park follows the banks of the river. For the rest of the distance that sinuous and picturesque stream is near the center of the park. The territory is mostly farm and pasture land, although along the Rouge and the creeks that flow into it there are many beautiful groves. The timber is varied, including several kinds of oak, maple, elm, willow, basswood, walnut, hickory, poplar, and a great variety of shrubs. The land is particularly adapted to the purpose which the city plans to make of it. There is everything that could be desired in the way of a playground. Meadow land can be converted easily into ball diamonds and fields for every sort of sport, and great stress has been laid on the golf courses, which are expected to be one of the prominent features of the park.

The far-reaching plans of the city for park improvement were supplemented in the latter part of 1919 by the donation to the county of a magnificent site by Alice S. and Charlotte C. Church, and Elliott S. Nichols, in honor of their mother, Mrs. Elizabeth J. (Slocum) Nichols. It consists of 155 acres on Slocum's Island near the mouth of Detroit River. This is a wooded tract about twenty miles from Detroit city hall and accessible by trolley line and boat. It has been accepted by the county and a commission appointed for its development and care. This is to be known as Elizabeth Park.

PLAYGROUND DEVELOPMENT

The playground movement in Detroit was the growth mainly of the previous ten years when the new plans were formulated but it had already become a large and very useful adjunct to the city's educational and recreation system. There were in 1918 summer recreation centers to the number of eighty-four, of which forty-seven were in the school yards and sixteen were special garden centers. The total in winter was eighty-two of which forty were at the schools, and nine at the branch libraries, while fourteen were skating rinks. The systematic activities were twenty in number. The service was in charge of a recreation commission, with seventy permanent members and one hundred additional summer workers.

In the new scheme of development this branch of work and play is to receive large consideration. In 1919 alone the Commission established seventeen playground and five playfield sites. Of these sixteen are located in the area bounded by the Grand Boulevard, and particular attention was paid to the badly overcrowded east side neighborhoods. To aid the city plan and recreation commission in this connection, maps giving the density of child population throughout the city were prepared and districts showing the greatest density drew the majority of playgrounds.

Of the playfields—the difference between a playfield and a playground being that a playfield is large enough to include baseball diamonds, football gridirons and tennis courts, while a playground is considerably smaller and is intended primarily for young children—the largest is located in the northeastern section of the city. It will be seventy-five acres in extent and will include, according to the recreation commission's plans, in the neighborhood of forty baseball diamonds and fifty tennis courts. In the fall the diamonds will be blocked off for use as football gridirons. A realization of the importance of the acquisition of this one playfield is obtained when it is explained that the number of municipal baseball diamonds available before that was thirty and of tennis courts less than fifty.

The final accomplishment of those promoting the new improvement scheme is the forming of a plan for a second grand boulevard extending from Grosse Pointe on the east to the river in Ecorse on the west. It will follow nearly the outer boundaries of the city and will link together a number of the parks. A part of the eastern link from Kercheval Avenue northward was the first to be approved. Detroiters look forward with confidence to the time when the city will be famous the country over for its driveways, parks and pleasure grounds.

LAKE AND RIVER CHARMS

The summer attractions of Detroit are by no means confined to the Parks and Boulevards. Its location on the strait connecting the upper and lower lakes give it advantages for lake and river trips that are unsurpassed by anything on fresh water. This is the home port for the largest fleet of tourist and excursion steamers of any port in the country except New York. Their number exceeds thirty with a tonnage of 38,000 and licensed carrying capacity of 60,000 passengers. The largest boats are licensed to carry 3,500 or 4,000 passengers each, and frequently leave the docks with a full complement. Most of the boats make daily trips and some of them two or more a day. Such is the variety

that one may take a separate excursion every day for a fortnight and find something new and interesting with each trip.

To take the boats that make the most easterly ports, there is a night trip each way between Detroit and Buffalo, and both day and night boats between Detroit and Cleveland. The four boats that are on these two lines are the largest and best equipped side wheel steamers on any waters. There is only one boat on the eastern sounds or rivers that even approaches them, the "Washington Irving" on the Hudson, and they had to come to Detroit to get a designer for that craft. Two boats make daily round trips through the islands of Lake Erie, one of them terminating its trip at Put-in-Bay and the other going on as far as Cedar Point, "The Atlantic City of the Lakes," and Sandusky. There are two boats daily between Detroit and Toledo, stopping each way at Sugar Island, an old and popular picnic resort. Large boats furnished with excellent orchestras and spacious dancing floors make three or more trips daily to "Bob-Lo" a large island at the mouth of Detroit River with a great variety of attractions.

Starting in the other direction the route from Detroit to Port Huron, the most famous of the up-river trips, covers a dozen points of interest. The steamers pass Belle Isle—the emerald gem of Detroit's park system, the government canals through the shoals at the head of Lake St. Clair, the continuous village built wholly on ground made by dredging and filling in the flats, Harsen's Island with Tashmoo Park and other resorts, and the picturesque St. Clair River lined with fertile farms and thriving villages. Three steamers a day carry the thousands who throng this route.

A unique route, less widely known, is the "scenic trip" through part of the interior waters of Ontario. It runs through Detroit River, Lake St. Clair and the St. Clair River to a point nearly opposite Algonac, and then enters the narrow and winding Sny Carte (Chenal Ecarte—"Hidden Channel") following this and the Sydenham River to Wallaceburg at the mouth of Bear Creek. These interior streams are so narrow at points that one could toss a biscuit from the boat to either shore. A very similar trip is that through the western part of Lake St. Clair and up the narrow river Thames to Chatham.

These are the short trips about Detroit. They are thoroughly appreciated and multitudinously followed. Nearly every convention, state or national, that is held in Detroit, and they are very numerous, takes a river trip as one of its diversions, and it is no unusual thing for convention members to hold their business sessions on the upper deck of a steamer. For longer lake journeys Detroit offers every advantage. It is either the home port or a port of call for steamers for all of the Upper Lake ports. Goderich, Mackinac, Georgian Bay, The Soo, Port Arthur, the iron and copper towns and Duluth all wait on passengers who take the boats at Detroit. Including passengers crossing the river on ferries as well as those starting for excursion, tourist or business trips the Government inspectors report between 10,000,000 and 11,000,000 yearly as the number who step from Detroit dock to boat.

BELLE ISLE

BY CLARENCE M. BURTON

Tradition says that Antoine de La Mothe Cadillac, by the authority vested in him as commandant at Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit, granted the island



OLD BELLE ISLE CASINO



THE CASINO, BELLE ISLE, 1922

to the inhabitants of the village as a common, and this tradition is well sustained by the subsequent acts of the people here, and of the various commandants. This fact is further borne out by the St. Sulpice letters, which were discovered and translated in the summer of 1920, and which are quoted later in this chapter.

The name itself (*cochon*—a hog) as used in the early title of the island, *Ile au Cochon*, substantiates the claim to the island as a public domain; it was, doubtless, given to the island because it was used as a place for confining the hogs and animals belonging to the citizens of the village, in security against the depredations of wild beats and Indians, and to prevent destruction of crops by these animals running at large. The generally received idea that hogs were placed on the island to drive off the snakes is preposterous. A letter in French written in 1769, and signed by nearly all of the French citizens of Detroit, states:

"We very earnestly pray you to consider that the island in question (*Ile au Cochon*) is a common ceded to the public by the late Mr. de la Motte, first seigneur and commandant of the country, for the purpose of putting cattle thereon in security; that this right has continued even to this day without its ever having been revoked. Monsiuer de Tonty, when commandant, undertook to appropriate it to himself, but was forced to relinquish his claim by the petition of the public. Mr. Dequindre, under the command of Monsieur de Celeron, relying upon family influence and his personal merit, also undertook to obtain this property, but the representation of the public rights deprived him of his possession."

Notwithstanding the claim of the public to the island, Tonty, when commandant, threatened to subject it to his individual uses, but gave up the undertaking upon the remonstrances of the public, and their claim was not further disputed until June 12, 1752, when one Douville Dequindre obtained a grant of the island from the governor and intendant, Longueuil and Bigot, but again the public remonstrated, and the remonstrance was so earnest that the grant was not confirmed.

During the few remaining years of the French occupation of the country, the island was cultivated by one Filet and a Mr. Campau, but always under the supervision of the commandant, and with no claim to ownership on the part of the occupant.

The French surrendered the country to the English in 1760, and in the succeeding year Lieut. James McDonald, who was an officer in the garrison here, cultivated the island and continued in possession of a portion of it for the two or three succeeding years. In the meantime, in 1762, Lieut. George McDougall, who was also an officer in the garrison, took possession of a portion of the island and built a house, cleared some of the ground, and set a family on his portion. Whether his original occupation was under color of title or not, his actions in clearing the land and erecting buildings indicated an intention to claim title, and it is certain that he took possession with the approbation of the commanding officer. Lieutenant McDougall played a conspicuous and honorable part in the war of the great Pontiac, who besieged the city in 1763. At one time the lieutenant was a prisoner of the Indians, but managed to escape, though his fellow prisoner, Captain Donald Campbell, lost his life.

Immediately after Pontiac found that his efforts to surprise the village

were fruitless, he set about murdering all the English who lived without the pickets of the fort. James Fisher and family lived on the island and the Indians proceeded at once to his house. Fisher himself was absent up the river, making soundings, in company with Robert Dayers, Captain Robinson and one Mackay. These men were all murdered by the Indians. Fisher's wife was hanged by them, and two of his children killed; the other two children were carried off. Twenty-four head of cattle were also killed. Jean Mayet afterwards accused Alexis Cuillerier, a Frenchman, of drowning one of the Fisher children, and as the testimony furnished him was deemed satisfactory, the commandant banished Cuillerier from the settlement. This was the most severe penalty he could inflict, as there were no courts established here, and consequently no officers to try the accused persons. Some years afterwards, Commandant Turnbull, ascertaining that Mayet had testified against Cuillerier out of spite, and that his charges were ill-founded, revoked the sentence of banishment and publicly recalled the accused.

In 1764, after the Indian War was over, two persons, Lieutenant Mant and Lieut. Edward Abbott, the latter an officer commanding a detachment of royal artillery, each applied for a grant of the island from the king and council. The application of Lieutenant Mant was strengthened by a deed of the island executed to him by Colonel Broadstreet, but these petitions were not acted upon by the council.

In 1763, George McDougall married Marie Francoise Navarre, daughter of Robert Navarre, one of the most influential of the French inhabitants and royal notary. Backed up by the new family connection, McDougall applied to the king for a grant of the island and his application was favorably received. It was this memorial which, in 1769, instigated the remonstrance referred to above. The commandant and all of the officers of the garrison sided with McDougall and gave such evidence as they were able, to assist him in procuring a sufficient title from the home government.

Before this time, McDougall had been a lieutenant in the 60th Regiment, but was now on half-pay and, as an officer in the service, his claims were more favorably received than those of the other applicants.

General Gage had notified the commandant, Maj. Thomas Bruce, that no person had authority to make grants of land at Detroit except the king, and that no purchase from the Indians was valid unless permission to make the same was obtained and the transaction carried on in the presence of the governor and superintendent of Indian affairs. In May, 1768, at a meeting of his majesty, George III, and the privy council, it was determined that the occupation of the island by McDougall was for the good of the garrison; that he had suffered great losses during the siege of the post in 1763, and that he might continue a temporary occupation of the island "so long as his majesty shall think fit to continue an establishment at Detroit, provided the same can be done without umbrage to the Indians."

Lieutenant McDougall, at his own expense, called a council of the chiefs of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, and obtained from them a conveyance of the island, and paid them, in consideration of the deed, "five barrels of rum, three rolls of tobacco, three pounds of vermillion and a belt of wampum, and three barrels of rum and three pounds of paint when possession was taken." The total value of these articles was £194.

The deed was signed by the chiefs of the above named tribes in the presence of Capt. George Turnbull, of the 2d battalion, 60th Regiment, commandant, and two other officers of the same regiment, and McDougall was placed in possession of the island. The deed does not bear any date, but as it appears in the papers of General Gage under the date of August 29, 1768, it must have been executed between May and August of that year.

The knowledge of the existence of the deed and order of council spread rapidly among the inhabitants of Detroit district, and created much excitement. Petitions were drawn up in both French and English, and very generally signed, requesting the government not to permit the conveyance to McDougall. If we are permitted to believe the affidavit of Pierre Tamizier and the statement of Baptiste Meloche, persons were compelled to sign the remonstrance of the inhabitants, whether they were willing to do so or not.

The remonstrances were sent to Governor Carleton and by him forwarded to Lord Hillsborough. Carleton, in his letter, accompanying the remonstrance, said he had made diligent search to find any conveyance to the public, but he had been unsuccessful. He found the grant to Dequindre, and learned that it had been revoked "upon representation of the inhabitants that the island was absolutely necessary for them to receive their cattle in summer to avoid their running wild in the woods, or the Indians destroying them in any of their drunken frolicks," and he thought it quite likely that no formal instrument of grant had ever been made. Of interest in this connection are the letters recently translated.

From the archives of the St. Sulpice Seminary at Montreal the following letters are taken. These letters were discovered in the summer of 1920 and translated from the original French into English and here are reproduced for the first time. They afford an insight into the situation at this time regarding the possession of the *Ile aux Cochons* (Hog Island), now known as Belle Isle. "To Monsieur Captain George Turnbull, Commandant at Detroit and Dependencies.

"Monsieur—

"We, captains of militia of the country, have the honor to represent to you on the part of the public, how much it will be prejudiced to the place to deprive us of the *Ile au Cochons*, which we have always possessed in common since M. de la Mothe has made the cession to our ancestors.

"You know, Monsieur, that in almost all seigneuries there is a common for the pasturage of the cattle. It is for the same object that that island was chosen, by preference, in order to place the animals in shelter (a la Brie) from the mischievousness of the savages and the depredations of wild animals. Several, it is true, have wished to anticipate our privileges, but always without avail, so that it has remained to us with no infringement of our rights under the preceding government.

"The King himself, seigneur of the whole country, by cession to Mons. de la Mothe, could not usurp further rights without prejudice to his concessions of 1667, to any community of inhabitants over whom he is chief seigneur, by payment of thirds, (*du Tier ou Triage*), which his Majesty could formerly exact.

"Besides the commons are inalienable. This is why, Monsieur, we beg you to have the goodness to add your support to our request, that it may be laid before Monsieur, the General. We are confident that under the present government we hold the same privilege we formerly enjoyed, and that you

yourself understand the justice and the necessity of our demand as you recognize our zeal in the service of His Majesty. We have the honor to be, Monsieur,

"Your very humble and very obedient servants,

"J. Bte. Chapoton,

"Jacques Campau,

"At Detroit, May 18, 1769.

"Eustache Gamelin,

"Pierre Reaume,

"Captains of the Militia of Detroit."

"To the Gentlemen of Trade of Canada.

"Gentlemen:

"To whom address our grievance if not to you, Gentlemen of Canada, in order to support us in our rights and prerogatives in begging you to cooperate with General Gage and Governor Carleton for a court hearing. You are better acquainted than we with the august body before which our case must be presented;—the request that you will find (enclosed) will instruct you on the subject,

"Many of you will have cognizance of our rights to the *Ile aux Cochons*. and everyone knows that a plot of ground once given over to a community of habitants can never be reclaimed by the Seigneur. Of what service to the people of the district is this island? For more than sixty years it has served as a place of safety for their cattle from the malignity of the savages and from wild animals. Mr. George Turnbull, commandant, has refused to send our request to General Gage, and demands from us a title in writing to prove our rights. The original habitants of this country (or district) did not perhaps exercise precaution, but such an ancient right as ours, can it be rejected? The relinquishment by those to whom it had first been ceded as a favor, should serve as the proof of our request. We would be in a position to make certain convictions and assurances if Mr. Navarre were not the father-in-law of the person interested (referring to McDougall). It was he, indeed, who was the author of the request which recovered it from the hands of Mr. Dequindre, to whom it had been granted, and in virtue of which it was handed over and restored to the people by publication at the church door.

"Madam de Celeron may yet have the orders of the General sent to M. de Celeron, who commanded at Detroit at that time. She could at least give some elucidations concerning it. A delivery so authentic should constitute a good title. You could also obtain from M. de Belestre, the former commandant, some attestations of advantage, and learn from him upon what grounds he delivered the *Isle aux Cochons* to the English. Gentlemen, if all this does not suffice, we beg you to search the registers and the records of the province, where you will find something in our favor. We have also a right to the commons of the town, called the *ban-lieue*. If you find anything relative to that matter, we beg you to give advice concerning it to Mr. Carleton, that he may transmit the information to General Gage, to whom we are writing on the subject, as you may see from the copy of his letter.

"We shall speak to you on another occasion of the manner in which we are treated and how much we are in need of your help. Your interest, Gentlemen, is sufficiently bound up with ours to engage you to interest yourselves with us. We hope that you will spare nothing to make our demands of effect, and that you will join with Governor Carleton, and give him all possible enlightenment

on these matters. We have not been able to send in our representations earlier; the sudden departure of the vessel did not give us time.

"We have the honor to be, with respect, Gentlemen,

"Your very humble and obedient servants,

"Jacques Campau,

"At Detroit,
24 May, 1769.

"J. B. Chapoton,

"Pierre Reaume."

(Copy of the letter addressed to General Gage)

"Monsieur:

"On the 18th instant we had the honor of presenting, in the public name, a request to Captain Turnbull, asking him to forward to you our respectful representations concerning the *Ile aux Cochons*. He has refused to do this, for what reason it is not for us to question.

"But this is why, Monsieur, for and in the name of the people, we very respectfully beg Your Excellency to support us in our rights and claims upon the said Island, that it may be restored to us, since it has been in our possession more than sixty years. We are told it belongs to the King. This is true in the sense that the whole country is his by title of Seigneur, but it is ours by the title of commonalty. Our late conflict with Mr. Dequindre is an authentic proof of this; in spite of the concession he had obtained it was publicly restored to us.

"Also, the Gentlemen, the Commandants, have usurped for some years now a part of the commons of the town ordinarily called the ban-lieu and have made it an enclosure for their special convenience, to the great disadvantage of the citizens. That enclosure lies between the fort and the open country, so that it shuts off any road of communication (into the fort).

"This is contrary to all laws and customs, since the gates of the town are closed at sundown and the habitants are forced to sleep in the open with their carts. We are also in distress because forbidden to cut any wood and even threatened with the refusal of pasturing our cattle.

"This is why, Monsieur, we beg Your Excellency, very insistently, that you will confirm to us all our rights and privileges which we enjoyed under the former Government, as also those granted to the present subjects of His Britannic Majesty.

"We are persuaded that if our grievances had been placed before you, we would have received every satisfaction, in the same degree as you are assured of our interest in the present government, were it only known to you, and of our profound respect with which we have the honor to be, of Your Excellency,

"Your very obedient servants,

"Detroit, May 24, 1769.

"Jacques Campau,

"Captains of Militia for and
in the name of the people.

"J. B. Chapoton,

"E. Gamelin,

"P. Pierre Reaume."

(Copy of letter addressed to Governor Carleton)

"Monsieur:

"Your interest in public affairs inspires us with confidence to beg you, in the name of the people of this district, to listen favorably to our representations, that we may receive recognition from His Majesty in our claims.

"We are even persuaded that your influence will obtain complete satisfaction for us in this matter. We did ourselves the honor of writing to General Gage,

but Captain Turnbull refused the letter acceptance and would not send our request. We are ignorant of his reasons for this refusal. We believe, however, that he has had more indulgence for Mr. McDougall.

"The sudden sailing of the ship after the publication of the order did not give us the necessary time to make our humble representations. We beg the provincial government to search the records of Canada for some written proof of our titles, and to communicate such proof to you that they may be authenticated. For this appears to be the foundation of the claims which are being made against us, though our possession of the public commons for more than sixty years should be sufficient to establish a good title. Besides, the restoration which was made to us, to the prejudice of others who had made a former like claim, should serve to establish our right. More than this, our possession since this country was ceded (to the British in 1760) should be continued according to all rights and customs. This Island, Monsieur, is of indispensable consequence to us for the protection of our cattle. This was why it was originally given to the inhabitants of the community, but our ancestors were not sufficiently foresighted to obviate all claims founded upon the lack of a written grant, and upon greed, which now works to the prejudice of our rights.

"We are convinced that His Majesty and his council have been taken by surprise, and that if they had known the claim of the people and their need of that commons, they would never have acceded to the claim of Mr. George McDougall. We even believe that there are certain restrictions in his acquisition, and that this is the reason he has obtained the Indian consent by some barrels of rum to allow him to take possession and that he has made his right public, believing, without doubt, that the silence of the people and the consent of the Indians had assured him complete possession.

"This is why, Monsieur, we beg you, in the name of the entire community, to make valid our rights and pretensions to the *Ile aux Cochons*, that we may be restored to our former prerogatives. We would solicit all such favors with the most profound respect and have the honor to remain, Monsieur,

"Your very humble and very obedient servants,

"Jacques Campau,
"Eustache Gamelin,
"J. Bte. Chapoton,
"Pierre Reaume."

"Detroit, May 24, 1769.

"Detroit, April 2, 1771.

"To the Gentlemen Merchants of Canada.

"Messieurs:

"We ask for the restitution of the *Ile aux Cochons*, since it has not yet been granted to us. We have the honor to beg you to a renewed interest in our favor. No one of us but does not daily feel the detriment to his cattle by the cession of that commons.

"His Excellency, General Gage, has proposed arbitration with Monsieur McDougall, to which we have consented, but which he has refused, saying that His Majesty and his council would decide the difference between us. We are writing to General Gage and to Governor Carleton that they will act in our interest, and we beg you, Gentlemen, in the name of the public, to lend your assistance to all which concerns us and to spare no efforts to aid us in obtaining justice.

"To accomplish this, we ask you to join with us in writing Governor Carleton, that he may deign to support our claim as he has promised, if representations are made by the people of the province, and it will be very much to the point to interest them in our cause. We are persuaded that if His Majesty had been fully informed of our rights and pretensions to the Commons, he would never have consented to do us such a wrong in favor of a single individual.

"Individually, we flatter ourselves with a happy termination of our troubles if you unite with us, and this is what we hope of good patriots who have the common interest at heart. We confide ourselves, therefore, to your interest and effort in obtaining for us prompt and full satisfaction, being ever under sincere obligations to you and never ceasing to be, Gentlemen,

"Your very humble and very obedient servants,

"Jacques Campau,

"C. A. Barthe,

"L. St. Cosme,

"Pre. Chapoton,

"Pierre Reaume."

Nothing came of the opposition to McDougall's claim on the island. In 1773 a census was taken here which shows that there were on the island one man, one woman, three servants, twenty oxen, seventeen cows, thirty-two heifers, 121 sheep, thirty hogs, two houses and one barn.

The War of the Revolution broke out and Detroit became the most important of the western posts in British hands. Henry Hamilton was appointed lieutenant-governor here. Hamilton had been importuned by the French to get the island away from McDougall, and he concluded to oblige them, and at the same time to get a fine property for the war department. So he wrote to Governor Carleton in January, 1778, as follows:

"The inhabitants having represented to me the losses and damage they suffer by being deprived of the commonage of Hog Island, I have directed Capt. McDougall's brother-in-law, who is his attorney at this place, to acquaint him that unless I have your Excellency's orders to the contrary, the inhabitants shall be reinstated in the possession of it on the first of May, 1778, which is time sufficient for him to prove a right."

In August of the same year he again wrote:

"If Capt. McDougall shall prosecute his pretensions in the courts, I request you to produce the claims of the inhabitants, which, in my humble opinion, are sufficient to support their title. An island, being a royalty, if it had ever been granted from a crown as a commons, I apprehend the inhabitants have no power to surrender that right, as their posterity would thereby be injured past redress."

Carleton had been removed from his office as governor and, in answer to Hamilton's letter, said that he would place the letters before his successor, Frederick Haldimand, immediately on his arrival, and that, in the meantime, Hamilton should collect all materials he could, and send them down to be examined by the crown lawyers.

On the 7th of October, 1778, Hamilton set off on his ill-fated expedition to take Vincennes from General Clarke, where he was defeated and taken prisoner. He left Major Lernoult in charge of the fort here, but Lernoult remained only a short time, when he was succeeded by Maj. Arent Schuyler De Peyster, who remained in charge until the close of the war. On the very day of Hamilton's

departure for Vincennes, General Haldimand wrote to him asking if there were not lands near the fort at Detroit where the garrison might be employed in cultivating grain and raising cattle for their own subsistence.

At the beginning of the Revolution, McDougall took a captaincy in the 84th Regiment, stationed at Detroit, where he remained until 1778, when he was sent to take charge of the detachment on Carleton Island. He was taken sick, and early in 1780 went to Montreal, where he applied for permission to sell his commission in the service. Haldimand at first refused to allow the sale, but on representation that McDougall was likely to die, he granted permission, and the captaincy was transferred to Captain Sinclair of the 15th Regiment. McDougall died in Montreal about April 8, 1780, leaving his widow and two sons, Robert (or John Robert, as he was afterwards called), born June 30, 1764, and George, born October 19, 1766.

Immediately after the death of Captain McDougall, Haldimand, supposing that the island would be sold in order to close up the estate, directed De Peyster not to permit the sale, as it was his intention to reclaim it for the use of the crown and garrison at Detroit, and to settle on it such prisoners as might be taken on the incursions towards the Ohio.

The McDougall family were dependent upon the liberality of the governor for the most valuable portion of their property, and he hastened to assure the widow that her rights would be taken care of. De Peyster took possession of the property, however, and after having the property appraised, placed Capt. Isaac Ruddle and his family and one other family on the island, reserving a part of the meadow ground for the king's cattle. Captain Ruddle was a "rebel" who had been taken prisoner by Captain Bird on one of the latter's expeditions towards the Ohio; however, Ruddle remained quietly on the island until 1782, when he obtained leave to go to Montreal to see if he could not be exchanged, so as to return to his home.

The appraisers chosen by Major De Peyster were Nathan Williams and Jean Baptiste Crainte, a master carpenter, and the result of their appraisal was as follows:

One dwelling house valued at.....	£250	0	0
One dwelling house valued at.....	40	0	0
One dwelling house valued at.....	10	0	0
An old barn, without a top, valued at.....	18	0	0
A fowl house.....	6	0	0
Some timber.....	10	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£334	0	0

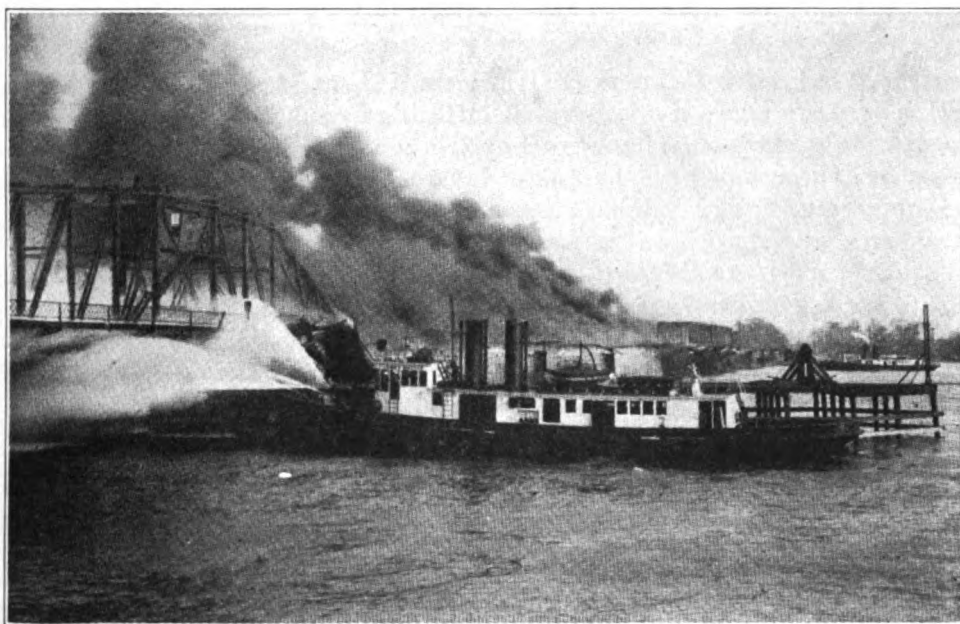
The island was supposed to contain 768 acres.

There were no courts established in Detroit at this time, and the entire district was within the jurisdiction of Montreal. It has been asserted, and is probably true, that William Macomb was appointed guardian of the two McDougall boys, by the Montreal court, and Macomb very likely looked after the interests of his wards, though there are no evidences obtainable to show that he did anything for some years.

Mrs. McDougall was a French lady, daughter of the old notary, Navarre, and was well educated. In an unpublished memorial of the widow, who signs herself Marie Magdougall, she offers, for herself and children, to relinquish their interest in the island for five hundred pounds sterling. This memorial is



OLD BELLE ISLE BRIDGE, DESTROYED BY FIRE



BURNING OF BELLE ISLE BRIDGE

in French and is addressed to General Haldimand, September 26, 1781. The offer was not accepted, but, on the other hand, the McDougall heirs refused to accept the appraisal made by De Peyster.

Possession, however, was taken and claimed by the commanding officer, and retained for some years. In the census of 1782, De Peyster reported that "Hog Island will produce, this harvest, one hundred bushels of wheat and seven or eight hundred bushels of Indian corn. The small quantity of wheat owing to the late heavy rains."

Both Haldimand and De Peyster wished to erect a windmill on the island, for the purpose of grinding wheat, but this year De Peyster found his hands too full of other work to give attention to the matter, and he begged the general to defer the work until a more appropriate time. He employed a millwright from Kentucky to begin the work, but he was, at the same time, putting up a new powder magazine in the fort, and he had not stones enough and vessels sufficient to carry the stone for both purposes, and continued the magazine, leaving, as he said, the mill house until next spring.

De Peyster was commandant, not governor, of Detroit, and Hamilton retained the office of lieutenant-governor, though he was in prison at Williamsburgh, Va., and he continued to retain this office until the appointment of Jehu Hay in 1782. Hay had served under De Peyster and there was some ill feeling between them, so that De Peyster wanted to leave Detroit before Hay arrived. De Peyster's wishes were gratified; first, by Haldimand's preventing Hay from coming to Detroit immediately on his appointment, and next, by transferring De Peyster to Niagara when Hay was, at length, permitted to come here.

George McDougall, the son, although only a boy in years, had become a lieutenant in the British service, and turned his attention to obtaining his rights on the island.

By the terms of the treaty which, in 1783, terminated the Revolutionary War, the boundary line between the United States and England was fixed at the channel in the Detroit River, thus making Hog Island a possession of the former country. It will be recalled that the British refused to surrender these posts to the United States, and that it was not until 1796 that Detroit passed into the possession of our government. Notwithstanding the fact that they retained possession, the British considered the retention unlawful and from 1783 made no improvement whatever on any property remaining in possession of the troops except what was absolutely necessary for their continued occupation. The pickets of the fort were pulled up, broken off by the Indians crowding between them to enter the village, and were washed away by spring freshets; lands on the public commons were occupied for private purposes, a thing never tolerated before, and in all ways the authorities gave an indirect notice that they no longer claimed the right of ownership over the property, but expected to be called on to move at any time.

The memorials of Lieutenant McDougall to Haldimand in October, 1783, and in July, 1784, set forth the ownership of the island by his father in his lifetime, and the ownership by his mother, brother and himself at the present time; that the island was now within the lines of the United States, and consequently would no longer be of use to the crown, and asked that the property be restored to the owners. De Peyster also advised Haldimand to accede to the wishes of McDougall, the more willingly, perhaps, because he found that the property would fall within the American lines, by the terms of the treaty, and because

the British government had done nothing to vest the title in the crown, other than to take possession under the direction of Haldimand himself.

On the first of October, 1784, Lieutenant-Governor Hay was directed to put Lieutenant McDougall in possession of the island, reserving to the crown only the right of storing and placing on the island, in case of the evacuation of the post of Detroit, all effects belonging to the crown, as long as it might be necessary.

The island having thus again passed completely under control of the McDougall family, which then consisted of the brothers George and John Robert, remained in their possession until November 11, 1793, when John Robert conveyed his moiety to William Macomb for £818, 16s. The island was in the actual possession at this time of Messrs. Meldrum and Park, merchants of the fort.

George McDougall had agreed, on July 25, 1785, to convey his half of the island to his brother John Robert, but owing to the financial troubles of the latter, he did not make the conveyance until January 6, 1794, and then, on April 7th of that year William Macomb purchased the other half of the island for 776 pounds. In both of these conveyances to Macomb there was a symbolical act which was common at that day, termed livery of seizin, by which the land was understood to be actually delivered to the purchaser.

In these transfers the delivery was made by giving to Macomb "a twig in the name of the whole premises." William Macomb died in 1796, still owning the property, and by his will devised it to his three sons, John, William and David.

Our government took possession of the country in 1796, and for a few years matters progressed without much inquiry as to titles to real estate, but when the question was brought before Congress it was resolved to ignore the grants of the Indians, and of the French and British governments, except in a few cases, and commissioners were appointed to sit in Detroit and hear claims for titles to real estate based upon actual possession before July 1, 1796.

The Macomb brothers filed their claim for the island, and adduced evidences of actual occupation as required by law, and the land was awarded to them. John had mortgaged his share of his father's estate to his uncle, Alexander (the father of Gen. Alexander Macomb), and died leaving the estate thus encumbered. It was found necessary, in this complication, to appeal to the register of the district of Erie, Huron and Detroit (the probate court of today), to partition the ancestor's estate, and in the partition so made in 1817, our island was allotted to David B. Macomb.

Barnabas Campau purchased the island from David B. Macomb, March 3, 1817, for \$5,000. From this time forward, although the land was the private property of Mr. Campau, it was looked upon more and more as the property of the city, the citizens using it as a place of quarantine, as a dueling ground, and as a general picnic ground.

The steamer Henry Clay, having on board Gen. Winfield Scott and a detachment of soldiers on their way to Chicago, reached Detroit in July, 1832, when one of the soldiers was taken ill with the cholera and died in a few hours. General Scott, in his report of it, says that "the only surgeon on board, in a panic gulped down half a bottle of wine, went to bed sick, and ought to have died." Fortunately, the general himself, before setting out on the expedition, had consulted the surgeon Morver in New York, and had received instructions

how to proceed in cholera cases, as he expected to receive a visit from the scourge, and "thus he became the doctor on the afflicting occasion."

Other passengers were taken ill within a short time, and the vessel was ordered to proceed to Hog Island, and supplies were sent to it from the city. Two of the persons employed to communicate with the boat were stricken the next day, and one died in the city; the other recovered. The spreading of the cholera created a reign of terror in the city and adjoining country, and all kinds of wild schemes were resorted to in order to prevent its spread; stage coaches were fired into and the horses killed; travelers were turned out of hotels and their baggage pitched after them; armed sentinels were stationed on the highways to prevent the passage of strangers. The stoppage of the *Henry Clay* at the island was only long enough to procure needed supplies, and she sailed on to Mackinac and Chicago, spreading the disease as she went. Seven soldiers died in Detroit, four were put ashore at Mackinac sick, and eighteen died between Mackinac and Chicago.

There have been several duels in Detroit and vicinity, one resulting in the death of Col. Otis Fisher in 1817. One took place on November 23, 1836, between Arthur Rankin and Henry Richardson. A contemporary account of the affair will best illustrate it and rob the duel of its terrors:

"AN AFFAIR OF HONOR

"We learn that on Saturday last, pistol shots were heard on the classic ground of Hog Island, between two 'gentlemen' of Amherstburgh, Upper Canada; one a lawyer, Richardson, and the other a gentleman loafer, named Rankin. The cause of this honorable interview grew out of a bar-room quarrel, in which said Rankin was injured, either in person or character, to an extent which nothing could repair short of a duel. A challenge was sent and accepted, and according to agreement the parties met at twelve paces, with pistols and seconds. Upon firing, Richardson received a ball in the side, which passed through, causing a serious moving of the bowels. Upon his falling, his seconds were so much alarmed as to leave the ground with precipitation and were soon out of view. Rankin receiving no serious injury, fled in a canoe, thinking, perhaps, that

'He who fights and runs away,
May live to fight another day.'

"Richardson was taken up by some men who were near the island in a canoe, and conveyed to Sandwich, where he is under the charge of a surgeon."

As the city grew in population and the steamers on the river multiplied, the island came to be used for picnic parties, and for sightseers and wanderers generally on holidays. The island was fixed for their accommodation, and revenue was derived from it by the ferry company, at least, and possibly by the lessees of the resort. The uncouth name of Hog Island had clung to it for one hundred and forty-five years, when, by prearrangement, a great number of people visited it in company on July 4, 1845. The meeting was called to order at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and Morgan Bates was chosen to preside, with William Duane Wilson as secretary.

On motion of Mr. E. Goodell, it was unanimously "Resolved, That now, henceforth and forever, this island, now known as 'Hog Island,' be known and hailed as 'Belle Isle'." The change in name seems to have been made without the consent of the owner, Mr. Campau.

Several reasons have been suggested for calling it by that name, but it is probable that the meaning of the word "Belle" is sufficient explanation. One lady in Pontiac, on hearing of the incident, thought the change was entirely inappropriate; she wrote to the *Jacksonian* that the word "Hog" was better, "because so many husbands went there without their wives."

Barnabas Campau continued to own the property until his death, October 8, 1845, when it passed to his four children, Mrs. Angelique Piquette, Emilie Campau, John Barnabas Campau, and Alexander Macomb Campau. (A curious fact connected with the title of the island is that Barnabas Campau's second wife, the mother of his two sons, was a daughter of John Robert McDougall, who was the former owner.) Although the property was divided among the heirs, and John B. Campau's share passed to his widow, later Mrs. Richard Storrs Willis, it remained otherwise undisposed of until 1879, when it was conveyed to the city.

The matter of a large public park had been agitated through the papers, among the people, and before the courts for some years preceding the purchase of this island. The little parks scattered through the city were not deemed a sufficient breathing space for all of the people, and then the city was growing rapidly, the citizens were frequently visiting foreign cities and foreign countries and bringing home accounts of parks and boulevards seen on their journeys. On the 24th of November, 1868, Alderman Richard Hawley introduced a resolution in the common council requesting the appointment of a special committee on parks, and to purchase lands for a larger park, and the committee so appointed consisted of Mayor William W. Wheaton, Alderman Zina Pitcher, Richard Hawley, Francis Adams, and William H. Langley. This committee having reported in favor of a larger park, the city counselor was directed to submit to the legislature an amendment to the city charter permitting the city to borrow the necessary money to purchase the land by issuing bonds. The mayor, on the 22d of December following, advertised for proposals for a site for a park from parties "having suitable sites to dispose of either by gift or sale." The proposed amendment to the charter did not pass the legislature, and for a time the park question was permitted to slumber, and as nothing could be done without legislative action, the only thing was to delay action until a new legislature should meet in the beginning of 1871.

On the 24th of January, 1871, a meeting was called, at which Hon. G. V. N. Lothrop presided, to consider the matter of a park and boulevard, but as the meeting was somewhat informal, it was proposed to call a more public one the next week at the city hall. The result of these meetings was the passage through the legislature, then in session, of the Park Act of April 15, 1871, and the appointment of six commissioners, George V. N. Lothrop, John J. Bagley, Robert P. Toms, Merrill I. Mills, A. Smith Bagg and William A. Butler.

The board thus organized, solicited and obtained four considerable bids for a site. First, one down the river, which was quickly withdrawn, and does not figure in this report; second, one on Grand River Avenue, consisting of 500 acres, including the Tireman farm; third, one on the west side of the Pontiac Turnpike, four and a half miles from the city hall, of 410 acres at \$190 per acre; and fourth, one on Jefferson Avenue, three miles from the city hall. The majority of the board submitted a report to the council on the 21st day of November, 1871, describing the various offers made to them, stating that the Jefferson Avenue site had been chosen. A minority report was submitted by

A. Smith Bagg, deprecating the purchase of any park just at this time, as it would necessarily add to the tax levy, but at the same time Mr. Bagg suggested that, if it was fully determined that a park was necessary, three small parks of 200 acres each should be purchased, one east, one north, and one west, of the city, and that they should be connected by boulevards.

The majority report was adopted and the mayor was requested to call a citizen's meeting to act on the issue of bonds to pay for the land. The mayor, William W. Wheaton, was personally in favor of the park, but doubted the legality of the law appointing the commissioners, and for that reason he vetoed the resolution. It was, however, passed over his veto, and he called a citizens' meeting at the court room in the city hall.

Up to this time the function of the citizens' meetings was similar to that of the later board of estimates. These meetings were called annually, or more often if necessary, and all citizens were supposed to attend and have an equal voice in their deliberations. The estimates for each year were made by the council, and submitted to the crowd and approved or rejected by them; and the meeting could scale down or wholly eliminate any of the estimates, but could not increase or make additional estimates. This process might answer where only a few people attended the meeting, but at this meeting, and at a subsequent one, "there was so much noise, confusion and violence, that no intelligent discussion could be had, and no result was reached." The action of the meeting served to persuade the legislature to repeal the law permitting citizens' meetings, and to organize the board of estimates in its place.

The park board, finding that they could not purchase lands under the law as it then stood, applied to the legislature in 1873 to enlarge their powers, so as to permit them to purchase lands within certain limits, and to submit their actions to the common council, expecting the council to issue bonds for the amount necessary to cover their purchases, without question. The membership of the board had been changed by the substitution of Charles C. Trowbridge and Charles I. Walker for William A. Butler and A. Smith Bagg.

The commissioners had expressed a decided preference for the Jefferson Avenue site, and the property owners in other parts of the city were constantly attempting to create a public dissatisfaction. Doubtless the majority of the people were well satisfied, but the minority were exasperatingly agile and demonstrative. A committee of twenty of the disaffected ones was chosen at a meeting held at Young Men's Hall, April 21, 1873, and they prepared a lengthy memorial and resolutions which they presented to the council requesting that body to defeat the park bill at all hazards. At the head of this committee was Capt. Eber B. Ward, and the others were nearly all prominent business men and lawyers.

It is particularly to be noticed that one member of this committee was A. Smith Bagg, who had been one of the park commissioners as first organized. One of the most persistent, and certainly the most influential of the minority was the mayor himself, Mr. Hugh Moffat, whose actions in their behalf resulted in the entire defeat of the park plan.

At the request of this committee the council concluded to wait until the commissioners should ask for the issuing of bonds before doing anything more in the matter.

On the 12th of August, 1873, the park commissioners made a full report of their work to the council, showing that they had entered into agreements to

purchase 375 acres of land on Jefferson Avenue, opposite the island, and that they expected to purchase, or condemn, seventy-five acres more, and asked that the council order \$300,000 in bonds to be issued as provided in the park act.

This report was referred to the committee on ways and means, David Preston, Guy F. Hinchman, and Charles M. Garrison, and the city counselor, Dewitt C. Holbrook. A majority report favored the issuing of the bonds, because the council could have no choice as the law stood, but the minority report of C. M. Garrison alone was adverse, because, as he said, he believed the park act to be unconstitutional and void, and that the legislature could not compel the council to issue the bonds. On a vote being had, it was found that the two parties were a tie, and the resolution to issue the bonds did not pass.

The commissioners at once applied to the supreme court to compel the council to issue the bonds, alleging that it was their duty so to do when requested by the park board, but the supreme court held that the council had a right to refuse if they so voted.

The option which the board had obtained for lands for the park would expire on the first day of January, 1874, and in order to throw the responsibility for the failure of the park on the council, they made a further report December 5, 1873, and again requested the council to order the necessary bonds to issue. This time they met with better success, and their petition was granted to the extent of directing the controller to issue \$200,000 in bonds to purchase a portion of the chosen site. This resolution was vetoed by Mayor Moffat, but passed over his veto, and the controller issued and signed the bonds and handed them to the mayor for his signature, as required by the park act. The mayor refused to sign the bonds, and the park board once more applied to the supreme court, only to be told by that tribunal that the park act of 1873 was entirely void, and that they could not act under it.

Until this time, Mr. Lothrop had been the moving spirit in the whole work, but his failures had discouraged him, and from this time he either took no part whatever, or assisted the opposition in the subsequent boulevard and park matters.

In 1874 there was considerable talk of digging a tunnel for railway purposes under the river here, and a great deal was said about the matter in the papers, and some public meetings of citizens called. In the midst of the excitement the late Robert E. Roberts wrote a letter to the press, advocating the building of a bridge from the lower end of the island to the mainland, the running of a railroad the entire length of the island with a tunnel from the upper end to the Canadian shore. The matter did not take shape, though it was supposed the city would fall into immediate ruin unless the tunnel was built instantly.

The legislatures of 1875 and 1877 were allowed to pass without action in the matter of a park, but early in the 1879 session Mr. Eber W. Cottrell introduced a bill for a boulevard which contained a clause for a park. While the bill was being discussed at Lansing, the following appeared in *The Evening News* of February 28, 1879:

"If, as reported at Lansing, the city of Detroit can obtain the fee of Belle Isle for \$180,000, we believe that it could not do better than to purchase it. The sum is a very small one indeed compared with the benefits that could be derived from it in time. Circumstances will make its possession necessary some time or other, and it is wiser to buy now than to wait until the price has doubled or quadrupled. We are among those who believe Detroit has a future,

and that it will need the improvements and means of health and civilization which other cities enjoy, and among them a park. It would be impossible to locate one in a more beautiful place than this island. It will not be necessary to improve it at once, that can be left to the future; but we should obtain possession of it by all means when it can be done so cheaply."

This is the first public suggestion for using the island as a park that I have been able to find.

About this time the matter of the bridge or tunnel was again brought up, public meetings were held, and committees appointed to see Vanderbilt, Congress, the parliament at Ottawa, our state legislature and our city council, to force the matter through in some way, and one of the suggestions was Mr. Roberts' old scheme of buying the island in order to use it for that purpose. Messrs. Levi L. Barbour and William B. Moran especially exerted themselves to get the city to purchase the property. Messrs. George C. Langdon, John J. Bagley, Bela Hubbard, Charles I. Walker, Martin S. Smith and David O. Farrand obtained an agreement from the owners to sell the island to the city for \$200,000, and presented the agreement to the council April 8, 1879. Petitions with thousands of signatures were presented to the council urging the purchase, and when the matter was before the legislature petitions in abundance were sent to Lansing. The only remonstrance of which public notice was made was signed by Christian H. Buhl, William A. Butler, Allan Sheldon, Frederick Buhl, W. C. Colburn, Henry P. Baldwin, Alanson Sheley, Jacob S. Farrand, Chauncey Hurlbut, and C. M. Davison, and the reason for their opposition was not stated. Practically unanimous then, as the people were, the boulevard and park bills passed through the House and Senate together, meeting with the same friends and the same enemies.

The park act passed the senate May 23, 1879. The owners of the property were not all in Detroit, and it took some time to finish the details of the purchase, but the last deeds that vested the title of the property in the city were recorded September 25, 1879.

The city owning the property, naturally one of the first questions to be settled was who should have control of the island to transform it from its wild condition into a park. The old park act of 1871 was still in force, though the commissioners had not acted since 1874, and no new commissioners had been appointed since that date. It was alleged on the part of Mayor Langdon that he had the right to appoint commissioners, under that act, to take charge of and improve the island; on the other hand it was claimed that the powers of commissioners who might be appointed under that act were limited to such lands as were, by that act, contemplated to be purchased, viz., the Jefferson Avenue site, and that they could have no control over the island.

William G. Thompson was elected mayor in the fall of 1879, and took possession of his office on the first of the succeeding January. One of the last official acts of Mayor Langdon, who preceded Thompson, was to appoint Theo. Chapoton, W. K. Muir, John Pridgeon, Jr., Augustus Goebel, Edwin F. Conely, and William B. Moran, commissioners under the old park act. When these names came before the council for confirmation it was found that two republicans, Aldermen Ryan and Connor, voted with the democrats, and thus confirmed the mayor's nominations. The commissioners themselves were not seriously objectionable, but the manner in which they were chosen was so offensive to the new mayor that he resolved not to recognize them in any manner, and

not to permit them to have any control over the park. The mayor's attitude in the matter was approved by his own political party, by both of the city's legal departments, by the police department (which took possession of the island for him), and by the people generally. The board of estimates went so far in their approval of the mayor's course as to refuse, at his request, to make any appropriation for the improvement of the island while its possession was in contention.

Mayor Thompson, in his first message, said: "The park commission may have a legal existence, but it has nothing to do with Belle Isle. Any interferences on its part with that island will be resisted." Unfortunately, Charles Ewers, a republican, but a firm friend of the Langdon park commission, was chosen president of the council. It will be remembered that at the republican national convention which nominated James A. Garfield for President, our Mayor Thompson was one of the delegates who voted continuously for General Grant for the third term; Thompson, as a delegate to that convention, was in Chicago on Friday, May 28, 1880, and the council took advantage of his absence to pass a resolution turning the custody and control of the island over to the Langdon commission.

If Mayor Thompson had been in Detroit, this resolution would have been useless, because it would have been vetoed at once, and they had no hope of being able to control votes enough to pass the resolution over the veto, but in the mayor's absence Alderman Ewers became acting mayor, and they knew that he would, if he could, approve of the measure. The situation was critical. If the mayor could return at once, he might veto the measure, but if he did not so return, it would become absolute with the consent of the acting mayor, Ewers. Telegrams were at once sent to Thompson, explaining the matter and requesting his immediate return. It was some hours before Thompson could be found in Chicago, but as soon as he received the telegrams he set out for home, and reached Detroit before 6 o'clock Saturday evening. In the meantime, at noon of the same day, Acting Mayor Ewers had approved of the proceedings of the council, and had sent them, with his approval, to the city clerk.

As soon as Mayor Thompson learned the situation of affairs, upon his arrival, he sent to the council a message vetoing the obnoxious resolution, and at once returned to Chicago. At the next meeting of the council the veto message was read, and it was voted not to receive it, but to return it to Thompson at Chicago. The convention was over and Thompson had returned to Detroit when the resolution to return his former veto came before him for approval. He promptly vetoed the resolution, and in his veto message said there seemed to be a conspiracy to deprive him of his voice in the city legislature, and said: "The entire matter forms the culmination of a series of intrigues on the part of the Langdon commissioners to obtain possession of Belle Isle, and its valuable possessions, against the better sentiment and wishes of a large majority of the taxpayers. The matter will soon be tested in the courts."

Indeed, the only thing left for the mayor to do was to appeal to the courts, for the commissioners were making demands upon the police department for the possession of the island, and entered into a lease with John Horn, Sr., of a portion of the Willis place, known as Inselruhe.

The application of the mayor to the supreme court was, in reality, to determine the right of Mr. Ewers to approve the proceedings of the council. The effort of the commission was to delay the hearing of the matter by the court

as long as possible and to get possession of the island at once. Patrolman Cohoon was living in the house at Inselruhe, holding it in the name of the police department. The lessee of the commissioners, on the night of July 19, 1880, went to the island with a gang of ruffians "yelling and screaming in a most frightful manner," and undertook to take forcible possession of the house and drive the occupant out, but finding Cohoon armed and determined to resist them, they finally departed "yelling like wild beasts." This was the only attempt to use force. The commission raised a question of pleading in the case in the supreme court, in which they were beaten, but the delay caused by deciding this question prevented the hearing of the main question, and the controversy was decided on its merits too late to be of any use.

In the summer of 1880, a resolution was introduced in the council looking to the sale of the island, and Alderman Warriner, who introduced the resolution, said regarding the original purchase of it: "It is well known that this scheme was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity. We have had one year of it, and can see what a precious time we will have if the city is to keep it." The resolution was not entertained by the council, but a few days later the following letter appeared in one of the Detroit dailies:

"On my return from the east, Saturday last, I noticed the honorable the Common Council are discussing the advisability of selling Belle Isle Park, so called. As an humble citizen of the wealthy metropolis of Detroit, it is my judgment it had better be sold (if it can be legally) unless the municipal government can be placed in the power of men whose souls are large enough, whose ideas are broad enough, and whose principles are strong and honest enough to entirely ignore their personal grievances in the interests and for the improvement of the property of the city, and who are sufficiently considerate to show some regard for the welfare and health of the citizens. Should it be deemed advisable to sell, and place the purchase price at its original cost, with accrued interest, I think I can find a purchaser who will pay the amount in forty-eight hours. I could have done so six weeks ago.

"August 2, 1880.

"George C. Langdon."

In the following March, 1881, Capt. John Pridgeon offered to give \$225,000 for the island, and Alderman Warriner again attempted to get his resolution to sell the park acted upon by the council, but he was not successful.

The legislature being now in session, a bill was introduced to repeal the old park act, and the bill became a law a few days before the supreme court rendered its decision on the veto of Mayor Thompson. The council, having full authority now to act, passed an ordinance in July, 1881, for the government of the island, and the mayor appointed four persons to have control of the island as park commissioners, namely: Merrill I. Mills, August Marxhausen, William A. Moore and James McMillan—popularly known as "the four M's."

Later in the season another ordinance was passed requiring the ferry company to pay the city two cents for every passenger they landed at the island. This requirement was, however, only in force for a short time, and was repealed September 27th. Although very little had been done to the island in the way of clearing it up, it was estimated that more than 200,000 persons visited it during the year 1881.

The name of the island was officially changed from Belle Isle to Belle Isle Park by the ordinance of the council of August 29, 1881.

In the spring of 1883 the legislature passed an act which virtually confirmed the ordinance of July, 1881. It provided for the retention in office of the present commissioners until the terms for which they were originally appointed should expire, and changed them from officials holding under a city ordinance to officials holding under a state law.

In 1886 the council granted permission to Hugh McMillan, William A. Jackson, Frank E. Snow, William C. Williams, and Frank E. Fisher, and their assigns, to establish and operate an electric railway on the island, but no corporation was ever organized to do the work, and the ordinance was repealed January 31, 1893.

A radical change was made in the management of the island by the legislature in May, 1889. Up to this time there had been a continual rivalry and strife between the friends of the park and those of the boulevard, and to put an effectual end to these contentions, the legislature abolished the park commission, and in its place created a new commission, called "commissioners of parks and boulevards," giving the new officers all of the rights of the old commission and the board of public works in the premises. The new commission was to consist of four members who were to be nominated by the mayor and appointed by the council. The first set of commissioners was appointed by the act itself, and were named as follows: Henry M. Duffield, Elliott T. Slocum, William B. Moran, and Francis F. Palms, but these men were to hold only until their successors could be chosen. The term of office was fixed at four years, and the four appointees were to choose by lot the term of each, so that one commissioner should retire at the expiration of each year, and the successor of each should be appointed for the full term of four years.

The persons who were named in the act of the legislature as commissioners were certainly unobjectionable, and no four names could have been found more suitable for the positions. However, the attempt of the legislature to usurp the province of the mayor and council to appoint these officials was at once resented, and on the 21st of May, 1889, Mayor Pridgeon sent in as a list of new commissioners the names of George H. Russel, John Erhardt, William Livingston, Jr., and William K. Parcher, for one, two, three, and four years respectively. Accompanying these appointments, the mayor sent to the council a message, in which he said that the men appointed by the legislature were all good men, but he wished to resent the interference of the legislature in the matter, "for these reasons, and to indicate, so far as state interference allows to do so, the right of Detroit to govern her own affairs, I hasten to send in the names of their successors."

If one man, more than any other, had worked for the material advancement of the boulevard and park, first as a member of the legislature and afterwards as a member of the board of estimates, that one man was James A. Randall. As a recognition of his services, Mr. Randall was nominated, by the mayor, as successor to Mr. Russel, but his name was rejected by the council June 17, 1890. The rejection was, partly at least, due to the contentions then existing between the mayor and the council regarding other matters.

Under the legislative act of 1901, approved May 4th, the board of commissioners of parks and boulevards was abolished, and the office of commissioner of parks and boulevards was established. Under this act a commissioner was appointed by the common council for a term of four years from June 1, 1901. Since that date the appointment has been made by the mayor. Robert E.

Bolger was the first commissioner appointed and he served until April 9, 1906, having been reappointed May 31, 1906. The commissioners since Mr. Bolger are named in the statistical and miscellaneous chapter of this volume, also the names of all who served upon the old board of commissioners of parks and boulevards.

Belle Isle has an area of 707 acres (with approach) and is valued between sixteen and seventeen millions of dollars. The city has expended over four millions in maintenance and improvements. The island has five and a half miles of shore drive, fourteen and a half miles of driveway, and five and a fraction miles of gravel walks. The island itself is but eighteen inches above the river level, but is never submerged owing to the even level of the Detroit River at every season.

When first purchased, Belle Isle was an unimproved area, abounding in native forest, sloughs, swales and was very unattractive. Soon after the possession of the island by the city became assured, steps were taken to beautify the new park and with this in view, Commissioners McMillan, Ferry, Moore and Marxhausen secured the services of Frederick L. Olmstead, a noted landscape gardener, at a price of \$7,000 per year, to superintend the improvements and plan them. Olmstead drew plans providing for a central driveway and with a stream, or artificial canal, running across one end of the island. The commissioners left the matter entirely with him, but there were others who thought that a better arrangement might be secured. Among them was Michael J. Dee, a newspaper man, who was well acquainted with the character of the land on the island. Mr. Dee conceived the idea of a series of canals covering the island, the earth taken from them to be used in filling in the sloughs and marshy places. Olmstead's plan had been to use the city refuse to fill in these depressions, a slow and unsatisfactory process. Dee submitted his plans to Olmstead, but the latter was reluctant to accept them and in this was backed by the commissioners. The matter rested for a time, when another question regarding Belle Isle came up and supplied the opportunity of again reviving the Dee plan. Some of the citizens were in favor of selling beer and liquor on the island, but Commissioners Ferry and Moore were not in favor of this concession, consequently they resigned. Joseph A. Marsh and Frederick Seitz were then appointed in their places: Seitz died soon afterward and Elliot T. Slocum was named in his place. Under the new board of commissioners, Olmstead's plans were discarded and those similar to Dee's were adopted, with the result that Belle Isle was immeasurably beautified by the criss-cross canals, the earlier ones dug with natural undulating banks, although in later years the conventional straight banks have been used in new streams laid out.

The old casino upon Belle Isle, of frame construction, was opened to the public in June, 1887. In 1903, by legislative act, the city was authorized to raise \$100,000 for a new casino. Bonds were sold January 15, 1904, following which bids were received. It was found, however, that all of the bids exceeded the appropriation, so new plans were ordered by Commissioner Bolger. These were received and on March 22, 1906, contracts were let to Louis Schmied & Company for the construction of the building at a price of \$85,429.81, and to another company the heating contract was let for \$2,777. The casino was then completed and in May, 1908, was opened to the public.

The new bath-house, a remodeling of the old one, was opened in 1909, and two years later the motor transport service began to supplant the old "hack"

service which had been used for many years. The first bridge from the Detroit shore to the island was constructed in 1889 at a cost of \$295,000 and was used until April 27, 1915, when it was destroyed by fire. A temporary wooden bridge, costing \$99,999, was opened to traffic in July, 1916. Plans for a new bridge structure were made and at a special election on July 9, 1915, the question of authorizing the common council to erect a bridge, to acquire land for the approach thereto, and to expend not more than two million dollars therefor, was defeated by a vote of 18,536 in favor and 14,129 against the proposition, a three-fifth vote having been necessary to carry. On April 5, 1919, however, the vote of the people swung farther to the favorable side, when a new \$3,000,000 bridge was authorized. This bridge is to be constructed by the department of public works, is to be of the reinforced concrete and steel cantilever type, is to be 2,193 feet in length and wide enough to accommodate the large amount of traffic to and from the island. The Jefferson Avenue subway approach to the bridge was opened on February 12, 1921.

Two of the most attractive buildings upon the island, and which rank with the best structures of their kind in the country, are the aquarium and horticultural buildings which were opened August 18, 1904. The idea of the aquarium has been accredited to Representative David E. Heineman, who had visited Naples, Italy, and studied the aquarium at that place. He introduced the bill in the legislature and later passed the enabling act, approved May 26, 1899, authorizing the issuance of bonds to the amount of \$150,000, on condition that the issue be approved by vote of the people. The bonds were issued and on March 1, 1900, the money was placed in the city treasury for the construction of the aquarium and horticultural building. The firm of Nettleton & Kahn (afterward Mason & Kahn) drew the plans for the buildings and the cost of the two was in the neighborhood of \$165,000, including equipment. The Belle Isle aquarium ranks among the six largest in the world. The equipment is modern in every respect, including the indefinite use of sea water, which by filtering and resting is utilized over and over for many years. Proper temperatures for different water tanks and special aerification provide that any fish may find conditions here identical with his native habitat. In addition to the tropical flora in the horticultural building, Belle Isle has been improved by thousands of plants, shrubs and trees of every kind which have been planted from year to year. Sunken gardens, fountains, statues and numerous other features have been added, and the pits, runways and cages for the animal life have been enlarged or added as new species have been purchased for the zoological collection. Through the will of James Scott, a comparatively unknown, but patriotic, citizen of Detroit, there was left more than \$500,000 for the erection of a memorial fountain upon Belle Isle. To accommodate this fountain, the western tip of the island is being extended and filled in and when completed will make a substantial improvement to the appearance of Detroit's greatest physical asset.

CHAPTER XIX

HISTORIC POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

BY WILLIAM STOCKING

THE STATE DEMOCRATIC IN EARLY DAYS—THE RISING TIDE OF ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT—A SUCCESSION OF DELEGATED AND MASS CONVENTIONS—FOUNDING AND TRIUMPHS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—SUDDEN DEVELOPMENT OF GREENBACK SENTIMENT—A POLITICAL SURPRISE AND SCARE WITH QUICK RECOVERY—MICHIGAN SETS THE PACE FOR SOUND MONEY—THE MICHIGAN CLUB AND ITS BANQUETS—A NOTABLE SCHOOL OF POLITICAL ORATORY AND AN INCUBATOR OF POLITICAL CLUBS—NOTES ON THE FREE SILVER CAMPAIGN.

In its territorial and early state period Michigan was almost uniformly democratic. The influence of the federal administration and office holders and the dominance of General Cass, one of the most prominent democrats in the country, both tended that way. Upon the three questions which in the largest degree separated the two great parties the United States Bank, internal improvements and the tariff, Michigan sentiment naturally turned toward the democrats. Under the tidal wave that swept the country, the state gave a small majority for Harrison for President in 1840 and a still smaller one for William Woodbridge for Governor in 1839. But these elections furnished the only gleam of light for the whigs. In every other election from 1836 to 1852 the democrats had substantial pluralities and generally a clear majority. It was the rising tide of anti-slavery sentiment that brought about the revolution in Michigan politics, and led to the historic campaign of 1854.

ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT

Under its fundamental charter, the ordinance of 1787, and in the sentiment of a majority of its people, Michigan was opposed to the system of slavery in itself, and especially opposed to its extension into new territory. The harsh methods sometimes used in enforcing the fugitive slave law of 1793 and the more severe law of 1850 were sources of constant irritation. The feeling first found political expression in a small way in 1840 when the "liberty party" in Michigan gave James G. Birney, a resident of the state, 321 votes for President. Four years later, under the same name it gave the same candidate 3639 votes. In 1848, under the name of "Free Soil" it gave Martin Van Buren 10,393. In 1852 the Free Soil vote fell to 7,237.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA CONTROVERSY

The overwhelming democratic majority in the country in the latter year and the assurance of the democratic platform and of President Pierce that the compromises of 1850 should be accepted as final, seemed likely to quiet agitation for a time, but the proposition to open the way for slavery in new territories by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, reopened the subject under conditions that

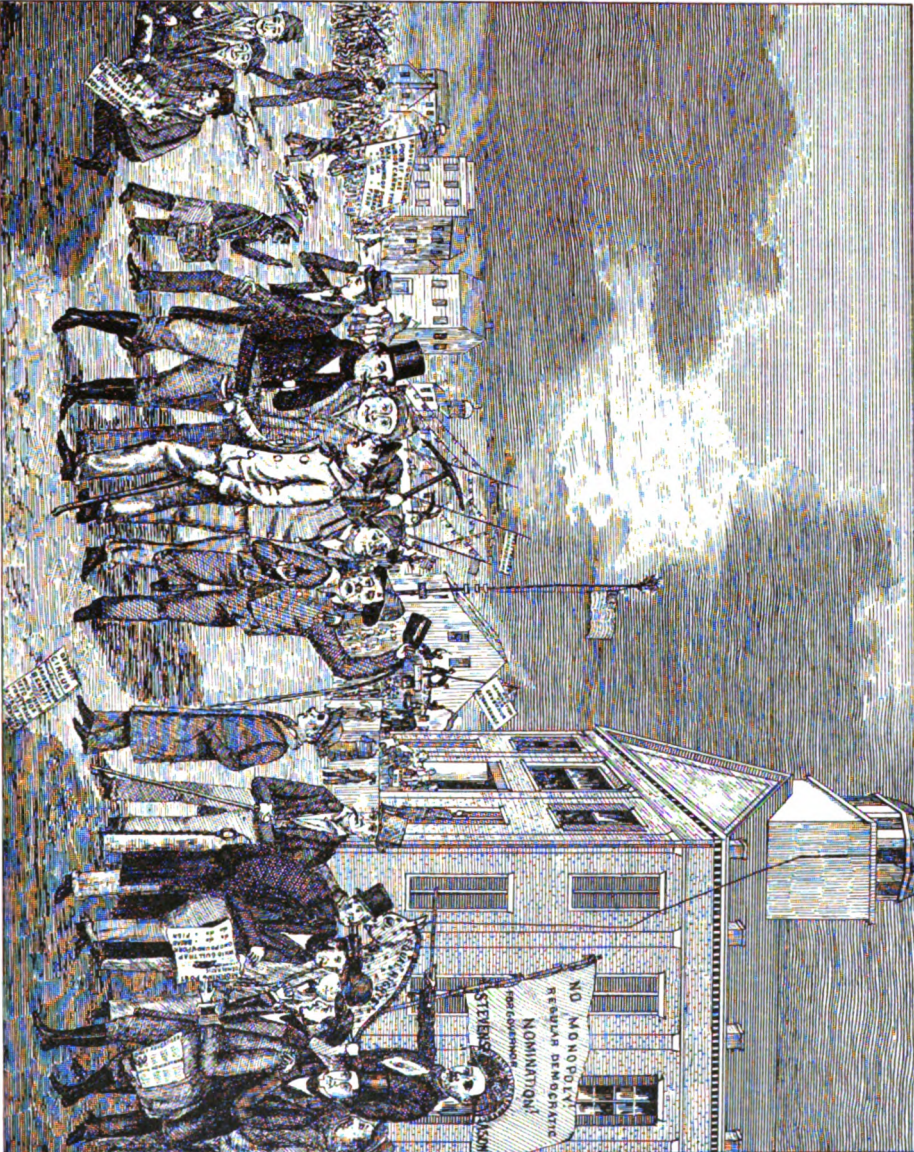
generated intense feeling and strife. It came about in this way. At the opening of Congress in December, 1853, Senator Dodge, of Iowa, introduced a bill to organize the territory west of Missouri and Iowa into the single Territory of Nebraska. Sen. Stephen A. Douglas, for the committee to which it was referred, reported the bill back creating the two territories of Kansas and Nebraska and providing that "the section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850" and was declared inoperative. This movement to repeal the Missouri Compromise and thus practically to open all the territory to slavery, became the storm center of contemporary politics. Opposition to it became the rallying point about which all divisions of anti-slavery sentiment gathered, created a new party and made the year 1854 memorable in political history. In this movement Michigan took the lead.

THE FIRST JACKSON CONVENTION

The first of the three gatherings which brought about this result was a state convention called by the free democratic party "to effect a complete organization of the free democracy in the state, and to nominate candidates for state officers." The call was issued on January 12, 1854, and the convention was held at Jackson on February 22d. In the meantime numerous county conventions and mass meetings were held to give expression to anti-slavery sentiment. The largest and most significant of these was held in Detroit on February 18th, four days before the state convention. It was called simply as an "Anti-Nebraska" meeting, was attended by both free soilers and whigs, who heard vigorous speeches and adopted strong resolutions against the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill or any further concessions to slavery. It did not send delegates to the free democratic convention, but was the first large meeting to give voice to the suggestion that all anti-slavery elements should unite. The Jackson convention nominated a full state ticket, and adopted a long platform which was progressive in its utterances both upon national and state issues. It conceded that slavery in the states in which it then existed was politically beyond reach, but denounced and abhorred the system. Its utterance upon the issue immediately pending was as follows: "The attempt now pending in Congress to repeal the act by which the vast territory north of the Missouri Compromise line was dedicated to freedom is an outrage upon justice, humanity and good faith; one by which traitorous ambition, confederated with violation of a solemn and time-honored compact is seeking to inflict upon the nation a deep and indelible disgrace. We denounce the scheme as infamous, and we call upon the people to hold its authors and abettors to the most rigid and righteous accountability." The convention gave places on the platform to two leading whigs and advised the calling of a mass convention to take appropriate action.

MASS GATHERING AT KALAMAZOO

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill by Congress and its approval by President Pierce, May 30, 1854, furnished the occasion for holding such a convention. The call, a long and stirring one, parts of which might almost be called hysterical, was signed by several members of an independent democratic committee. The convention was held in the court-house in Kalamazoo, June 21st. It included both whig and free soil leaders and was earnest, harmonious and enthusiastic. It adopted a series of strong resolutions. The one which was



FIRST STATE ELECTION HELD IN DETROIT, 1837

The man with the tall hat is Tom Mason, democratic nominee for governor. Other prominent men in the crowd are Mr. Stillson, Major McKimstry, George C. Bates, F. H. Harris, Kingsbury, of the Morning Post, and Frank Sawyer.

historically the most important declared that the free democracy of Michigan "are confident that the deeply aroused feeling of the masses in this state will seek a suitable expression in a convention springing from themselves irrespective of any political organization, and if such a movement shall be animated and guided by the principles expressed in the resolutions of this convention and shall contemplate an efficient organization to give effect to our principles in this state, we shall willingly surrender our distinctive organization and with it the state ticket nominated at Jackson on the 22d of February last; and we commit the execution of this purpose to a committee of sixteen, two persons to each judicial district."

A ROUSING APPEAL

The committee of sixteen appointed in accordance with this resolution issued a stirring call addressed to "The People of Michigan," and commencing with the words "A great wrong has been perpetrated. The slave power of the country has triumphed. The Missouri Compromise, a solemn compact, entered into by our Fathers, has been violated, and a vast territory, dedicated to freedom, has been opened to slavery." A long recital of the evil consequences resulting from this act was given, ending with the following invitation. "In view therefore, of the recent action of Congress upon this subject, and the evident designs of the Slave power to attempt still further aggressions upon freedom, we invite all our fellow citizens, without reference to former political associations, who think that the time has arrived for a union of the North to protect liberty from being overthrown and downtrodden, to assemble in mass convention on Thursday, the 6th of July next, at one o'clock at Jackson, there to take such measures as shall be thought best to concentrate the popular sentiment of the state against the aggressions of the slave power."

Copies of this appeal were at once printed and circulated. In less than a fortnight 10,000 signatures were obtained and they kept coming in up to the day of the convention. The list from Detroit contained an astonishing number of the leading citizens including whigs, free soilers and many democrats.

THE GREAT CONVENTION

On the day appointed a crowd variously estimated at from 3,000 to 5,000 assembled at Jackson. There were too many to be accommodated in any hall, and adjournment was taken to a nearby grove of oak trees. The crowd was an unwieldy body, too large to be held down to parliamentary procedure, and it contained men of diverse views on many subjects. There were whigs who desired to retain the old name and organization if possible, and whigs who had been working for months to break up the old parties and to organize a new. There were free soilers who distrusted the whigs, and free soilers who thought the whigs as a party were at one with themselves on the vital issue. There were Anti-Nebraska democrats who, on every other question, agreed with their own party, and there were temperance men who wanted a prohibition plank in the platform. But there was sufficient unity of purpose to fuse these incongruous elements. The platform, which was finally and almost unanimously adopted, was long, containing about 2,250 words. It touched very lightly upon state affairs, being devoted almost entirely to the issues raised by the slavery question.

The delicate task of selecting a state ticket, to be submitted to the convention for approval was delegated to a committee selected from the senatorial

districts and numbering eighty-eight members—a fair sized convention of itself. The ticket nominated at the convention February 22d had been withdrawn, but the committee retained its candidate for governor, Kinsley S. Bingham, who had been twice elected to Congress as a democrat, but who had revolted on the slavery question. The rest of the ticket was made up impartially of old whigs and free democrats.

Many of the ablest leaders of the old parties were among the speakers at the convention. There was a strong feeling in favor of a complete union, a willingness to surrender old party ties and sentiment, and a supreme confidence in the success of the movement.

The campaign that followed was carried into every county, almost every school district, and was one of the most spirited ever made in the state. The state ticket was elected together with three out of the four congressmen, and a good working majority in both houses of the legislature. This was the last of democratic supremacy in Michigan for many a weary year. From that day to this the republicans have elected every governor but three, and have had a majority in every legislature but one.

NAME AND PERSONNEL OF THE PARTY

There has been some controversy at different times as to priority in the use of the name for the new party thus launched, and claims have been made both for Wisconsin and Massachusetts. But the evidence of the dates is conclusive. In the voluminous declaration adopted at Jackson was a resolution "That in view of the necessity of battling for the first principles of republican government, and against the schemes of aristocracy the most revolting and oppressive with which the earth was ever cursed or man debased we will cooperate and be known as republicans until the contest be terminated." This was July 6, 1854. The Wisconsin State Convention which was held in Madison a week later, July 13, adopted the same name. The convention at Worcester, Massachusetts, which adopted the name republican, was held six days later, July 19th. A claim of priority was once set up for the Republican Association of Washington, but that was not organized till June 29, 1855. The fact remains that the republican party was born and christened "Under the Oaks" at Jackson.

Of the men who were sufficiently prominent in this epoch making convention to be mentioned in the published reports as officers, speakers or committee members, five were afterwards United States senators. They were Kinsley S. Bingham, Zachariah Chandler, Jacob M. Howard, Isaac P. Christiancy and Henry P. Baldwin. Fernando C. Beaman was appointed United States senator but declined the office. Bingham and Baldwin also held the office of governor as also did Moses Wisner, Austin Blair, John J. Bagley and Charles M. Crosswell. James M. Turner was once nominated for governor but was defeated at the polls. Five prominent members of this convention became judges of United States or state high courts, seventeen became members of the lower house of Congress, and many more held high appointive positions at home or in the diplomatic service.

A NEW CURRENCY ISSUE

The morning after the April election in 1878 the republican leaders in Michigan contemplated the returns with a dazed look and much confusion of mind.

A party to which they had given little heed had invaded their strongholds, carried a few cities and elected a majority of the supervisors in some of the most reliable republican counties. It was the greenback party that had done the mischief. The party was not new, but it had not hitherto polled votes enough in any campaign to furnish an indication of any great latent strength.

A brief statement of antecedent conditions is essential to an understanding of the situation. To meet the needs of the war, Congress in July, 1861, passed an act authorizing the issue of non-interest bearing notes of small denominations and \$60,000,000 of such notes were placed in circulation. They were redeemable in coin at any United States sub-treasury and thus violated none of the established principles of sound finance. This issue facilitated the negotiation of loans and sufficed for war needs for that year. Under the pressure of increasing demands, the first issue of the legal tender currency, which came to be known as greenbacks, was authorized by act of February 25, 1862. These were not redeemable on demand, but in order to secure their circulation they were made a legal tender for all purposes except the payment of customs duties and of interest on the public debt. The lack of the redemption feature and the compulsory circulation of the notes were repugnant to the financial ideas of many of the congressmen who nevertheless voted for the bill on account of the necessities of the situation. The first issue was \$150,000,000, with the stipulation that the \$60,000,000 of treasury notes previously paid out should be retired. By subsequent acts the amount of greenbacks outstanding was increased to \$400,000,000.

After the close of the war the secretary of the treasury, Hugh McCulloch, began retiring the currency with the view of restoring the finances of the country to a specie basis. The plan was to convert the greenbacks into interest bearing bonds, and to depend upon national bank notes for the currency of the country. This aroused strong opposition and in 1868 an act was passed forbidding the further retirement of the greenbacks. The outstanding amount was then \$376,000,000, and it remained at that figure throughout the whole period of currency agitation. In 1874 an act was passed providing for the resumption of specie payments January 1, 1879.

During this whole period there was a constant struggle between two ideas, one to increase the greenback issues and one to retire them. Under various phases and forms of expression the greenback party favored the issue of all currency by the government, in sufficient volume for the wants of trade. It denounced the national bank currency, opposed the resumption of specie payments and would make the greenbacks legal tender for all purposes, including customs duties and interest on the public debt; "What is good enough for the people is good enough for the bondholder" was one of its slogans.

As a separate party it held its first national convention at Indianapolis, Indiana, May 18, 1876, and nominated Peter Cooper for president. Its platform declared in favor of the immediate repeal of the resumption act, and the issue of notes by the government "direct to the people" and convertible on demand into bonds, bearing a rate of interest not exceeding 3.65 percent, the notes to be legal tender for all debts "except such as by existing contracts are payable in coin." Upon this platform the party polled 9,060 votes in the whole of Michigan, and this at a Presidential election. Seventeen months later at purely local spring elections it gave its candidates for supervisor and other local offices over 70,000 votes and put the republican leaders in a panic.

AN AGGRESSIVE AND SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN

A solemn conclave, called by the republican state central committee, was held at the Russell House to consider the situation. A few of those in attendance advised concessions in the hope of bringing back the greenback vote. Gov. Charles M. Crosswell, who, in accordance with custom, was a candidate for re-election, urged that the party should not waver in its declaration for a sound currency. For himself he preferred defeat on such a platform to a victory won by a surrender to unsound theories. His view was accepted with but little dissent, and an aggressive campaign was planned. Ex-Senator Chandler, who had been the most consistent advocate of a sound currency of any senator from the West, was naturally called upon for leadership, and it was determined to offer him the chairmanship of the convention and of the state central committee. He had at that time completed plans for a European trip and one of his timid friends suggested that his chairmanship of the national committee and his contemplated trip would furnish a valid reason for declining to assume these new duties. They would, it was urged, make him responsible for a doubtful campaign and might seriously impair his political prestige. His characteristic reply was "—— you are a d——d coward in politics. I am going to be chairman of the convention and chairman of the state central committee and if the Michigan republican party goes down on a sound money issue, I shall go down with it."

It was under these circumstances that the national greenback party met in state convention at Grand Rapids, June 5, 1878, and nominated Henry S. Smith for governor. The financial part of its platform had five planks, demanding the unconditional repeal of the resumption act; the issue of all paper money by the General Government, the same to be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private; that no more interest bearing bonds of the Government of any kind or class be issued, and that the bonds then outstanding be paid as speedily as possible; that the coinage of silver be placed on the same footing as that of gold, and that the national banking law be repealed.

The republican convention was held in Detroit, June 13, 1878. It was probably the strongest in its personnel of any delegate political convention ever held in the state, and included in its membership many of the veterans who had helped form the party at Jackson twenty-two years earlier. The financial plank of its platform was long enough to constitute an essay on debt and currency. Some of its most meaty sentences were the following:

"We denounce repudiation in every form. We regard the plighted faith of a community as binding upon all its members, and failure to fulfill a public obligation as a stain upon both public and private honor. We insist that the debts of the nation shall be paid with the same fairness and integrity with which the honest man seeks to pay his individual debts. We assert that the value of paper currency, whether issued by the government or the banks is derived from its promise to pay and the credit that promise is worth; that the full benefit of such currency cannot be realized unless it is convertible on demand into gold and silver; that this country is too great to submit to a subordinate place among commercial nations and its people too honest to be content with unredeemed and irredeemable promises; and in the name of all the producing classes, and every honest working man, we demand a currency that is not only worth its face value all over the Union, but will command respect, recognition and its full value in every market of the world."

The ringing utterances of the platform attracted country-wide attention. Among others the New York Times said of it: "The Michigan republicans have done well. Their platform has about it the clear ring of honest convictions, undulled by any half-hearted and halting compromise. So bold and courageous an enunciation of the financial creed of the republican party has certainly not been made this year, nor has the irreconcilable hostility of the party to all forms of tampering with public credit and national honor become as resolutely and judiciously stated as in the Detroit convention."

The democratic convention was held in Detroit, July 10th. Its platform was brief, but continued an adherence to the traditional hard money doctrine of the democracy in the following language: "We declare that gold and silver coin are the money of the constitution, and that all paper money should be convertible into such coin at the will of the holder. We are opposed to the further forcible reduction of the volume of currency, and we approve the action of Congress prohibiting such reduction." Orlando M. Barnes was the candidate for governor.

The campaign that followed was the hottest up to that time in Michigan politics; eminent speakers were brought from other states, the Republican list including James G. Blaine, James A. Garfield and Gen. Stewart L. Woodford. Hundreds of school-house meetings were held and a series of joint debates were arranged. Such was the popular interest that people often remained after the meetings propounding their financial theories till after midnight. The campaign resulted in a republican triumph. The vote on governor was, Crosswell, 126,280; Barnes, 78,508; Smith, 73,313. The republicans also elected all nine congressmen and a good majority in both branches of the Legislature.

THE MICHIGAN CLUB AND ITS WORK

A political movement that was far-reaching in its effects was inaugurated in Detroit early in 1885. The election in 1884 was a disappointment to the republicans. The party majorities in the state on governor and president were much smaller than usual, the First Congressional District was lost and for the first time since the civil war a democratic president was elected. In a conversation between Col. John Atkinson, the defeated republican candidate for Congress, and the chairman of his campaign committee, Henry A. Haigh, emphasis was given to the need of better organization and a campaign of education. A conference with party leaders was arranged by Colonel Atkinson and the idea took definite form in January, 1885, when a number of Detroiters of business and political prominence met at the Russell House and drew up a plan for a club, the object of which should be "the promotion of the study of political and social science, and the collection and dissemination of knowledge concerning the civil and political institutions of the state and nation." Articles of incorporation were signed a month later. The charter members were twenty-five in number, all prominent business and professional men, only three or four of whom would in the ordinary acceptance of the term have been styled politicians. On the 22d of February the first officers were chosen. Christian H. Buhl was president and Henry A. Haigh, secretary. This was considered the natal day of the organization and was the date of all future annual meetings, elections and banquets. The organization was christened "The Michigan Club," and the name continued for twenty years to be a synonym for intelligent and efficient political action. As the first step an attractive and centrally located club room was opened and supplied with good political literature. Arrangements were made for general meet-

ings and for club talks at smaller gatherings, eight of the former and sixteen of the latter being held the first year. A Young Men's League was also formed and held eleven meetings. By the end of the year the club had reached a membership of 2,000 and the League had 250 members.

A SERIES OF NOTABLE BANQUETS

The culminating event of the year was the first annual banquet held in the Princess Theater on the evening of February 22, 1886. This was well staged and set the pace for subsequent functions. The banquet hall itself was a scene of elaborate and tasteful decoration. The menu, though mostly of cold dishes was appetizing and was well served, the music was well selected and the speaking was of a superior order. Sen. Thomas W. Palmer was toastmaster and Governor Alger gave the address of welcome. The speakers for the evening were Sen. William M. Evarts, of New York; Gov. J. B. Foraker, of Ohio; Congressman Richard Guenther, of Wisconsin; Gen. John A. Logan, of Illinois; Sen. Charles F. Manderson, of Nebraska; Sen. Omar D. Conger and Congressman Roswell G. Horr, of Michigan. Letters of regret were read or filed from James G. Blaine, John C. Fremont, John Sherman and a host of cabinet ministers, United States senators and other political lights. Senator Evarts had for the text of his address "Washington the Nationalist, the Federal Union, the Consummate of his work." Other toasts appropriate to the day were: "Washington the Republican," "Washington the Surveyor and Farmer," "Washington the Soldier," "Washington the Protectionist," and "The Day We Celebrate." Still others were, "Our State Governments," "The American Citizen" and "Our New Empire, the Rowdy West," the response to the latter being by Senator Manderson.

This first banquet was typical of those that followed. They were all marked by elaborate decorations both flag and floral, an elegant spread, and political addresses of the highest order and upon a great variety of subjects. Among the speakers within the next five years appear the names of Senators Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts; John P. Dolliver, of Iowa, one of the most eloquent of political orators; Warner Miller, of New York; Jacob H. Gallinger, of New Hampshire; Blanche K. Bruce, of Mississippi, the only colored man ever elected to the United States Senate; John M. Thurston, of Nebraska; William P. Frye, of Maine and Anthony Higgins, of Delaware. Gen. Stewart L. Woodford, of New York, was on the list three times, and Gen. Horace Porter once. A number of cabinet officers and governors of other states attended, while many Michigan governors, senators and congressmen helped swell the lists. At other banquets there were toasts to "Washington the Revolutionist," "Washington the Unionist," "Washington the Soldier," "Washington, the Prototype of American Republicanism," and "Washington, the Virginian," the response to the latter being by John S. Wise of that state. But the toasts were not by any means all devoted to the Father of His Country. In the course of twenty years they covered most of the essential principles and purposes of the Republican party and a number of its slogans.

The banquet of 1888 was a notable one from the fact that the three principal speakers were all recognized as Presidential aspirants or at least as Presidential possibilities. They were Joseph R. Hawley, who was Connecticut's "favorite son" with other New England support in two national conventions, Benjamin Harrison and William McKinley, who were the next two republican presidents. Presidential prospects were freely discussed at club gatherings, and Presidential

timber was not lacking on the programs. During the first five or six years the following were on the list of speakers and they all figured later as candidates in Republican national conventions: Thomas B. Reed, of Maine; John Sherman, of Ohio; John A. Logan, of Illinois; Russell A. Alger, of Michigan; Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana and William B. Allison, of Iowa. Among the speakers in the later years of the club were Frank O. Lowden and Gen. Leonard Wood, both of whom cut a large figure in the national republican convention of 1920. Of all the Presidential possibilities who addressed the club, Hawley and McKinley were favorites. Senator Hawley spoke at two banquets and sent letters of regret to two others. McKinley was among the chief speakers at three banquets before 1896 and once after he became president.

PROPAGANDA WORK

The organization and literature of the club played up individuals strongly. An account of the proceedings one year showed sixteen on the general executive committee, 120 members picked from all over the state on the reception committee, and twelve other committees with from six to fifteen members each. The presidents were generally business men, and not politicians nor office holders. The first nine in succession were Christian H. Buhl, James L. Edson, Clarence A. Black, William H. Elliott, Hazen S. Pingree, Horace Hitchcock, Thomas Berry, George S. Davis and Magnus Butzel.

In the odd numbered years when state elections were held in the spring it became the custom to hold the republican state convention in Detroit on the 22d of February or the day before. The Michigan Club kept open house on these occasions. General Alger also commonly opened his home for a reception to club members and convention delegates. This was always a brilliant social event, while the smoking room and the room adjoining were the scenes of more or less political conference. How many governors, congressmen and other officials were made and unmade in these two days of convention, banquet and club house conferences the public could never conjecture.

The banquets were the most conspicuous of the club's functions, but its other activities were great. In the second year the directors held twenty-five meetings, steps were taken through the Young Men's League to organize every election precinct in the city, and branch clubs, with an average of 400 members each, were organized in fifteen counties. The fourth annual report covering mostly the calendar year 1888 showed continued work in the organization of branches, and a League of Michigan republican clubs. The parent club was also identified in a conspicuous way with the republican national convention at Chicago, where it established headquarters. In the campaign which followed the club had ninety-one speakers on its list and arranged for 131 meetings in Wayne County.

The influence of the club was not confined to its own county or state. Two of the speakers at its first banquet, William M. Evarts of New York and Governor Foraker of Ohio were so much impressed with the value of the club plan for political work that they took steps to secure similar organization in their own states, in both of which large numbers of separate clubs were subsequently established, and consolidated into state leagues. The movement extended still further, for upon invitation of the republican club of New York, delegates from clubs throughout the country met in that city in December, 1887, and organized the Republican League of the United States. At this meeting, the Michigan Club, as the first organization of its kind in the country, was given a prominent

place and the delegates were among the leaders in the councils of the convention. The League of College Republican Clubs was a later outgrowth of the same movement. The original organization in Detroit thus became a veritable incubator of political clubs.

THE LATER POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

Aside from the three here summarized the political movements in Michigan did not vary greatly from those in other northwestern states. The free silver campaign of 1896 was the most hotly contested of any. It weakened old party lines and shattered old alliances. It appealed to business men, as such, more strongly than any other; was marked by more meetings, more speeches and a far greater volume of literature than any other contest. It was in this campaign that noonday meetings at the factories were first conducted on a large scale. A large room on the ground floor of an office building, then under construction, was used for meetings every noon for several weeks. Open air meetings on the Campus Martius had such a hold upon participants that they were reluctant to let go. Arguments and exhortations were vocal from the city hall steps from 8 o'clock in the morning till 2 o'clock the next morning. Even on election day when half their hearers had already voted three of these curbstone orators were still vociferous in the enunciation of their views. It was the greenback campaign over again with added intensity and duration. The circulation of documents was enormous. On the silver side it had been going on for two years. On the other side sixty different documents to the number of more than 4,000,000 copies were sent out by the republican state central committee alone, and large books of reference were furnished in great numbers to the speakers. The result was a substantial majority for McKinley, both in city and state. As a progressive state Michigan naturally went to Roosevelt in 1912, but returned to its republican allegiance in 1916, and remained there very decidedly in 1920.

CHAPTER XX
SLAVERY AND THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

BY WILLIAM STOCKING

SLAVERY AND THE COLORED PEOPLE IN MICHIGAN—ADOPTION OF THE HIGHER
LAW—THE BLACKBURN RESCUE AND RIOT—OTHER SLAVE RESCUES—THE
UNDERGROUND RAILROAD AND ITS OPERATION—THE ANTI-NEGRO RIOT OF
1863—PLANS FORMULATED HERE FOR THE JOHN BROWN RAID IN 1859—A
NOTABLE CELEBRATION OF NEGRO ENFRANCHISEMENT.

Although the ordinance of 1787 dedicated the Northwest Territory to freedom from both Indian and negro slavery, both existed in Michigan for some time after that, as an aftermath of the British rule. The few Indian slaves were mostly captives from the Pawnee Tribe, frequently mentioned in the early records as "Pani slaves." The original source of supply of negro slaves was southern plantations from which marauding bands of Indians brought fugitives. The number in bondage at one time was never large, though most of the leading families were in possession of one or more of this class. They were generally employed as house servants or personal attendants, and in the War of 1812 several accompanied their masters into the field. Joseph Campau, George McDougall, James Duperon Baby, James Abbott, Judge James May, Gen. John R. Williams and John Askin are among those mentioned in the early annals as possessing this kind of property. In 1792 the Canadian authorities forbade the further importation of slaves, but the order was not strictly observed. After the surrender of the forts in 1796, in spite of the ordinance of 1787, slaves were still held in accordance with the stipulation in the Jay Treaty that the inhabitants should be protected in their property. Slavery, however, whether Indian or negro, was a very minor incident in the life of the town. It gradually died out and the sentiment not only of Detroit but of all southern Michigan became in time quite hostile to it. The Constitution of 1835 expressly prohibited slavery in the state. In 1837 one of the first antislavery societies in the west was organized in Detroit. It was short-lived, but the feeling that gave rise to it had already found expression in two very practical ways, passive resistance to the enforcement of the existing fugitive slave law and active aid to fugitives escaping from the South.

ADOPTION OF "THE HIGHER LAW"

There was a large body of men in the North, and Michigan had its full share of them, who were law abiding in most respects but who were uncompromisingly hostile to the Fugitive Slave Law. That act was legally adopted and was of unquestioned constitutionality. But the "Higher Law" doctrine held by these men was that congressional enactment could not make binding upon the conscience nor the acts of citizens a law which was in itself morally

wrong. They considered the whole slavery system an iniquity, and the fugitive slave law as not only wrong in principle, but as harsh in its terms and wantonly cruel, irritating, mischievous and unjust in the methods of its enforcement. In some states they sought to destroy its efficacy by personal liberty laws, but as individuals they simply disobeyed it. For the most part, however, they did not counsel revolution, secession nor armed resistance. Many of them supplemented the higher law by the doctrine of "passive resistance."

If a man of this type knew of a fugitive concealed in Detroit or making his way to Canada he did not consider it a part of his duty to inform the United States marshal of that fact. If he was caught aiding or abetting the escape of the fugitive he would not resist arrest. If he was imprisoned he would bear it with composure. But as God was his judge no power on earth could make him assist to enforce a law which he considered morally wrong and an outrage upon the rights of man. The attempts made in Detroit to enforce the old Fugitive Slave Law led to a few very dramatic events, and had much to do with the enactment of the severer law of 1850.

THE BLACKBURN RESCUE AND RIOT

Runaway slaves frequently found their way to Detroit, generally with the view of crossing over to Canada, though some took the risk of remaining here. Among the latter were Thornton Blackburn and his wife who ran away from their master at Louisville, Kentucky, and came to Detroit in the year 1830. The husband labored for Thomas Coquillard until the summer of 1833, when his master, having obtained information of the whereabouts of his two slaves, sent his agent to this city to claim them as "fugitives from labor." After a trial before Justice Chipman, the runaways were delivered into the custody of Sheriff John M. Wilson, and lodged in the jail, which then stood where the downtown public library now (1920) stands. This occurred on Saturday; and, on the following Monday, the slaves were to be delivered on board the steamer "Ohio," which had been delayed two days beyond her usual time to receive them. Wilson and his deputy, Lemuel Goodell, were, each to receive \$50 for the safe delivery of the fugitives at the dock, at the foot of Randolph Street, then the leading business point in the city. On Sunday Mrs. Blackburn was visited in the jail by two friends, Mrs. Madison J. Lightfoot and Mrs. George French. The latter exchanged clothes with Mrs. Blackburn, who walked out of the jail unsuspected. Mrs. French was released from her voluntary incarceration on a writ of *habeas corpus*, was subsequently rearrested, but finally escaped to Canada. When being taken from jail to the boat on the Monday following his arrest Blackburn himself was rescued by a mob of colored men and their friends, rushed out Gratiot Avenue, then around the city to the Rouge and across the river to Sandwich. In the melee attending the rescue one negro was shot and the sheriff sustained a fractured skull, his teeth were knocked out and he was otherwise injured.

There was great excitement over this event which was afterwards known as the "First Negro Insurrection." The military were at once called out. A company of horsemen, with General Williams at their head, patrolled the streets. Bugles were sounded, and the firebells added to the alarm. The announcement was made at every corner that "the niggers have risen and the sheriff is killed." Every colored man and woman found in the streets was arrested and lodged in the jail, which was crowded to the door. Those who

were innocent of participating in the riot were set free on giving bail for their good behavior. Those who could not give the proper security were kept in prison. The guilty ones were fined in various sums, or sentenced to work on the streets, with ball and chain at their feet. The more guilty had to work and pay a fine in addition. Lightfoot was confined three days, because he was supposed to know who gave Blackburn the pistol, and refused to tell. French made tracks for Windsor. Mrs. Lightfoot was fined \$25 for being "the prime mover in the riot." This she never denied although the real leader was a one-handed barber named Cook. Blackburn and his wife were arrested on the other side, detained for a while, then released and went to Amherstburg. They finally moved to Toronto where Blackburn became prominent and acquired considerable property. Ten years later he took the risk of going in disguise to Louisville and stole his mother from slavery.

OTHER SLAVE RESCUES

The contemporary records give accounts of fugitive slaves rescued from their southern pursuers, though no others quite so dramatic as the Blackburn case. There were always bright and resourceful blacks and plenty of their white friends ready to aid in baffling the slave hunters and the latter complained that even the local officials were either indifferent or obstructive.

One of the last cases under the old law, the Cromwell-Dunn case, illustrated both these phases. Robert Cromwell, a young colored man, left his master, David Dunn of St. Louis, taught school for some years in Indiana and then moved to Detroit. Dunn learned of his whereabouts, came to Detroit, and secured his arrest and detention in the United States courthouse. Cromwell, however, was aided to escape to Windsor, while Dunn was himself arrested, under Michigan law, on the charge of abduction. In default of the high bail demanded he remained in jail six months before his case came to trial and then barely escaped conviction. The ultimate result of this case was not so favorable to the fugitives in general. Dunn was a man of political prominence in Missouri, on intimate terms with Sen. Thomas H. Benton and the recital of his experiences had much to do with the enactment of The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

One of the first cases brought under that law was that of Silas Rose. He had escaped from slavery in Kentucky and had lived in Detroit several years. After the law went into effect he was betrayed by a fellow workman on the Woodbridge farm, was tried in the United States Court and remanded to his former master. Preparations were made to resist his rendition, the Scott Guards were called out and there was every indication of a serious conflict. But a more peaceful course was adopted. A subscription paper was headed by General Cass and money enough was raised to purchase Rose's freedom.

The enactment of the second Fugitive Slave Law, that of 1850, had a depressing effect upon the colored people of Detroit. Many of them sacrificed their property to get away, not knowing how soon they might be carried back into slavery, and it was found necessary by the leading men of the community to assure them that the danger was more imaginary than real. But a sense of security could hardly be established among them. The aiding of fugitives to escape, however, continued to prosper, the number of fugitives crossing at this point became larger than ever, as many as forty-three having been run over in one night, and if the negroes were afraid to live in Detroit, the slave-

hunters also gave the place a wide berth. Isolated minor cases of slave arrests happened from time to time, but little excitement attended them, and no more slaves were returned from this point.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

During this whole period Detroit people took a very active part in the fugitive slave rescue work that went under the name of "The Underground Railroad." This secret line of communication between Kentucky and Canada had many ramifications and devious routes. The principal "way stations" in Michigan were White Pigeon, Kalamazoo, Battle Creek and Marshall. Dependable "agents" were at all these stations. The most successful one was Erastus Hussey, a Quaker, living in Battle Creek, who in the course of his long service aided 1,300 fugitives to escape. Charles T. Gorham, a leading citizen of Marshall, was once tried and fined for his participation in the work. Zachariah Chandler headed a paper with a subscription for paying the fine, but Mr. Gorham preferred to settle with the court out of his own funds. In Detroit the shrewd and efficient "agent" was George DeBaptist, a colored man, and associated with him was another well known colored resident, William Lambert. DeBaptist began his rescue work in 1829, when as a mere lad he aided a fugitive to escape from Richmond, Virginia. In 1838 he became the station agent at Madison, Indiana, which was one of the main crossing points from the slave to the free states. He remained there eight years and during that period he started 108 fugitives toward the north in his own wagon, besides assisting many times that number in other ways. After eight years at Madison he moved to Detroit and continued the work there. The following is condensed from an account once given by Mr. DeBaptist to the writer of the methods pursued in the rescue work: The principal stations on the Ohio river were Cincinnati and Madison from these there were lines extending through the South. From the Ohio River, a chain of stations, a short distance apart, extended to White Pigeon in this state. The fugitives were generally the most intelligent negroes of the South. Frequently they were nearly white, and some were pure white. Agents of the road were constantly traveling in all the southern states. It was their business to convey passengers as far as the Ohio. On the arrival of a fugitive near that river, notice was sent to agents on this side. As it was not safe to write in any letter any intimation of the business of the road, secret means of communication were devised. For instance, Mr. DeBaptist would receive a letter stating: "There is a chance to purchase a horse that will suit your purpose. He is a mahogany bay, young, well broken, large and is just the thing for a minister. You can see him on Tuesday afternoon. Price \$100." From this letter, the agent would understand that a large mulatto, who was a church member, desired his aid to escape north; that he would be at the station in Louisville, Tuesday night, and that he had \$100 to pay his expense. If the letter had described a light brown filly, he would have known that the fugitive was a light colored girl. If it was said that the price would be cheap, he would know that the fugitive had no money, or but very little, and must be provided for by the railroad company. Or the letter would state that "I have secured for you a pair of black and tan pups—good ratters, but young. They will be ready for you next Monday." That would mean two fugitive children. Sometimes the writer would state that the animals, whatever they were, would be sent across the river. In that case, on the night of



**OLD FINNEY HOTEL, BUILT IN 1853, AT CORNER OF WOODWARD
AND GRATIOT AVENUES**



**THE OLD FINNEY BARN AT NORTHEAST CORNER STATE AND
GRISWOLD, SITE OF THE DETROIT SAVINGS BANK**
The old barn was a place of refuge for slaves who were escaping to Canada,
via the "Underground Railroad."

the day mentioned, the agent, or one or more friends, would go down to the bank of the Ohio, after dark, a wagon in waiting a mile or two away, and lie perhaps for hours, at the water's edge, listening for the sound of muffled oars, which were always used to propel a skiff across the river. On landing, the fugitive would be put in charge of runners, to take from station to station, either in wagons, on foot, or on horseback. Often the horse's feet would be muffled, by having the shoes removed, and sometimes by wrapping a bit of carpet over each hoof.

But crossing the Ohio River, which was well guarded by a patrol on the Kentucky shore, and by fugitive slave-hunters, on the lookout for a reward, on the northern shore, was a difficult business. To attempt the feat with a skiff was a dangerous experiment, since, if the skiff were captured, all who were in it would be liable to imprisonment, if white; and, if colored, to be sold into slavery. Consequently other means were resorted to, by which the passage was made on the steamboats. Generally the white agent, dressed to represent a southern planter, or a merchant, would get on board the boat at Louisville, or even further down the river, and secure a stateroom. Immediately on purchasing his ticket, he would inquire anxiously of the clerk of the boat if a boy, or a woman, as the case might be, had brought a bundle aboard for him. The clerk would answer no. The agent would anxiously expect such a messenger. Another agent on the bank, catching a signal, would notify the fugitive who would presently board the boat, with a bundle of clothes, bearing the card of some well known clothing-house, or with a basket of clean linen, and inquire for "Massa Delmar," or whatever name was given by the agent. The agent would recognize his bundle, and proceed to point out his stateroom. The fugitive, having slyly received the key, would go boldly to the stateroom, and lock himself in. The agent would linger outside, in the cabin, or on deck, play cards, or join in conversation with passengers, and not go to his stateroom at all, or until very late at night. When the boat arrived at Cincinnati, or some other good stopping place, a southern passenger, with his servant, would land, or the fugitive would slip off alone. Frequently women were employed to bring away women in this way. Agents rarely or never spoke to each other, and never spoke to the fugitives in their care in the presence of others. If any one should turn traitor, or be discovered and arrested, nobody could suspect the others of ever having known him.

One of the principal "passenger depots" upon the northern end of the underground railroad in Detroit was that conducted by Seymour Finney, a native of New York state, who came to Michigan in 1834. Mr. Finney was a tailor by trade and followed this vocation in Detroit until 1838, when ill health forced him to seek other occupations, among them being that of hotel-keeper. It was in this connection that he became of service to the fugitive slaves. In the year 1850 he purchased a site at the corner of Woodward and Gratiot avenues, where later stood the Finney House; he also bought the lot at the corner of Griswold and State streets, where now stands the Detroit Savings Bank building, and here he erected a commodious barn which he operated in connection with his tavern, then known as the Temperance Hotel. Being strongly sympathetic with the cause of the escaping slaves, Mr. Finney employed every means to assist those that were sent to him across the river into Canada. His barn served as a hiding-place for the negroes until they could reach the river bank, whence they either swam across or were transported in small boats, invariably

at night. Hundreds were taken care of in this way by Mr. Finney and his descendants relate that many of the black men, in their gratitude, assumed his name after reaching Canada. Many times, when his hotel housed the pursuing slave-masters, he was "accommodating" the pursued in the nearby barn.

There were countless variations in the methods of reaching Detroit, every story almost constituting a separate romance. If a fugitive once reached this city he was comparatively safe. There were plenty of sympathizing friends here with sure places of concealment, and secret means of getting across the river. The fugitives who settled in this part of Canada, between 1840 and 1860 were counted by the hundreds.

THE RIOT OF 1863

In 1863 came an anti-negro riot that was not connected with the slavery question. At that time there had arisen a bitter feeling against the negroes in many northern cities. Many democratic papers had been charging that the war was caused by the Abolitionists. They pointed to the negro as the cause of all the sufferings of the nation. They declaimed against the draft that was then approaching and stirred up a feeling against the provost marshal who was then preparing for carrying out that measure. Many of them sympathized with the Knights of the Golden Circle and other secret disloyal associations that had correspondents here, and in many ways they inflamed the passions and prejudices of the mob. The city was close to the Canadian refuge of deserters, bounty jumpers and fugitives from the impending draft. Thursday, February 26th, a man named William Faulkner, having a trifle of negro blood in his veins, was arrested charged with having outraged the person of a girl named Mary Brown. Though young, she was even then of doubtful reputation and afterwards became a prostitute and common thief. The first day set for the trial the proceedings were prevented by a mob which assaulted Faulkner when on his way from the jail to the court room, and he was barely rescued from their hands and returned to jail. The next day the trial proceeded, and on the testimony of the girl Faulkner was convicted and sentenced to prison for life. Attempts were made by the mob to secure his person for the purpose of lynching, but those were frustrated by a squad of soldiers from the provost marshal's office. The mob then turned against other negro residents. Black men, women and children were savagely attacked, and houses were pillaged and set on fire. In the course of the day and evening thirty-five houses were burned, two persons were killed, four others received pistol wounds, a dozen or more others were maimed or disfigured for life, while many fled to Canada for safety. The local military companies were called out and five companies of the volunteer army were brought from camp at Ypsilanti. By midnight order was restored.

Faulkner always strenuously maintained his innocence and his claim came to be generally accepted, as the girl also confessed that it was a "put up" job. But he remained in prison for seven years, when he was pardoned by Governor Baldwin.

THE JOHN BROWN RAID

The plans for John Brown's raid were matured in this city. He arrived here with fourteen slaves from Missouri in the summer of 1859. It happened that Frederick Douglass was lecturing in this city the same evening that Brown

arrived. After the lecture the leaders of the insurrectionary movement got together in the house of William Webb, on Congress Street, near St. Antoine Street, and arranged the plan for the raid on the South, which broke out prematurely at Harper's Ferry. Leading colored people of Detroit and Chatham were present at the meeting. Douglass objected to Brown's plan, which originally was to make raids on single plantations until he had collected a force of about 1,000 slaves, and then swoop down on the large towns and cities, collecting force and material as he progressed. Brown became angry, and asked Douglass if he was a coward, and referred to his successes in Kansas as an augury of the Virginia campaign. Douglass replied that he was not a coward, and would give material aid to the plan even if he did not approve of it, or did not go himself. George DeBaptist also disapproved of the plan, but proposed a gunpowder plot, by which some of the largest churches in the South would be blown up on a fixed Sunday. Brown objected to that plan on the score of humanity, asserting that by his plan not a hundred lives would be lost, his intention being not to shed blood unless it became absolutely necessary. DeBaptist still urged radical measures, declaring that Brown's plan would fail, and perhaps cause the loss of a million of lives before the troubles likely to ensue would be ended. He cited in support of his position the fact that the Nat. Turner insurrection, in 1831, by which fifty-three white lives were lost, had had the effect of causing the next Virginia Legislature to consider a bill for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, which bill was lost by only two votes.

Ossawatomie's counsel finally prevailed, and the only favor, besides money and advice, that he asked of his Detroit friends, was to furnish him one man, which they did—a Chathamite. The news of the disturbance at Harper's Ferry, which took the nation with so much surprise, was perfectly well understood by the colored people of this city. They anticipated the event, since one Foster had divulged in Washington the plans of Brown, who, in consequence, was obliged either to abandon his enterprise or precipitate matters. He chose the latter alternative, though aware that he was taking a desperate chance.

AN ENFRANCHISEMENT CELEBRATION

Thursday, February 7, 1870, was a memorable day for the colored people in Detroit, for on that day the full citizenship that the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution brought them was commemorated. The celebration called out most of the colored people in the city, and many from Windsor and Sandwich, with a host of sympathizing white friends. The national flag was displayed on the post office and many private buildings. In the procession with which the celebration opened were a squad of the metropolitan police, the full band of the Twenty-eighth United States Infantry, one hundred and fifty members of the Union League, the Youths Mental Improvement Company, colored members of the Masonic fraternity, officers and speakers of the day, the Light Guard Band, a chariot carrying twenty-nine girls representing the twenty-nine states that ratified the amendment, and hundreds of citizens on foot. On the banners that were carried in the procession were portraits of William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, President Grant, President Lincoln, Senator Revels and John Brown. There were many appropriate inscriptions, and George De Baptist displayed on his place of business a "Notice to all stockholders of the Underground Railroad, This office is closed. Hereafter all stockholders will receive dividends according to their merits."

At the opera house where the exercises were held the veteran William Lambert presided, and Governor Baldwin made the opening address. Letters were read from William Lloyd Garrison, Sen. Carl Schurz, Sen. Jacob M. Howard who framed the fifteenth amendment, Frederick Douglass and others. A poem was read by J. Madison Bell, of Toledo, "the colored poet of America." The orator of the day was John D. Richards, an associate of DeBaptist and Lambert in the earlier struggles of the race, and one of the best known and most talented colored men in the West. Other speakers were William A. Howard and William Jennison.

The exercises were continued in the evening at Merrill Hall, where the first address was by Lewis Clark of Canada, the "George Harris" of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and congratulatory speeches were made by about a dozen others, both white and colored. The celebration, taking it all together, was one of the most notable and most interesting ever held in the city, and the colored people of Detroit thus entered upon their new duties and privileges with high hope and keen anticipation.

PART III

INDUSTRIAL

CHAPTER XXI

AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS

FIRST FARMING IN WAYNE COUNTY—GAME AND WILD FRUITS—PRIMITIVE METHODS—CADILLAC'S LAND GRANTS—IMMIGRATION ENCOURAGED—UNDER THE BRITISH—FAMINES—UNITED STATES SURVEYS—FIRST AUCTION SALE OF PUBLIC LANDS—RECLAIMING THE SWAMPS—FRUIT GROWING—PEAR TREES—AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES AND FAIRS—FARMERS' INSTITUTES—SEED FARMS AND SEED DISTRIBUTION.

The first farming in Wayne County was done by the men who came with Cadillac in the late summer of 1701. The first wheat was sown on the 7th of October of that year. As a large number of the Frenchmen who came at that time were soldiers, and as the fur trade was the principal reason for the establishment of the Detroit post, little attention was paid to agriculture during the early years of the settlement. Game was plentiful, hence the French pioneers had little need of domestic animals for food. Elk, moose, deer, bear, and smaller animals such as squirrels and rabbits abounded and any desired quantity of meat could soon be obtained by a skillful hunter. The lakes and the Detroit River contained an inexhaustible supply of fish, while waterfowl of all kinds were so tame that they could be killed without difficulty. In a letter to one of the Paris officials, dated October 8, 1701, Cadillac said:

"The gabbling goose, the duck, the widgeon and the bustard are so abundant that to give an idea of their numbers I must use the expression of a savage whom I asked before arriving if there was much game. 'So much,' said he, 'that they draw up in lines to let the canoes pass through.'"

Wild fruits, too, especially grapes, plums and various kinds of berries, grew in profusion. From the Indians were learned the arts of cultivating Indian corn and making maple sugar, and swarms of wild bees stored their honey in the hollow branches of the trees. In a country where Nature had done so much to provide for the wants of man, it is not surprising that agricultural progress was slow for some years after the founding of the colony. The first farms were small and poorly tilled, chiefly because there was no incentive to greater effort, the only market for the surplus product of the farms being that afforded by the soldiers of the garrison, the few tradesmen and their families.

CADILLAC'S GRANTS

When Antoine de LaMothe Cadillac received his commission to establish a post on the Detroit River, he was granted a tract of land "fifteen arpents square." As the French arpent and the United States acre are nearly the same, Cadillac's grant contained about two hundred and twenty-five acres. In 1803 the United States Government instructed Mr. Jouett, the Indian agent

at Detroit, "to inquire into and report the situation of the titles and occupation of the lands private and public." His report states: "Of the 225 acres granted to Cadillac in 1701, only four acres were occupied by the town and Fort Lernoult; the remainder, except twenty-four acres added to William Macomb's farm, is a common."

While it may be that the direct grant to Cadillac consisted only of the small tract fifteen arpents square, copies of documents on file in the archives at Quebec show that he claimed all the land on both sides of the Detroit River from Lake Erie to Lake St. Clair (some writers say to Lake Huron). His reasons for this claim were: That he had been at heavy expense in planting the permanent post at Detroit; that the establishment of the fort there would prevent the English from gaining control of the trade with the western Indians; that the treaty of peace negotiated by him with the Iroquoian tribes would result in great benefits to New France; that he had settled friendly Indians at points along the river to assist him in maintaining the French supremacy over the territory; and that for all these services he was entitled to the land as a reward.

Whether or not the title to these lands was every fully vested in Cadillac is an open question, but there is no doubt that, under the instructions given him by Count Pontchartrain on June 14, 1704, and the royal edicts of June, 1706, he was granted authority to dispose of the lands along the river for the general good of the colony. So far as can be learned, the first grants made by Cadillac were made in the spring of 1707. According to the records of Ste. Anne's Church for July 29, 1708, "Francois Clarembault, Sieur d'Aigremont, Navy Commissary in Canada, subdelegate of the Surveyor and King's Deputy for surveying the Military Posts," was then in Detroit. In his official report Aigremont says that he caused the lands at Fort Pontchartrain (Detroit) to be measured and found 350 arpents improved, of which LaMothe had 157 arpents and the French inhabitants forty-six arpents. He does not account for the other 147 arpents in his report. He states, however, that sixty-three of the inhabitants owned lots inside the stockade and twenty-nine had farms outside.

Clarence M. Burton, in his "Detroit Under Cadillac", states that he had found the names of thirty-one of Cadillac's grantees. These names, in the order in which the grants were made, are as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Pierre Mallet | 17. Francois Margué |
| 2. Francois Fafard de Lorme | 18. Jacques L'Anglois |
| 3. Baptiste Gorion | 19. Paul L'Anglois |
| 4. Jacob de Marsac | 20. Antoine Texier |
| 5. André Bombardie | 21. Francois Jardis |
| 6. Pierre Hemard | 22. Pierre Chantelon |
| 7. Bonnaventure Compien | 23. Jean Richard |
| 8. Jerome Marliard | 24. A man named Laloire |
| 9. Pierre Estevé | 25. Pierre Leger |
| 10. Estienne Bontron | 26. A man named Lefleur |
| 11. Antoine Dupuis | 27. Michel Campos (Campo) |
| 12. Joseph Parent | 28. Jean Durant |
| 13. Michel Dizier (Disier) | 29. Blaise Surgere |
| 14. Francois Bosserou | 30. Francois Massé |
| 15. Jacob de Marsac | 31. Damoisell de la Mothe |
| 16. Antoine Dupuis | |

The last named was a daughter of Cadillac. Her grant extended three

leagues down the Detroit River from the mouth of the Ecorse, was five leagues deep and included Grosse Ile. (In addition to this list of land grants for farms, there is the list of grants within the village and in the "gardens," given in Chapter VI of this work. A full description of all the grants is published in Volume 33, pp. 373-82, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections.) Mr. Burton states further:

"The farm lands, so far as we can now know, were nearly all granted up stream from the fort. One grant, the only one of which we had positive knowledge, up to the discovery of the transfers I have recently unearthed, was to de Lorme. This farm is still called the de Lorme farm, from its original proprietor, and is situate in the Township of Grosse Pointe, a short distance east of the present water-works. * * *

"Every farm had a narrow frontage on the river. Only a few acres were cultivated, but a log house was built and an orchard planted. There was a road along the front as close to the river as possible. During the wet seasons of the year this road was impassable and the neighbors communicated by boats on the river; for every family had a canoe. The people had cattle, sheep and horses. The latter were originally brought from France. There is no evidence that the Indians, in this part of the country, had any ponies before the coming of the Europeans. Mention is made of one horse, Colon, which Cadillac had in the village at the time of his command, as the only equine in the country.

"The farms were all very narrow and each fronted on the river. There was a two-fold reason for this way of dividing the country. Every farm had its own water right and the driest season never prevented a supply of water for necessary purposes. The farms were so narrow, and the houses on them so near to each other, that in case of danger, each house could signal to the next one without much delay or trouble. * * * The lands in the country in the rear of these river farms were never granted, either by the French or British governments. The first grant of any considerable size was that made by the United States to Michigan Territory in 1806 of the ten thousand acre tract, now partly in the City of Detroit."

The list of those who had contracts for gardens around the fort follows: M. D'Argenteuil, Pierre Mallett, Jacob De Marsac, Jacques L'Anglois, Louis Normand, Pierre Estevé, Jerome Marliar, Michel Disier, Estienne Bontron, Bonnaventure Compien, Chantelon, Pierre Porrier and Pierre Leger. All of these claims were of one half arpent, except that of D'Argenteuil, which was of one arpent.

Although the terms on which the first land grants were made were so onerous as to discourage intelligent efforts at farming, when the grantees were assured of their tenure of possession, agricultural conditions were greatly improved. After 1707 there was usually a good crop of wheat every year, and it is said that 2,400 bushels were exported in 1714. Besides wheat, Indian corn and a variety of vegetables were cultivated, enough produce being raised to supply the needs of the garrison and the villagers. There are but few recorded instances of food scarcity between the year 1710 and the surrender of Detroit to the English in 1760. In 1747, when the rivalry between the French and English for control of the fur trade became so intense that war was imminent, a large number of Indians collected at Detroit and they were supplied with food in order to hold their allegiance. This caused a shortage so serious that Le Moine, the commandant, appealed to the authorities at Montreal for aid. On Septem-

ber 22, 1747, Captain Celoron arrived with several bateaux loaded with provisions and about one hundred and fifty men, among whom were a number of traders and their servants.

Two years later Comte de la Gallissoniere, governor-general of New France, decided to encourage immigration to Detroit and on May 24, 1749, issued the following proclamation:

"Every man who will go to settle in Detroit shall receive gratuitously, one spade, one axe, one ploughshare, one large and one small wagon. We will make an advance of other tools to be paid for in two years only. He will be given a cow, of which he shall return the increase, also a sow. Seed will be advanced the first year, to be returned at the third harvest. The women and children will be supported one year. Those will be deprived of the liberality of the King, who shall give themselves up to trade in place of agriculture."

Under this liberal offer more than one hundred men came to Detroit during the next two years, several of them bringing their families. A census taken in 1750 showed a resident population of 483, who owned 160 horses, 682 cattle and a large number of domestic fowls. More immigrants came in 1751 and 1752, but in the latter year the crops were almost an utter failure and immigration practically ceased. Prosperity evidently returned to the colonists, for Bougainville, who visited Detroit in 1757, wrote:

"There are two hundred habitations abundantly supplied with cattle, grains and flour. The farmers can raise as many cattle as they want, as there is abundant pasture. They gather, in ordinary years, 2,500 measures of wheat and much oats and corn. * * * It would be well for the authorities to encourage the inhabitants of Detroit in the cultivation of their land and afford them facilities for selling their produce. It would be a great advantage to procure from them all the provisions needed in the garrisons of the forts Presque Ile, Marchand, Riviere-de-Boeuf and Duquesne; as the expenses of transportation from Montreal are excessively high, and there is such great difficulty in getting the provisions that the garrisons are often in danger of being in need."

UNDER THE BRITISH

After the surrender of Detroit to the English in 1760, agriculture languished. This was due to several reasons. In the first place there were the unsettled conditions which naturally came with a change of government. Then, about the time the English authority was firmly established, came the Pontiac War. A few years later the industries of the community were greatly disarranged by the English policy of banishing those suspected of entertaining disloyal sentiments. The farms were all owned by Canadians, many of whom fell under the ban of suspicion. Some writers have asserted that the French farmers were slothful and negligent. Perhaps this is true, but it should be remembered that there was no inducement for them to be more industrious and frugal. If they raised a large crop the surplus had to be sold in a restricted market at unremunerative prices; and if any one dared to utter a sentence unfavorable to the British he was liable to be arrested and sent into exile. The fur trade was the only business that brought an income from abroad. Within a very few years this trade was monopolized by the English. The farmers then began to raise merely enough to supply themselves and families, spending much of their time in hunting and fishing.

The result of all this was that there were more famines during the thirty-six

years of British rule than there had been during the fifty-nine years while the French were in control. In 1768 there were over five hundred acres under cultivation and nearly ten thousand bushels of corn were harvested, yet only two years later food was so scarce that a famine was threatened. The worst conditions occurred early in the year and were caused by the late opening of navigation. Several boats which tried to cross Lake Erie early in the season were frozen in the ice, some of them within forty miles of Detroit, and a number belonging to traders were destroyed by storms.

After the beginning of the Revolutionary War local farmers were still further discouraged. Great quantities of provisions were shipped from Montreal, to feed the large parties of Indians almost constantly gathered at the post, and the resident farmers were rarely depended upon for supplies. If a shipment was delayed a scarcity was certain to result. On March 10, 1780, Colonel De Peyster, then commandant, wrote to Col. Mason Bolton at Niagara, urging him to forward a consignment of provisions with haste, because "The distress of the inhabitants here is very great for want of bread; not an ounce of flour or a grain of corn to be purchased."

Two days later he wrote to Lieut.-Gov. Patrick Sinclair at Michilimackinac: "Everything here is in the greatest tranquility except the cry for bread, the inhabitants being so much in want that without the assistance of the King's stores many must starve."

According to David Zeisberger, the Moravian missionary, flour was so scarce in Detroit in June, 1784, that it sold for £7, 13s. per hundred pounds, and mention is made of one instance where a man offered a baker a Spanish dollar for a single loaf of bread. In his diary for July 17, 1789, Mr. Zeisberger wrote:

"From Detroit two white people came here on their way to Pittsburgh, who told us there was such a famine there that most of the French were living upon grass; that neither corn, flour nor bread was to be had in the city for money, and that five children in the settlement had starved to death. There is a common famine in the whole country and what was this year planted has been eaten by worms, so that the fields stand bald and bare."

UNITED STATES SURVEYS

On March 26, 1804, President Jefferson approved an act of Congress establishing a land office at Detroit. Frederick Bates was appointed receiver and George Hoffman register. This office was opened about ten months before the Territory of Michigan was created, and only a small part of the public domain in the vicinity of Detroit had been surveyed preparatory to settlement.

Under the act of May 16, 1812, Aaron Greeley was employed by the United States Government to survey the private claims in Michigan and the register and receiver of the Detroit land office were appointed commissioners to "examine and report on all claims under French and English grants." After much delay and subsequent legislation on the subject by Congress, the titles to 733 private claims were confirmed by the United States Government.

Early in the year 1815 Congress passed an act providing for the appointment of a surveyor-general for the unsurveyed lands in the State of Ohio and the territories of Indiana and Michigan. Edward Tiffin was appointed surveyor-general and located his office at Chillicothe, Ohio. The first public surveys in Michigan, under a general law, were made under Mr. Tiffin's direction. On November 30, 1815, after a casual examination of the country around Detroit,

he wrote to the commissioner of the general land office at Washington: "There is not one acre in a hundred, if there is in a thousand, that will in any case admit of cultivation. It is all swampy and sandy."

About two weeks later he made another report, in which he said: "Subsequent investigations confirm my previous statements and make the country out worse, if possible, than I had represented it to be. * * * Detroit and the private claims near by are somewhat better, without so many swamps and lakes, but the region as a whole is extremely sterile and barren."

The effect of these reports was to discourage immigration to Michigan for a time and, outside of the immediate vicinity of Detroit and along the Detroit River, but few farms were opened in Wayne County until about 1820. The first auction sale of public lands in Michigan took place at the old council house in Detroit on July 6, 1818, pursuant to a proclamation of President James Monroe, issued on May 1, 1818. Not many bidders presented themselves and the average price per acre paid for lands at that sale was \$4, a few choice parcels near the city bringing as much as \$40.

Persons who purchased lands at the auction sale and began farming were soon convinced of the inaccuracy of the surveyor-general's reports. On December 13, 1825 the following item appeared in the Detroit Gazette:

"We mention as a singular fact, and entirely new to this territory, that a wagon-load of flour arrived in town last week from the interior. It was made at Colonel Mack's Mills at Pontiac, and we understand that there are several hundred barrels there which will be brought in soon."

Such news as this, with letters written by the pioneers to their friends, started a steady stream of immigration that continued for several years after Michigan was admitted to statehood. Between the years 1830 and 1840, according to the United States census reports, the population of Wayne County increased from 6,781 to 24,173 and over ten thousand of the newcomers settled in the rural districts. During this decade the survey of the county was finished, most of the public lands was taken up and farming became a permanent and well established industry.

RECLAIMING THE SWAMPS

Originally much of the land in the county was too wet for cultivation. On March 15, 1861, Governor Blair approved an act of the legislature authorizing county boards of supervisors, in counties where there were swamp lands, to appoint three drain commissioners to superintend the work of reclaiming such lands by proper drainage. Some attempts to reclaim the swampy tracts had been made prior to the enactment of this law, but for lack of intelligent direction and concerted action on the part of the land owners, these efforts had been only partially successful. L. J. Ford, T. P. Martin, and Franklin M. Wing were appointed drain commissioners in Wayne County and they inaugurated a system of drainage that in the end reclaimed many acres of the county's wet lands, hitherto regarded as worthless.

At first the drain commissioners met with some opposition, some farmers objecting to the cost of ditches, but after the first swamp lands were drained and found to be the most productive in the county these objections vanished. By the act of March 22, 1869, the drainage law was amended, so that only one drain commissioner was allotted to a county, and he was to be elected by the voters on the first Monday in April annually. The amended law of April 13,

1871 provided for the election of a drain commissioner in each township, "to locate and construct ditches for drainage purposes," all ditches to be made under his direction. By this township system many small drains were constructed, connecting with the larger ditches made by the county drain commissioners. A few years later, the swamp lands having been drained, the office of drain commissioner was abolished. It was revived, however, in 1910, when it was found that some one with authority was necessary to keep the ditches open and in good working order.

FRUIT GROWING

Apple, cherry and pear trees were planted by the early French settlers and many of them were still bearing when the Americans came into possession in 1796. Concerning the old French orchards, Bela Hubbard, in a paper read before the Detroit Pioneer Society on May 2, 1872, said:

"Though many of the farms so closely crowded along the river banks had orchards comprising several hundred of these fruit trees, and few were entirely destitute, it is singular that little is known of their history. In answer to inquiries, old people will tell that their ancestors obtained the trees from Montreal, to which place they were brought at a still earlier day from Normandy or Provence; but they have no knowledge when or from whence. The prevailing opinion is that the seeds were brought from France and planted as soon as the first permanent settlements were made on the Straits, about a century and a half ago."

Then, after describing some of the varieties of apples, including the Colville, Pomme Caille, Snow, Detroit Red, the russets, pearmaines, etc., Mr. Hubbard continued:

"But the crowning glory of the French orchard was the pear tree. Nearly every homestead possessed one, some two or three, few exceeded a half-dozen. Such was its wonderful size and productiveness that one specimen usually amply satisfied the wants of a family. These pear trees were and still are conspicuous objects in the river scenery, and for size, vigor and productiveness are truly remarkable. A bole six feet in girth and height of sixty feet are only common attainments. Many show a circumference of trunk of eight or nine feet and rear their lofty heads seventy and sometimes eighty feet from the earth. They bear uniform crops; thirty to fifty bushels being often the annual product of a single tree. The fruit is of medium size, ripening about the end of August and, though as a table fruit superseded by many sorts which an improved horticulture has introduced, it still holds a fair rank, in some respects not surpassed, if equaled, by any. The flesh is crisp, juicy, sweet and spicy. For stewing and preserving it is quite unrivaled."

The "improved horticulture" mentioned by Mr. Hubbard, introduced numerous varieties of small fruits, berries, etc., and as the City of Detroit grew in population many of the adjacent farmers turned their attention to "truck raising," the city affording a profitable and convenient market. Dairy farming has also received considerable attention in recent years, the number of milch cows has greatly increased and creameries have been established in several of the larger villages of the county.

AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES

On April 24, 1837, a meeting was held at the city hall in Detroit for the purpose of organizing a county agricultural and horticultural society. David

C. McKinstry presided and Henry G. Hubbard acted as secretary. The meeting was well attended by the farmers residing within easy reach of the city and the result was the organization of the Wayne County Agricultural and Horticultural Society. At this meeting was made the first proposition to organize a state agricultural society, which culminated successfully a few years later. The Wayne County organization continued in existence for several years, when it was succeeded by the Detroit Horticultural Society, which held annual exhibitions for a number of years.

The first annual fair given by the Michigan State Agricultural Society was opened on September 25, 1849, and continued for three days. The fair grounds at that time were on Woodward Avenue, about four blocks north of Grand Circus Park between Columbia and High streets. State fairs were afterward held in other cities, but of later years they have been held at the State Fair Grounds north of Palmer Park. The State Agricultural Society has given way to the Michigan State Board of Agriculture, under whose auspices the fairs are now held annually.

Work formerly undertaken by the county and local agricultural societies is now carried on much more intelligently and systematically by the county agricultural agent and farmers' institutes, assisted by the State Agricultural College. The Wayne County Farmers' Institute is held every year at one of the county towns, and here several hundred of the farmers meet for a three or four days' session. In addition to the county institute, district institutes are held in other towns of the county, such as Belleville, Canton, Eureka, Flat Rock, Inkster, Redford, Romulus, Northville, Plymouth, West Sumpter, and Willow. Each of these district institutes consists of a forenoon and afternoon session, at which a state speaker or instructor presides. By this medium the work of the Agricultural College has been brought to the farmers' very doorstep, by giving them instruction in the various subjects in which they are directly interested, such as rotation of crops, fertilization of the soil, spraying of fruit trees, etc.

As an example of what this work has done for the farmers of the county, observations conducted at Plymouth have disclosed the fact that the latest killing frost in the spring, since the observations commenced, occurred on the 28th of May, and the earliest killing frost in the autumn on the 2d of September. The average dates in spring and fall are shown to be May 7th and October 3d. With this knowledge, the farmer understands that his average season is one hundred and forty-nine days for planting, cultivating and harvesting his crops, hence he is not likely to plant too soon in the spring or delay the gathering of his crops until they are injured by frost.

Naturally, in a county like Wayne, where there is a city of a million or more inhabitants, less publicity is given to the agricultural interests than in a county that has no large metropolitan center. Yet, according to the United States census report for 1920, the population of Wayne County is 1,177,706, of which it is safe to say more than 50,000 consists of those engaged in agricultural pursuits. And a tour through the county will convince the most casual observer that the farmers of Wayne are as progressive in their ideas as any in the State of Michigan.

SEED FARMS

One of the important factors in successful agriculture and horticulture is good seed for planting. Detroit for years has been noted for the quantity and

quality of seeds supplied to farmers and gardeners in all parts of the Union. As early as 1820, James Abbott, then postmaster, conceived the idea of raising seeds for the post gardeners and scattered frontier farmers in Michigan. His "farm" was a portion of the block bounded now by Woodward Avenue, Atwater, Griswold and Woodbridge Streets. From the tough paper wrappers that came around mail packages, he made a number of small bags for his crop of seeds. The following spring, as soon as navigation opened, a few dozen bags were sent to Saginaw, Michilimackinac, and Green Bay, to be sold to the post gardeners and the few farmers near the posts. The seeds grew well and the next year there was a demand for more, but Mr. Abbott was not in a position to supply that demand and finally gave up the business entirely.

In 1852 Dexter M. Ferry, then not quite twenty years of age, came to Detroit from New York State and obtained a position as clerk in the book store of Elwood and Company. Four years later he formed a partnership with M. T. Gardner and began the seed business. The business prospered and a farm of 300 acres in Greenfield Township was purchased. After several changes in the personnel of the firm, the business was incorporated in 1879 under the name of the D. M. Ferry & Company, with a capital stock of \$750,000. The first headquarters of this concern was in a small store-room on Monroe Avenue, which was destroyed by fire in January, 1886. Mr. Ferry died November 10, 1907, but the business he established survives and annually millions of dollars' worth of seeds are shipped to every state of the Union and to several foreign countries. The seeds supplied by this firm are intended principally for truck farmers and gardeners, while other firms, such as that of Caughey & Jossman, meet the want of the farmer of field crops.

CHAPTER XXII

COMMERCIAL DETROIT

EARLY COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS—UNDER ENGLISH RULE—EARLY MERCHANTS—THE FIRST BOOM—AMERICAN MERCHANTS—THE WHOLESALE TRADE—RETAIL TRADE—DOWNTOWN BUSINESS VALUES—THE CUSTOM HOUSE—COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS—ORGANIZATION OF THE BOARD OF TRADE—FIRST BOARD OF TRADE BUILDING AND SUBSEQUENT STRUCTURES—COMMERCIAL CONVENTION OF 1865—FIRST WATERWAY CONVENTION—THE MERCHANTS' AND MANUFACTURERS' EXCHANGE—FIRST DEEP WATERWAY PROJECT—CHAMBER OF COMMERCE—THE BOARD OF COMMERCE.

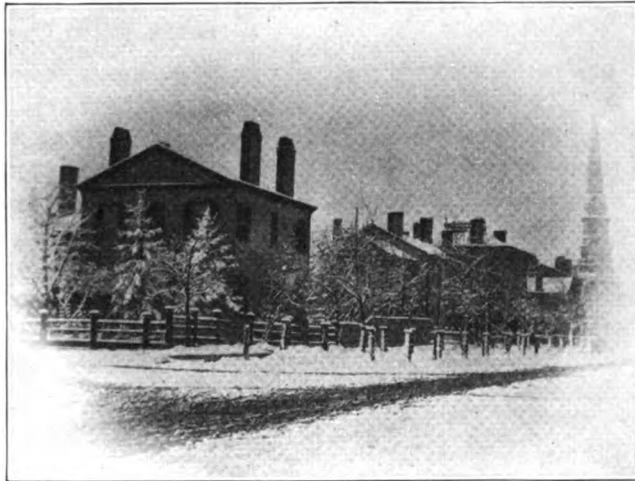
The early commercial transactions of Detroit were confined almost exclusively to the fur trade, the Indians being the principal customers. In 1703, Detroit was only two years old, yet it was one of the most important trading posts in the Great Lakes region. The greater portion of the stocks of goods carried by the traders of that period consisted of bright-colored cloths, gewgaws, etc., intended for the Indian trade, though a small quantity of staples was kept for the accommodation of the few white settlers. Spirituous liquors were also an important part of the traders' stocks, as the savage was never so amenable to a profitable trade as when under the persuasive influence of rum, or with a barrel of it in prospect.

Between Cadillac, the founder of the post, and the Company of the Colony of Canada, there arose a controversy over the control of the trade, which had a tendency to retard the growth of the village. An account of this controversy is given in one of the earlier chapters of this history.

Before many years the French put into operation the custom of issuing licenses, or selling traders' permits, became general. The number of traders or merchants increased and they soon discovered they had to pay tribute, not only to the commandant of the post, but also to the minor officials, including the chaplain. The cost of these permits to engage in trade so handicapped the merchants that their profits frequently were on the debit side.

UNDER ENGLISH RULE

Detroit was surrendered to the English on November 29, 1760, and on September 3, 1761 Sir William Johnson, who had been appointed superintendent of the Indian tribes, arrived. He expressed his desire to regulate trade and put the commerce of the colony on a firmer basis. To this end he notified the traders that they would be required to obtain a license from him or his deputy, Capt. George Croghan, and that only one fee would be exacted. Despite Sir William's promises and precautions, frauds occasionally were reported and in the spring of 1766 he appointed Jehu Hay as resident commissioner of trade, with power "to supervise the dealings of the merchants and redress grievances between the whites and Indians." Under his administration as commissioner there was more uni-



JOHN PALMER HOMESTEAD, SOUTHWEST CORNER GRISWOLD AND FORT
 Built in 1823; removed in 1869



RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR JOHN J. BAGLEY
 Site of Statler Hotel



OLD SHELEY HOUSE, EAST SIDE OF WOODWARD JUST ABOVE GRATIOT, IN 1867

formity of prices, goods of better quality were brought in and the commerce of Detroit took on a healthier tone.

Jehu Hay remained in Detroit until the Revolutionary war, was promoted to the rank of major, accompanied Hamilton to Vincennes, where he was captured and after being exchanged was appointed lieutenant-governor of Detroit, and here died. He was the only commissioner of trade of which there is any record. Even with the improvements he introduced, the intense rivalry between the merchants continued. On June 8, 1772, Capt. James Stephenson, a former commandant, wrote to Sir William Johnson: "Two-thirds of the traders will acknowledge that I have been the most indulgent commanding officer they ever had. They are a sad set, for they would cut each others' throats for a raccoon skin."

EARLY MERCHANTS

Within a few years after the English took possession, Detroit was recognized as the center of the Indian trade in the Northwest. Dutch merchants of the Mohawk Valley in New York made frequent trips to the trading post.

William Edgar was at Detroit in 1763. Chapman Abraham was caught by the Indians shortly after the war began in 1763, held prisoner and plundered of all his goods. He escaped and carried on a successful business in the village. His goods were restored in part by the French, who had recovered them from the Indians. Benjamin James and Edmund Pollard formed a partnership for the general Indian trade in June, 1765. Nearly all of the French were traders to some extent, but some were of more importance than others. The names of Baby, Campau, Labadie and Marsac are familiar ones of the time in this trade. James Rivington was a trader in 1766.

John Macomb came to Detroit as a merchant at a very early day and his son, Alexander, is noticed in the public records as early as 1766. John Macomb's two sons, Alexander and William, were among the most prominent of the local merchants and with John Edgar formed the great firm of Macomb, Edgar & Macomb, which carried on an extensive business.

In 1767 the licensed merchants and traders were: Baby & Chapoton, Peter Baron, William Bruce, James Cassity, Charles Curtoise, William Edgar, Benjamin James, Samuel Lyons, Richard McNeall, Edmund Pollard, Obediah Robbins, John Robinson, Henry Van Schaack, Isaac Todd, and Thomas Williams. George Knaggs, David Meldrum, John Stedman, James Rankin and Richard Van Allen were others. During the next five years James Abbott entered into partnership with William Edgar, William Macomb & Company, John Porteous, and James Sterling entered the field. In 1775 the firms of Edgar & Abbott and Macomb & Company were the leading mercantile concerns in Detroit.

The primitive method of transportation was a serious drawback to the development of the commercial interests. Goods had to be brought to Detroit in canoes or bateaux and rarely arrived within less than eight or nine months from the time they were ordered. Through the winter season a brisk trade was carried on, exchanging merchandise for furs, which were in turn sent to the London and Paris markets, consequently it required about three years—sometimes more—for the merchants to "turn over" their capital and count the profits.

The "store" of that day did not present the orderly arrangement of the Twentieth Century establishment. The building in which the business was con-

ducted was usually a log structure, with a low ceiling, and every inch of space was utilized. Upon the arrival of a consignment of goods, the original packages were taken to the store and piled around promiscuously, to be opened as their contents were needed. Snow shoes, large and small steel traps, strings of wampum, rifles profusely ornamented with silver, copper kettles, frying pans, etc., were suspended from the ceiling; bales of skins occupied one corner, casks of rum and boxes of tobacco another; cheap jewelry, small mirrors, colored beads, brilliant calico and gaily colored cloths were displayed to advantage to arouse the Indians' interest; pewter plates, tinware, queensware, moccasins, high-topped hats, vermilion and other pigments, hardware, belts, blankets, ammunition and hundreds of other articles were carried by every trader.

THE FIRST BOOM

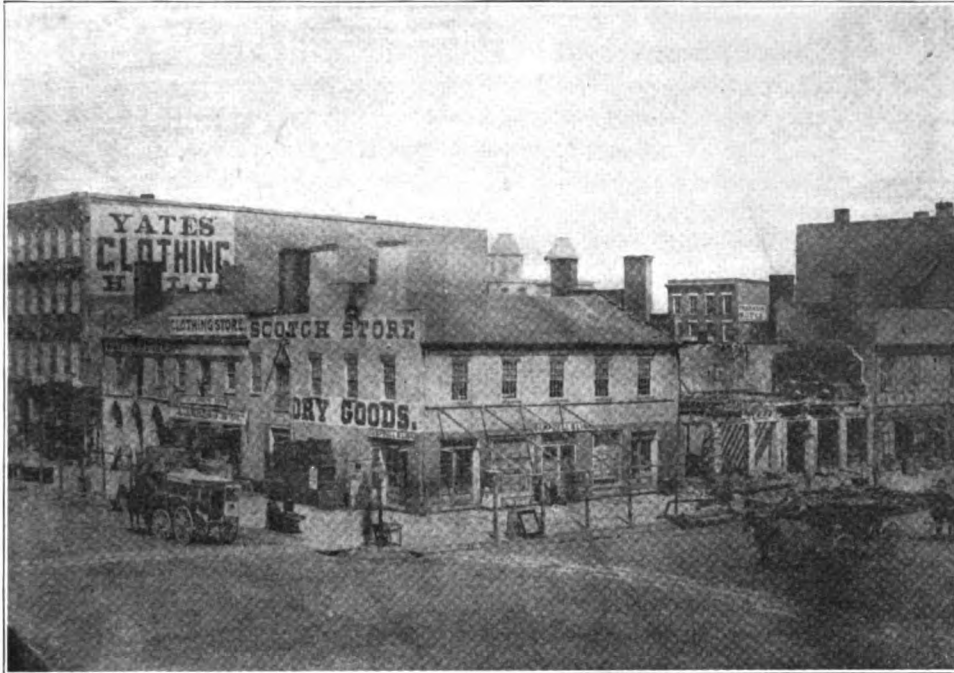
Detroit experienced its first boom in 1779-80, following the enlargement of the fort as a protection against a possible invasion by the American forces under Gen. George Rogers Clark, and to serve as a place of confinement for prisoners from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Ohio country. The entire village was brought within the palisades, the fort occupying the site of the present postoffice, at the intersection of Fort and Shelby Streets, and the citadel was near the present junction of Cass and Jefferson Avenues. The garrison was increased, the British sent large quantities of goods for the Indians, and Detroit became one of the liveliest of the frontier posts. A reaction came after the close of the Revolutionary war, but under American rule, which began in July, 1796, the growth of Detroit and its commercial interests was along lines which promised greater permanency, though the fur trade continued to be an important factor until about 1830, or even later.

Under the French regime accounts were kept in French currency. When the English came in 1760 they quickly substituted pounds, shillings and pence for the livre, sou and denier. The American merchants were not satisfied with either system and introduced the currency of the United States. It is worthy of note that this change was made without disturbing the business interests, and without objection on the part of the inhabitants.

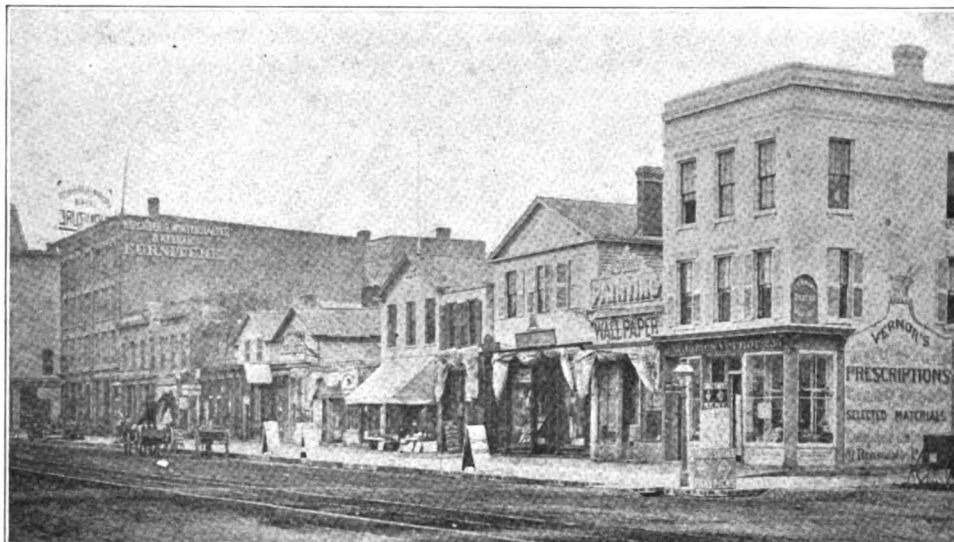
AMERICAN MERCHANTS

About the time of the American occupation in 1796, Thomas Emerson came from Vermont and soon after his arrival formed a partnership with Stephen Mack, which lasted until 1817, when Mr. Emerson returned to Vermont. Shubael Conant then became a partner of Mr. Mack and the firm of Mack & Conant was for many years one of the leading mercantile concerns of Detroit. Emerson, who has been described as an eccentric Yankee, did not leave Detroit because of a lack of faith in the city's future. After he returned East he loaned money to Detroit merchants, and his son, Curtis Emerson, subsequently became a resident of Michigan.

By 1820 practically all of the Detroit trade was in the hands of Americans. Among the leading merchants of that time were: James Abbott, who was the agent of the American Fur Company and postmaster, William Brewster, Abram C. Caniff, M. Chapin & Company, Levi Cook, Abraham Edwards, Henry J. Hunt, DeGarmo Jones, Benjamin B. Kercheval, Mack & Conant, Palmer Brothers, a firm composed of Thomas and Friend Palmer, O. Penniman, Tunis S. Wendell & Company, John L. Whiting, and John R. Williams. All of these early



NORTHEAST CORNER WOODWARD AND JEFFERSON AVENUES IN FEBRUARY, 1858



WOODWARD AVENUE FROM GRAND RIVER TO CLIFFORD, 1876

merchants were men of character and integrity, and took a commendable interest in the affairs of the municipality. James Abbott, Abraham Edwards, Henry J. Hunt, DeGarmo Jones, Stephen Mack, and John R. Williams were among the organizers of the Bank of Michigan in 1818; Dr. Marshall Chapin, Levi Cook, Henry J. Hunt, DeGarmo Jones, and John R. Williams all served as mayor of Detroit, and Thomas W. Palmer, a son of Thomas Palmer, represented Michigan in the United States Senate and was minister to Spain.

Prior to 1826, goods bought in New York were sent up the Hudson River in boats to Albany, where they were transferred to wagons for the trip to Buffalo. At Buffalo they were again loaded on boats bound for Detroit. The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 obviated the long haul across the state of New York in wagons and this gave the Detroit trade a new impetus.

There was at that time no wholesale trade worthy of mention. Most of the retail stores were then located on Jefferson Avenue or at the foot of the streets running to the river. Currency was scarce and many small debts, wages of employes, etc., were often paid in orders on the stores. Farmers would drive in for miles, their wagons loaded with produce, which was gladly accepted by the merchants in exchange for goods.

In 1828 Jacob S. Farrand, afterward the head of the wholesale house of Farrand, Williams & Company, became a clerk in the drug store of Rice & Bingham. Much of the business was then done on credit and Mr. Farrand enjoyed relating Levi Cook's method of collecting outstanding accounts. When the time came for him to make his annual trip to New York to buy goods, he would make out bills against his customers who were in arrears and place them in the hands of a trustworthy clerk, with instructions to "sue every mother's son of them if necessary while I am away." A trip to New York was then a matter of several weeks. If the clerk followed instructions, most of the accounts would be collected, or at least compromised, during Mr. Cook's absence. Upon his return he would find many irate customers, but he would apologize for the clerk, call attention to the fine line of new goods he had added to his stock, and the people would soon forget the humiliation of a lawsuit in the pleasure of examining and buying the new goods.

THE WHOLESALE TRADE

Between the years 1820 and 1830, a few of the larger Detroit merchants accommodated country dealers by selling them small quantities of goods occasionally, and from this modest beginning a wholesale trade gradually developed. One of the oldest wholesale firms, that of Hinchman & Sons, began business in 1819, under the firm name of M. Chapin & Company, Dr. Marshall Chapin and Hiram Pratt being the partners. In 1829 John Owen acquired Mr. Pratt's interest and the firm became Chapin & Owen. In 1842 Theodore H. Hinchman, who had been in the employ of the house for several years, came in as a partner and in 1853 the firm of Owen & Company was succeeded by T. H. & J. Hinchman. This old house, after several more changes in its personnel, is still in existence in 1921 under the name of Williams, Davis, Brooks & Hinchman Sons. During its century of existence it has sold millions of dollars' worth of goods in Michigan, Northern Ohio and Indiana, and even to merchants in more distant territory.

Almost contemporary with M. Chapin & Company, O. Penniman began selling drugs and groceries in Detroit. A little later Dr. Justin Rice purchased an interest and after about two years became sole proprietor. Then Edward Bing-

ham brought some new capital to the business, the stock of goods was enlarged and the firm of Rice & Bingham was formed. Doctor Rice retired in the spring of 1830 and in May, 1836, Jacob S. Farrand, who had entered the store as a clerk in 1828, acquired a partnership, the firm becoming E. Bingham & Company. The store was destroyed by the big fire of January 1, 1842, but the business was reestablished by Mr. Farrand. William W. Wheaton became a partner in 1856, when the firm of Farrand & Wheaton was formed. Mr. Wheaton retired on January 1, 1858, and a few weeks later Alanson Sheley took his place, the firm then adopting the name of Farrand & Sheley. William C. Williams entered the firm as a partner in 1861. He had been with the house since boyhood and upon his becoming a partner the firm name was altered to Farrand, Sheley & Company. Harvey Clark, also an old employe, was admitted to partnership in 1871, and four years later James C. Davis became a partner, the firm then taking the name of Farrand, Williams & Company. For one hundred years this house has been one of the wholesale landmarks of Detroit. Since the reorganization of the business by Mr. Farrand, no groceries have been handled, the firm devoting its entire attention to drugs.

About 1832 Zachariah Chandler (familiarily called "Zach") came to Detroit and opened a drygoods store in the brick addition to the old brick residence erected by General Hull in 1806, on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Randolph Street. Soon afterward he embarked in the jobbing trade in a small way. Mr. Chandler was one of the youngest merchants in the city. He was also one of the first traveling salesmen, making his trips on horseback to solicit orders, and his customers would employ teamsters to transport their goods. A little later the firm of Chandler & Dwight was formed and occupied the building on the corner of Jefferson and Woodward Avenues. Here Mr. Chandler laid one of the first sidewalks in the city. When Mr. Chandler was elected to the United States Senate in 1857 his firm was succeeded by Allan Sheldon & Company. This house retired from business at the close of the year 1890, after a successful career of fifty-seven years.

The heavy tide of immigration to Michigan between the years 1830 and 1840 increased the demand for goods and a number of new wholesale merchants entered the field. Among the concerns that began business in Detroit in this period were: The grocery house of John J. Garrison (afterward Garrison & Depew), which was established in 1829; the hardware house of Alexander W. Newbould (later Buhl & Son), 1835; Moore, Foote & Company, wholesale grocers, 1838; T. B. Clarke, wholesale grocer, and the drug house of Theodore H. Eaton & Son, 1838.

The rapid growth in population led to an era of speculation, especially in real estate. This boom was rudely checked by the financial panic of 1837, which resulted in many failures all over the country. After the depression real estate values were greatly depreciated and business of all kinds was adjusted upon a firmer foundation. Between that time and the close of the Civil war in 1865, more than a score of wholesale houses were established in Detroit. In the grocery line, Johnson & Wheeler began business in 1845; Thomas A. Parker, 1846; John Stephens & Company, and L. W. Tinker & Company, 1849; Fitzsimons & Company, 1852; Phelps Brothers, 1856; Joseph B. H. Bratshaw and C. W. Inslee & Company, 1863; Gould & Fellers, 1864, and William and Robert Millar, 1865.

Other wholesale houses opened during this period included the queensware business of Robert W. King, which was started in 1848; the hardware house of



EAST SIDE OF WASHINGTON AVENUE BETWEEN PARK AND CLIFFORD

Taken October 24, 1897. The lots were purchased in 1860 by Moses F. Dickinson and the houses were probably built about that time.



OLD ABBOTT HOMESTEAD, SOUTHEAST CORNER OF GRISWOLD AND FORT
Built in 1835; torn down in 1881. Now site of the Hammond Building

C. B. James & Company, Freedman Brothers, millinery, and Richmond & Backus, wholesale paper dealers, 1850; Heineman & Butzel, clothing, 1852; Schloss Brothers, in the same line, 1854; the Detroit Paper Company, 1854; Hoffman & Mayes and Dunlap, Donaldson & Company, ship chandlers, 1856; Charles Root & Company, dry goods, 1860; Ducharme, Prentiss & Company, hardware, 1863; M. C. Higgins, fancy goods and notions, 1864; the crockery business of Fiske & Jenness and the boot and shoe house of W. D. Robinson & Company, 1865.

During the quarter of a century following the Civil war, the jobbing trade of Detroit enjoyed an era of uninterrupted prosperity, except for a few years immediately after the panic of 1873. Commenting upon the general trade conditions, the "Detroit Tribune" of January 15, 1891, stated:

"A tour of the jobbing houses of Detroit, and an inquiry into their history, give at once the impression that they are eminently sound and prosperous. Many of them are of long standing, houses that have grown with the growth of the city and state, have made one generation of proprietors rich and are contributing materially to the wealth of a second and third. Their credit is good, their manner of dealing is honorable and their reputation in every way first class. Their trade extends all over Michigan and considerable portions of Ohio, Indiana and Wisconsin, and even of states farther west. Their sales aggregate many millions yearly and the quantity of goods they handle would surprise anyone who has not visited their warehouses or seen the immense shipments by lake and rail. And yet the trade of the city has not, on one account, grown as rapidly as it ought. The merchants of Detroit, though enterprising and active in their own branches of business, have not given the same encouragement to railroad enterprises that the solid men of some other cities have, nor looked as sharply as might be after new railroad connections, and the merchants of Chicago and Toledo have not been slow to take advantage of this, and to divert a portion of the trade which would naturally have sought this city."

The neglect of Detroit business men regarding transportation facilities mentioned by the "Tribune" has been corrected in a great measure, and the wholesale trade of the city has been correspondingly expanded. When Chandler & Dwight announced that their sales for 1850 reached \$50,000, it was considered a wonderful achievement and many thought the zenith of Detroit as a jobbing center had been reached. Now there are close to five hundred wholesale houses in the city, having annual sales of many millions of dollars.

RETAIL TRADE

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the streets such as lower Woodward, Woodbridge and Atwater were busy trade centers and the amount of trading done was large for the size of the town.

In 1819 there were twenty-four retail dry goods and grocery stores, and sixteen which were classed as "grocery and provision stores and ale houses." Among the merchants at this time appear the familiar names of Henry J. Hunt, Mack & Conant, John L. Whiting, J. and A. Wendell, DeGarmo Jones, Oliver Newberry, and John R. Williams. Business slowly crept up Woodward Avenue, and after the rush in immigration reached its peak in 1836 all available Jefferson Avenue fronts were occupied as stores. Among the prominent retailers who were pioneers on lower Woodward Avenue were Zachariah Chandler, dry goods, and Henry P. Baldwin, boots and shoes. Mr. Chandler afterwards became the

largest wholesale dry goods dealer in the city and Governor Baldwin continued business as a manufacturer and jobber.

In 1852-53, according to the city directory published at that time, the population of Detroit was 26,648. There were in the city seven stone buildings, 601 brick buildings, and 4,077 of wood. The retail business of the city was summarized by the following table of establishments: grocery, provision and liquor stores, 286; boot and shoe stores, fifty-four; warehouses, thirty; bakeries, thirteen; blacksmiths, thirty-seven; harness and saddlery shops, nine; steam flour mills, two; pork and sausage stores, six; clothing stores, fifteen; cabinet shops, seven; jewelers and watch makers, fourteen; hat, cap and fur stores, four; dry goods stores, twenty-nine; auction and commission stores, five; leather stores, four; confectionery and toy stores, nine; drug stores, thirteen; hardware stores, sixteen; and variety stores, three.

EARLY MARKETS

In the Detroit City Directory written by Julius P. Bolivar Maccabe in 1837 and printed by William Harsha of Detroit, the following is stated:

"There are three markets—the city market, on the first floor of the City Hall, the Berthelet at the corner of Randolph and Woodbridge streets, and the Washington Market at the corner of Wayne and Larned streets. These are kept in good order by the inspector of provisions, and well supplied with everything that can be desired at similar places. There is a great variety of vegetables, and also of fish, of which there are an abundance in the river of a most delicious flavor, and wild fowls, geese, ducks, brant, etc., abound in the neighborhood. Pork and mutton in great plenty, equal in quality to any in the Eastern states. Venison, veal, poultry, including turkies, wild and tame, rabbits, squirrels, etc., are common; in fine, although not quite equal to that of Philadelphia, it contains all the necessities and many of the luxuries of a good market."

The first attention given to a market was on March 20, 1802, when the trustees of the village passed an ordinance that the market should "be without the pickets and next to the river, between the old bake-house and the east line of pickets." Tuesdays and Fridays, from daylight to noon, were set apart as market days. At one time no less a person than James May was fined for selling diseased beef at this market. No further record of markets is found until 1816, when a building was started by B. Woodworth and completed the following year and was located in the center of Woodward Avenue just below Jefferson; this building was 30 by 70 feet, one story in height, and was known as the Woodward Avenue Market. It was demolished in 1835.

On August 5, 1825, Peter Berthelet was given wharf rights at the foot of Randolph Street on consideration that he give the city a lot, 50 by 90 feet, at the northwest corner of Atwater and Randolph streets, upon which to erect a market. Further negotiations resulted in Berthelet constructing a building for market purposes, and which was purchased by the city August 31, 1834. Subsequently, the city met difficulties because the lot had not been deeded, but the building was used as a market until it burned in the fire of May 9, 1848.

The vegetable market in the rear of the old city hall was completed in November, 1843. The entire market occupied the central part of Cadillac Square from the Campus Martius to Randolph Street. The front portion, including the city hall, was taken down and removed in the fall of 1872. The



OLD MARKET ON CADILLAC SQUARE
Central Market Building and County Building in the Background



BROADWAY MARKET

other part was not burned, as has been stated, but was also removed. The iron shed was taken to Belle Isle and is now the shelter at the head of the island. The larger vegetable market, extending from Bates to Randolph Street, was built in 1860. Several attempts to finance the construction of a more pretentious market building fell through, until finally on April 22, 1879, the city council requested the board of estimates to consider an appropriation of \$50,000 for a central market building. This movement went along successfully and on August 23, 1880, the contractors turned over the completed building to the city, and it was opened for business on September 11th.

The Washington Market was located on the northeast corner of Larned and Wayne streets, and was erected by order of the council in 1835. It was not a success as a market, however, and after years of service for school, fire department and private purposes, was torn down in 1870.

The Cass Market, a one-story brick, 30 by 40 feet, on the south side of Adams Avenue at its intersection with Grand River Avenue, was first opened as a market August 17, 1866, but was never a success and has now disappeared. The G. A. R. memorial hall occupies this site now.

In the Detroit of the present day the needs of a public market, wherein farmers and growers market their produce during the season, is supplied by the Eastern and Western Markets, located respectively on Gratiot and Michigan avenues. Others, such as the Broadway Market, at the corner of Broadway and Gratiot, are large retail marketing centers devoted to the sale of every kind of food commodity.

RETAIL PROGRESS IN THE '70s

In the early '70s retail business had moved up Woodward Avenue as far as the Campus Martius and for some time had stopped there. One of the most showy stores on the avenue was M. S. Smith's jewelry store, northwest corner of Woodward and Jefferson. The Merrill Block extended halfway across the block on the east side of Woodward, north of Jefferson. Frederick Stearn's drug store and laboratory was built on the southwest corner of Woodward and Larned. Stephen Smith's shoe store was on the northwest corner. Into the Stephen Smith building Tom Swan moved from his Griswold Street "cobweb corner" some time later and opened the most pretentious restaurant in town. St. Andrew's Hall, built for a Methodist church, and which was the scene of many festivities as well as dramatic and literary events, was where the Siegel Store now stands. Many were the regrets when the old hall was removed to give place to business.

The Finney House was on the southeast corner of Woodward and Gratiot, and Alanson Sheley, who for many years lived in the next block north, had, with other old residents, recently moved up town. Sheley's old home was moved to Stimson Place, a short distance east of Cass Avenue, and is there now. The Finney Hotel Barn was where the Chamber of Commerce Building, now Detroit Savings Bank, is located. The third building of the First Presbyterian Church or, strictly speaking, the First Protestant Society, was at the northwest corner of Farmer and Gratiot. When Joseph L. Hudson bought that property, years afterward, some people predicted his failure because he was exchanging a place on the avenue for a remote and obscure corner.

J. W. Week's & Company's city directory for 1873 contains the names of a few firms that are still in existence, and of many others that were familiar

down to recent times. H. D. Edwards & Company and G. & R. McMillan occupied the same sites then that they do now. Newcomb & Endicott were in the Opera House Block and have made only one removal since. Wright, Kay & Company were in the Coyl Block, next to the Opera House. Richard H. Fyfe was at 101 Woodward. A. Krolik & Company were at 158 Woodward, but afterward went over to Jefferson. Traub Brothers were at 212, and Louis Black, optician, was at 194 Woodward.

Christopher R. Mabley had the biggest store in Detroit, adjoining the Russell House. The site of the Majestic Building, to which he afterward moved, was then occupied in part by the little frame building which for a generation housed Farnsworth's shoe store. The Majestic Building was not finished until after Christopher R. Mabley's death. This building was to have been called the "Mabley Building," but was changed to "Majestic." Just beyond this was the Weber Building, which is still standing, the first five-story building constructed north of the Campus Martius. This ambitious structure seems to have been ahead of its time, for the furniture business of Henry Weber therein located became encumbered financially, and the building itself did not make a good return on the investment for some years. Two other business failures, those of James W. Frisbie and Company, dry goods, and Freedman Brothers, dry goods and millinery, also occurred in this building.

Woodward Avenue was well lined with dry goods stores. They included James W. Frisbie, Burns & Smith, C. K. Gunn and C. H. Locke, (Gunn & Locke), Colin Campbell & Sons who conducted the "Scotch Store," Linn & Stansbury, James Lowrie & Sons, James Nall, Jr. & Company, George Peck & Company, and S. Simon & Company. Abbott & Ketchum specialized in carpets, and Freedman Brothers, 147-151 Woodward, carried millinery as one of their chief lines. The predecessor of all one-price stores was Hiram Gay's "dollar store" at 94 Woodward.

Among grocers loomed Hull Brothers' big store on the Campus, next to the Opera House, while John Blessed of the firm of Blessed & Campbell, and J. S. Smith & Company had ventured far afield, both having gone above the Grand Circus. The principal retail hardware dealers were M. Limbach, William A. Morhaus, and Fisher & Stoddard. The Singer, Weed, Wilson, Domestic, and Wheeler & Wilson sewing machine companies were all represented on the avenue, and the following are a few of the well known names in other lines: W. G. Penfield, agricultural warehouse; Elliott Brothers, Richard R. and James R., merchant tailors; Tunis and Parker, J. M. Arnold, books, and E. B. Smith & Company, books; John P. Weiss, pianos; Frederick Wetmore, glassware; A. W. Copland, baker, under the Russell House; Edward Orr, auctioneer; Walter Buhl & Company, hats, and James S. Conklin, jeweler. Small grocery, notion and general stores had extended out Gratiot and Michigan avenues, but the great central district that is now given over to trade was then almost entirely in residence.

The tremendous growth of the retail trade of Detroit during the last five decades requires little comment. The pretentious store of yesterday would be insignificant beside the immense retail business corporations of 1921. Values in downtown properties have risen to great heights, as shown by the subsequent account of the development of prominent sites.

A noteworthy example of the striking increase of value in business property is that of the site of the David Whitney Building. This site originally com-



DAVID WHITNEY BUILDING



SITE OF THE DAVID WHITNEY BUILDING, CORNER OF WOODWARD AND PARK, 1881
The houses shown were built by H. H. Leroy

prised three lots, adjoining what was then considered a country road, when Henry H. LeRoy, a building contractor, purchased one of them (Lot 22) from Mrs. Eustache Chapoton for \$1,000 about a century ago. LeRoy later acquired the other two lots and three frame buildings were erected on the corner. These buildings were there in 1885, when David Whitney, Jr. purchased the land for \$90,000, then thought to be an enormous price for the corner. Mr. Whitney erected an eight-story office building and for some time this ranged as one of the city's finest office structures. It was demolished in 1915 to give place to the skyscraper now known as the David Whitney Building, and occupied in greater part by the medical profession. In the intervening years the value of the land has enhanced until it is now assessed at more than \$1,150,000, exclusive of the building, which is valued at another million.

On the same side of Woodward Avenue and only two blocks south of the David Whitney Building is another piece of property, the possession of which would have created a fortune in the last one hundred years. Originally described as lot No. 33 of section No. 8 of the governor and judges' plan, this property, with a frontage of sixty feet on the west side of Woodward and one hundred feet on the south side of Grand River Avenue, was sold in 1823 by the governor and judges to Judge John L. Leib for about \$1.50 a foot front. In 1834 it was purchased by John B. Piquette for \$300. Mr. Piquette occupied part of it with his jewelry shop for several years. In 1859 the corner was purchased from Edward Shepherd by Alexander Chapoton, building contractor, for \$12,000. The frame building that had been constructed on the corner in 1849 was removed by Chapoton in 1867 to another location and the four-story brick building now on the corner was erected. In 1917 the heirs of the Chapoton estate, through Homer Warren, sold the corner to Edward J. Hickey, clothier, at a valuation of \$20,000 a front foot, or \$1,200,000.

On West Grand Circus Park is another lot, with a frontage of 105 feet on the west side of Woodward Avenue and 48 feet on the north side of West Adams Avenue, now occupied by the twelve-story Fyfe Building. This lot formed part of a tract of five acres which Dr. William Brown, a retired physician, purchased from the governor and judges in 1812. In 1827 Doctor Brown offered to sell the five acres to the city for \$800, proposing that it be used as a cemetery, replacing one at Woodward and Larned. The aldermen rejected the offer. In 1834 a syndicate of ten prominent business men acquired fifteen acres, including three acres of Doctor Brown's holdings, and a year later subdivided the tract, which had cost them \$6,000. The corner lot, on which the Fyfe Building stands, was sold to Cullen Brown for \$50. In 1842 it was transferred to Robert Stuart, and in 1850 was purchased in bankruptcy proceedings by John Humphreys for \$500. A frame hotel was built on the corner and after the destruction of this building by fire in 1865, a two-story frame house was built there. This house was later occupied by the Bates Restaurant for several years. Mr. Richard H. Fyfe bought the corner in 1892 for \$60,000 and about a year later sold his business partner, Mark B. Stevens, a one-third interest for \$20,000. The corner lot now is worth close to \$1,000,000.

The southeast corner of Griswold Street and West Fort Street, on which stands the city's first skyscraper, the ten-story Hammond Building, also presents a story of great growth in value. The land was formerly lots Nos. 51 and 52 of section No. 2 of the governor and judges' plan. The former was purchased by Catherine Godfrey in 1809 for a nominal price and was sold by

her in 1829 to Joseph W. Torrey for \$200. Three years later Torrey sold the lot to Judge James Abbott for \$1,000. Margaret McNeal acquired lot No. 52 in 1808. Following her death, the heirs, in 1815, sold the lot to Jacob Smith, who in 1818 sold the property to Judge Abbott and Robert Smart for a small amount. In 1836 Judge Abbott acquired full ownership for \$1,500 and proceeded to erect a home on the two lots. Following his death in 1858 his widow and daughter continued to occupy the home until 1877, when the property was sold to Levi L. Barbour, Elijah Smith and Eliza Jane Chandler. Mr. Barbour constructed a one-story brick building nearly surrounding the Abbott home. Afterward George H. Hammond acquired a long time lease of the premises. He died shortly after starting construction on the Hammond Building, and in 1889 his estate purchased the site for \$350,000 and completed the building. The land value is now more than \$1,000,000.

These are but a few instances to show the development of downtown property.

THE CUSTOM HOUSE

Detroit was made a port of entry by the act of Congress, approved by President Adams on March 2, 1799, and in June of the same year Matthew Ernest was appointed collector. The act provided that the collector should receive a salary of \$250 per year and 3% on the amount collected. For the first twenty years the port records were poorly kept and it is impossible to ascertain the volume of business done with any degree of accuracy. Reuben Attwater, secretary of Michigan Territory, was also collector of customs in 1810. His report for that year shows the expense of the office as follows:

Salary.....	\$250.00
Fees.....	356.50
Commission.....	46.05
Rent.....	36.00
Stationery.....	6.00

\$694.55

Two years later Detroit was surrendered to the British. It was reoccupied by the Americans in the fall of 1813, but for several years after the War of 1812 trade relations with foreign countries were unsettled and direct importations of goods by Detroit merchants were light. In 1818 the customs report showed licensed vessels belonging to Abraham Edwards, Henry J. Hunt, Benjamin F. and George B. Larned, and David C. McKinstry. Seven years later there were more vessels registered at Detroit than at Buffalo. This was largely due to Oliver Newberry, a large boat owner and builder, who was known as "the admiral." From 1825 to the present time there has been a steady increase in the exports and imports. The total amount of exports going from the port of Detroit in the year 1920 amounted to a value of \$195,926,156, while from the Michigan district, including the ports of Port Huron and Sault Ste. Marie, it amounted to \$343,226,322. As in previous years the largest general class of exports was foodstuffs. In direct exports, automobiles and their parts go to a larger number of countries than any other Detroit product. They go to every continent and to many isles of the sea. The second rank of Detroit product for exportation is taken by druggists' preparations, and the third is adding machines. Detroit exports in greater amount to Canada first, followed in order by England, Belgium, France, Germany, South Africa, Argentine, East Indies,

Scotland, Australia, Newfoundland, Spain, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, Philippine Islands, Brazil, Uruguay, Ireland, Japan, Switzerland, and China. Statistics regarding freight carriers on the Detroit River may be found in the chapter on navigation.

In order to obtain a glimpse of commercial Detroit as it was sixty years ago, there are interesting items in the board of trade report for 1860 which should be noted. It begins with a list of "imports and exports" by commodities, comparing them with 1859. Although the terms imports and exports are used they obviously refer to local receipts and shipments and not to foreign trade. The commodities listed numbered fifty-seven. The largest item was wool, which is now a negligible article in Detroit business. The second largest item was wheat and the third butter. Among the other items were pot and pearl ashes; bark and hides, there being eleven tanneries in the town; coal, total receipts 2,583 tons, all coming in by water; furs, for which Detroit was then one of the principal markets in the country; lumber, lath and shingles, an important trade, Detroit then having seven steam sawmills in operation; oils, with 200 barrels a week, to supply the lard, oil and coal oil refineries; whisky, with twelve houses in either importing or distilling the liquor. There were three standard brands of this consoling beverage, quoted all the way from 19 to 30 cents a gallon. The record of some of the other prices then prevailing is of interest at the present time. Apples, choice fruit, \$1.25 a barrel; barley, lowest price 53c a bushel; corn, 40c; flour, from \$4.50 to \$7.37 a barrel, the latter price prevailing just before navigation opened in the spring; tallow, 9c a pound; butter, 11c to 15c; eggs in April, 9c a dozen, and potatoes just after digging time in the fall 43c a bushel.

COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

In a comprehensive and interesting article upon "Detroit Commercial Organizations," published by the Michigan History Magazine, William Stocking writes:

"For about 70 years commercial organizations have played an important part in the history of Detroit. Formed primarily for trade they have eventually shared in nearly every phase of civic as well as business life. They have taken the initiative in almost all steps for the improvement of railroad facilities and terminals. They have encouraged and supported the immense shipping interests of the city. They have fostered mercantile trade in all its branches and have been among the chief promoters of the great manufacturing ventures which have made the city famous. They have frequently been heard in advocacy of wise legislation; have promoted local charities, and have participated in every phase of municipal affairs. They have written convincing memorials on many subjects and have issued many valuable reports."

About the earliest reference to a commercial organization is a manuscript memorial found among the papers of Gen. John R. Williams, several times mayor of Detroit. It is dated December 31, 1827, is signed by General Williams and James Campbell, is addressed to the mayor, recorder, aldermen and free-men of the City of Detroit, and cites the need of a hall to house the Mercantile Society as the commercial needs of the city had grown extensively. The response of the officials addressed was to call a meeting for the evening of Friday, January 11, 1828, to consider the matter. No record exists of this meeting,

but the building plan was evidently not carried out, as the Mercantile Society held its meetings at the Michigan Exchange Hotel.

The second attempt at commercial organization occurred in 1847. On October 19th of this year a meeting was held at the office of B. L. Webb, with Charles C. Trowbridge as chairman and John Chester as secretary, and a committee was appointed to formulate a plan of organization. At a second meeting, held October 20th, the report of the committee was approved and the Detroit "Merchants' Exchange and Board of Trade" was organized by the election of the following officers: William Brewster, president; Charles Howard, vice president; John Chester, secretary; Anthony Dudgeon, treasurer; James Abbott, A. S. Kellogg, Samuel Lewis, Franklin Moore, Henry P. Bridge, Zachariah Chandler, and Frederick Buhl. The committee of reference, to whom all disputes between members were to be taken, was composed of John Owen, B. L. Webb, and Chauncey Hurlbut. The object of the board was stated to be the promotion of "just and equitable principles in trade, to correct abuses and generally to protect the rights and advance the interests of the mercantile classes." The first part of the association name was dropped and it continued under the name of the Board of Trade. Meetings of the members for business were held daily. Regular meetings of the directors were held quarterly and special meetings on call of the president, vice president or standing committee. The fees were \$2 admission and the same amount annually. The membership at the outset was 134. On March 14, 1848 the organization was incorporated by the Michigan Legislature and granted authority to erect a building of its own. A week later a committee, composed of Zachariah Chandler, Samuel Lewis, George E. Hand, Thomas W. Lockwood, and Uriah T. Howe, issued a call for a public meeting to be held "at the room occupied by the Board of Trade on the corner of Woodward Avenue and Atwater Street, on Thursday, the 23d of March, at 3 o'clock P. M., to hear the report of the committee in relation to the erection of a Merchants' Exchange Building in this city." The legislative bill had also authorized the Young Mens' Society and Old Firemen's Society to take \$10,000 each in the proposed structure. The meeting was well attended and much interest manifested, but when it came to putting up the funds for the new building enthusiasm waned and no progress was made. Another trouble also arose. The principal supporters of the association were the forwarding and commission merchants and they had not learned the lesson of cooperation. For the most part each firm had its own clientele and its own warehouse and they were inclined to pursue business each in his own way. Outside rivalries increased, attendance at the daily meetings decreased and after about two years the exchange was abandoned.

Four years later another board was organized on similar lines, with Charles Howard as president. Meetings were held in the old warehouse at the site of the Wayne Hotel, but with the close of navigation in 1853 sessions were suspended and they were never resumed.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOARD OF TRADE

The necessity soon arose for some kind of cooperation among the business men and the regulation of trade in Detroit. The first step toward instituting a new association was a meeting at the office of E. G. Merrick on June 5, 1856, when Samuel Lewis and Robert McChesney were appointed a committee to prepare a constitution and by-laws. On July 15, 1856 the board was finally



SOUTHEAST CORNER OF WOODWARD AVENUE AND JOHN R STREET IN 1883



NORTH SIDE OF MICHIGAN AVENUE, EAST OF GRISWOLD STREET, IN OCTOBER, 1891

organized. Henry P. Bridge was elected president; Duncan Stewart and Robert McChesney, vice presidents; Milo D. Hamilton, secretary; Henry K. Sanger, treasurer; Joseph Aspinall, William H. Craig, George W. Bissell, James E. Pittman, Wesley Truesdale, John B. Palmer and John W. Strong, directors.

The constitution bears date in 1857 and has thirty-seven signatures attached, among them several of the names appearing above, and the following of men who for a long time were prominent in Detroit affairs: Augustus E. Bissell, Elon W. Hudson, James P. Mansfield, Moses W. Field, and Richard Hawley. The board held daily meetings until the close of navigation December 1st and then suspended them until March 1, 1857. They were resumed on the latter date and have not missed a day in the more than half century that has passed since then.

FIRST BOARD OF TRADE BUILDING

On March 19, 1863, Governor Blair approved an act of the legislature incorporating the Detroit Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce, and the former was the first body to take advantage of its provisions. On June 23d a constitution framed by Joseph Aspinall, E. R. Mathews and Bernard O'Grady was adopted. A joint stock building company was organized out of members of the board and on October 20, 1863 the lot at the southeast corner of Shelby and Woodbridge streets was purchased and the cornerstone of a large building laid June 10, 1864. The building, which cost with the lot \$38,000, was first occupied February 22, 1865. This continued to be the home of the board and the chief center of Detroit's commercial activity for fourteen years. With the laying of the cornerstone the membership had reached 200, representing 139 firms. The board has moved three times since then. From February 19, 1879 until 1895 it occupied quarters in a building erected mainly for its use at the southeast corner of Jefferson and Griswold, and still standing, then was housed upon the third floor of the Chamber of Commerce Building on the northwest corner of Griswold and State, and upon the remodeling of that structure for the Detroit Savings Bank in 1920, the board rooms were transferred to the Murphy Building on Congress Street East.

In the course of the first thirty years of its corporate existence the board considered almost every transportation problem which came up, including the proposed ship canal on the American side of Niagara Falls, the enlargement of the Erie Canal, enlargement of the Welland Canal, direct shipments to Europe by way of Montreal, the Sault and St. Clair Flats, the Lime Kiln crossing and the 21-foot channel from Duluth to Buffalo. It was the chief local promotor of the Wabash Railroad extension from Montpelier to Detroit, and manifested great interest in numerous other railroad projects.

COMMERCIAL CONVENTION OF 1865

One of the most notable achievements of the Board of Trade occurred two years after its incorporation. This was the so-called commercial convention held in Detroit July 11 to July 14, 1865, which brought the interests of Detroit merchants and manufacturers to the attention of the whole country and many other lands. The first move toward securing this convention was a resolution adopted by the board on March 6th, requesting the president "to address circular letters to the presiding officers of the several boards of trade in the loyal states and British Provinces, asking the appointment of delegates to attend

a convention to be held during the approaching summer for a consideration of the following subjects: Commerce, Finance, Communications of Transit from the West to the Seaboard, Reciprocal trade between the United States and the British Provinces, and such other business as may come before the convention not of a purely local or political character."

When the convention met representatives were present from boards of trade in nearly every border state and from many of the Canadian provinces, including one from the Canadian Northwest. There were in all four hundred and sixty accredited delegates, among them many men prominent in national affairs of the time. The "Great Convention," as it afterwards came to be known, was purely commercial in character and was composed of merchants almost exclusively; politics had little play upon the floor of this meeting. Again to quote from William Stocking:

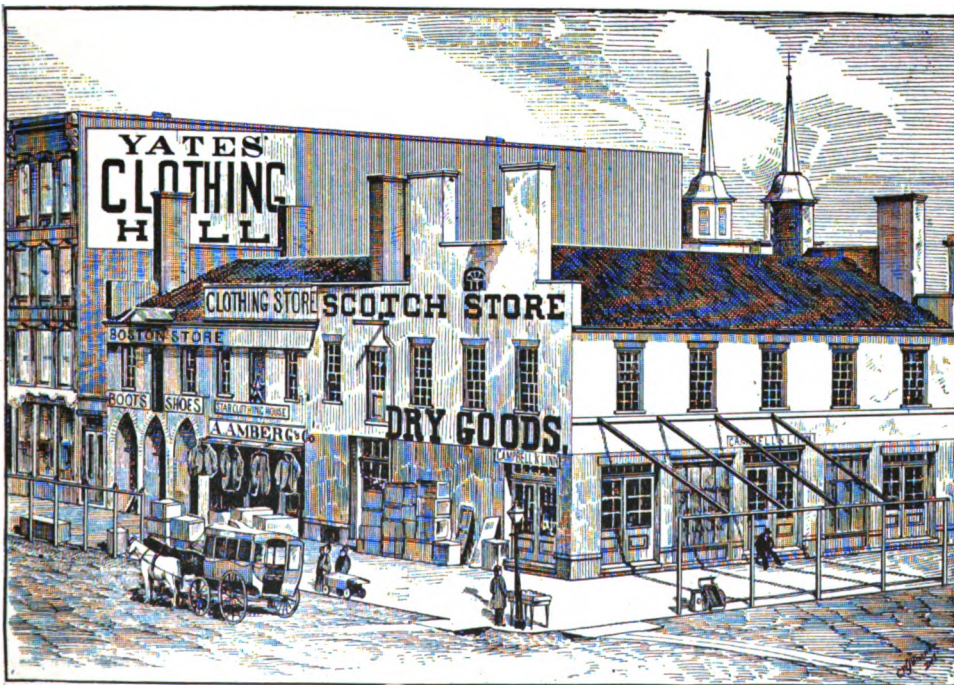
"The subject that attracted most attention was that of reciprocity. Congress had already given the requisite twelve-months' notice of its purpose to terminate the reciprocity treaty of June, 1854. The question whether a new treaty should be negotiated in place of the old was a vital one. The discussion was long and sometimes heated. The anger roused by raids from Canada into the United States and by the course pursued by the mercantile and governing classes in Great Britain during the progress of the Rebellion in the South found ample expression. But the keynote to the strongest opposition to a new treaty was the idea which had been industriously circulated by a few politicians that the complete abrogation of reciprocal trade with Canada would result in the annexation of the Provinces, 'Starve the Canadians into annexation' was the cry. Mr. James F. Joy, at the close of a powerful argument in favor of reciprocal trade, scoffed at this idea as presenting a motive unworthy of a great nation, and as absurd in itself. He argued that by the adoption of hostile trade measures we should re-open the fisheries and other vexed questions and should 'acquire a war instead of an addition of states.'

"Hon. Joseph Howe, of Nova Scotia, whose speech was the great event of the convention, said 'that for one ton of goods and one young man sent to aid the southern cause they had sent 50 tons and 50 able-bodied soldiers to the north.' One of his own sons had been for two years in an Ohio Regiment and had fought in all its battles. He continued: 'I know that it has been asserted by some and I have heard it said, since I came to this convention, that if the reciprocity treaty is annulled the British Provinces will be so cramped that they will be compelled to seek annexation to the United States. I make the assertion that no considerations of finance, no question of balance for or against them upon interchange of commodities can have any influence upon the loyalty of the inhabitants of the British Provinces, or tend in the slightest degree to alienate the affections of the people from their country, their institutions, their government and their Queen. There is not a man who dare, on the abrogation of this treaty if such should be its fate, take the hustings and appeal to any constituency on annexation principles throughout the entire Dominion.'"

The result of the open discussion of the question resulted in the adoption of resolutions requesting the President of the United States to enter into negotiations with Great Britain for a treaty of reciprocal commercial intercourse. Many other subjects were considered and discussed by the convention before it adjourned. The meeting resulted in the organization of the National Board of Trade, which held its first meeting in Philadelphia, in June, 1868.



NEWCOMB-ENDICOTT COMPANY



*** SCOTCH STORE, NORTHEAST CORNER OF WOODWARD AND JEFFERSON AVENUES**

FIRST WATERWAY CONVENTION

The question of improved access to the seaboard was the principal subject of another national convention which was held in Detroit on December 13, 1871, in which the Board of Trade took an active part. The first move for this meeting was made by the Iowa Legislature in 1870, when it adopted resolutions for the establishment of continuous water communication between the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic, and asked the coöperation of the legislatures and people of the country. Detroit was finally named as the meeting place. The City of Buffalo objected strongly to the convention, but it was held notwithstanding.

The Board of Trade has always interested itself in problems of transportation and has been a solid backer of any constructive efforts along these lines. While the board has always been interested in extending the trade of Detroit to new fields, its chief object has been the encouragement of the general produce trade and upon the floor of the association grain is the principal staple handled.

THE MERCHANTS' AND MANUFACTURERS' EXCHANGE

In 1878, owing to the increase of the mercantile and manufacturing interests of Detroit, the need of an organization with broader purposes than the Board of Trade became apparent. Accordingly, in this year, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Exchange was established. The purpose of this association was stated in its constitution as follows:

"The object of this association is the adoption of a plan for the gaining of reliable information as to the standing of merchants with whom the members do business, in all sections of the state, and for the economical and thorough examination of insolvent estates in which members may be interested; to guard against unnecessary extensions of credit, and to encourage the higher personal and economical integrity in and among those engaged in the various branches of business represented in this association; and for all other purposes consistent with the prosperity and advancement of the merchants and manufacturers of this city."

Not alone was the work of the exchange related to the business interests of its members. It took up subjects of public concern and lent its influence toward helpful legislation and other matters of public nature. The exchange planned a number of things of permanent value. Its traffic bureau was active and efficient and laid the foundation for the present traffic department of the Board of Commerce. It was also a pioneer in the movement to bring interior merchants on visits to Detroit and to take Detroit merchants on excursion visits to the interior. It established a very useful credit bureau, the precursor of the Detroit Association of Credit Men of later days. The exchange was also the first organization in the city to have open forum meetings for the discussion of general public and municipal affairs, and it was noted that many of its members were interested in the formation of the Municipal League, precursor of the present Detroit Citizens' League. Finally it took the initial step toward the coordination of diverse interests in the formation of the Board of Commerce.

FIRST DEEP WATERWAY PROJECT

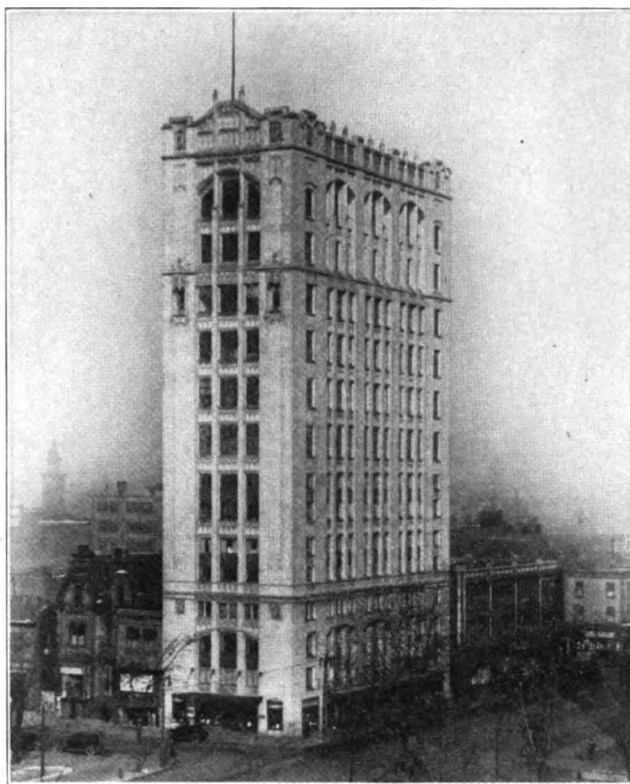
In the year 1891 the Board of Trade, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Exchange, and the Vessel Owners' Association called together the assembly known as the Deep Waterway Convention, which was in session December 17

and 18, 1891. This meeting was for the purpose of furthering a movement toward the systematic development of the lake and river channels, and which has been only recently taken up again in larger scope. The problem then was the securing of 20 and 21-foot channels from the head of Lake Superior to the eastern end of Lake Erie, in other words, from Duluth to Buffalo. In order to do this, costly improvements were necessary at four points: first where the falls in the St. Mary's River were flanked by the canal, then known as The Lake Superior & Sault Ste. Marie Ship Canal, or The Soo Canal; second, between the canal and Lake Huron there were serious obstructions to overcome; third, a 20-foot channel was needed at the St. Clair Flats Canal; and fourth, the channel at the Lime Kilns crossing near the mouth of the Detroit River needed improvements. Harbor improvements, lighthouses, fog signals, ranges, buoys and other aids to navigation, were also considered, as well as communication between lake ports and foreign countries. Further description of the deep waterways subject as considered by this and other bodies in Detroit is incorporated within the chapter upon navigation.

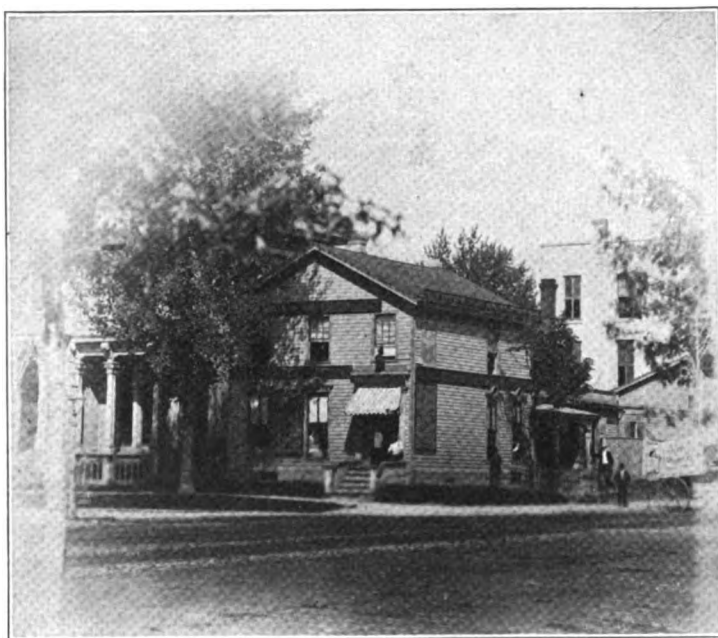
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

In the '80s the organization of a Chamber of Commerce was first discussed in view of the rapidly enlarging business interests of the city. Among the foremost in this agitation was William H. Brearly, who advocated the idea in his newspaper, *The Detroit Journal*, in September, 1891. The first active step was the circulation of a petition for signatures, each signer agreeing to take an amount of stock. The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Exchange endorsed the project, and by October enough names had been secured to warrant further action. A preliminary committee of conference was named, consisting of William S. Crane, J. H. Donovan, Don M. Dickinson, George H. Barbour and William H. Brearly. To this committee were afterwards added W. J. Stapleton, Edward C. VanHusan, Alfred Russell and A. A. Boutelle.

On January 5, 1892 a public meeting was held in Philharmonic Hall and approval given to the acts of the committee. At this meeting an association was formed and the following officers and directors chosen: George H. Barbour, president; Rufus W. Gillett, Hazen S. Pingree, vice presidents; A. A. Boutelle, secretary; Michael W. O'Brien, treasurer; Magnus Butzel, C. C. Bowen, John N. Bagley, Walter S. Crane, Bruce Goodfellow, J. D. Hawks, William Livingstone, Jr., J. H. Donovan, George S. Davis, Archibald G. Lindsay, Cyrenius A. Newcomb, George H. Russel, Edward C. VanHusan, and Luther S. Trowbridge, directors. The constitution, which was adopted with the by-laws drawn up by the committee of organization named before, provided for an association with \$100,000 capital stock in shares of \$100 each. It was a part of the original plan that \$100,000 should be raised by the sale of shares and the amount invested in a site for an office building. A finance committee was appointed and the work pressed. By the first of May, 1892, the amount had been subscribed and a meeting was held in Philharmonic Hall, where a committee was named to select a site. Sealed proposals were invited. Many sites were offered and many more considered and for several months the task of selecting a place and of clearing away the many difficulties continued. Gradually, however, public favor inclined to the Finney Hotel Barn site, at the corner of State and Griswold. (Mention is made in the chapter upon the "underground railroad" of the Finney Hotel barn, wherein the owner, Seymour Finney, hid numerous



FYFE BUILDING



**NORTHWEST CORNER OF WOODWARD AND ADAMS, THE SITE
OF FYFE BUILDING**

Shows old Bates Restaurant, taken in the '80s

slaves who were escaping to Canada.) Finally, through the personal efforts of F. H. Cozzens in greater part, the price of \$118,000 asked was raised and the site purchased. Plans for the construction of the building went ahead and upon June 16, 1894 the cornerstone was laid and the structure rushed to completion. However, the subsequent history of the building is a record of misfortune. Burdened with mortgages, suffering from depreciated rental values, and in competition with the newly-erected Union Trust Building, the building finally passed into other hands through a second mortgage foreclosure. The Chamber of Commerce and the Convention Bureau continued to occupy quarters in the building until they were merged in the Board of Commerce in 1903. In 1920-21 the three lower floors of the Chamber of Commerce Building were extensively remodeled to suit the needs of the Detroit Savings Bank.

As with other local organizations, one of the chief distinctions of the Chamber of Commerce was its connection with a convention of international importance. Upon its invitation, the National Reciprocity League held its first annual meeting here December 10 and 11, 1902. This was among the last of the general activities of the Chamber of Commerce as a separate organization.

THE BOARD OF COMMERCE

Of the situation in 1903, one writer of Detroit history, stated:

"There were then in existence the Board of Trade, which had abandoned most of its former civic activities and confined its work chiefly to trading in grain, flour and seeds; the Real Estate Board, which was neither very strong nor very active; the Chamber of Commerce, an organization in financial straits and with purposes not very well defined; the Convention League, which was somewhat closely affiliated with the Chamber of Commerce; and the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Exchange, which was the most active and efficient of all."

In the face of these conditions some of the more progressive business men saw the advantages of consolidation of these bodies, inasmuch as a duplication of work would be avoided and a more concentrated effort realized. Consequently, in February, 1903, the membership committee of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Exchange was instructed to open negotiations with the other organizations with a view to a combination of interests. Through joint committees a plan for a central organization was reported on March 28, 1903, and this plan was adopted by the various bodies. It provided for a civic as well as a commercial organization and a canvass was at once commenced for the proposed one hundred charter members. The project met with such general approval that before the end of June two hundred and fifty-three charter members had been obtained. The formal organization of the Board of Commerce was effected June 30, 1903, and the first meeting of the board of directors was held on the 10th of July.

After careful consideration the Board of Trade decided to retain its separate identity for trading purposes only, many of its members becoming identified with the Board of Commerce. The Real Estate Board reached the same conclusion, though it has always maintained amicable relations with the Board of Commerce. In 1907, owing to personal differences with the secretary, the Convention League and the Wholesalers' Bureau withdrew and for a time it seemed rather dark for the new organization. Better relations were soon established, however, and though the Convention and Tourist League still main-

tains a separate organization, it is acting in hearty accord with the Board of Commerce. The Wholesalers' Association was again merged with the Board in 1911.

Meetings of the Board of Commerce were first held on the tenth floor of the Hammond Building. Permanent quarters were then secured in the State Savings Bank Building, and the project to erect a home for the organization was launched in 1912. The cornerstone was laid in February, 1913, and the structure was formally dedicated on October 7, 1913. The building is three stories in height, with basement, covers a space 103 by 130 feet on the northwest corner of Wayne Street and Lafayette Avenue, and it is believed to be the only building in the country devoted exclusively to a single commercial organization. It contains the executive offices, a lobby and reading room, a dining room with accommodations for 350 guests and an auditorium with a seating capacity of 1,200, in addition to the customary committee rooms, etc. Its cost was \$260,000.

During the World war, the Board of Commerce Building was the headquarters for the Liberty Loan drives and other activities in connection with the prosecution of the war. Since the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, the organization has been active in caring for disabled soldiers and particularly in "making Americans" of the large foreign population of Detroit. An alien information bureau is maintained for the purpose of giving information to foreigners regarding government regulations, how to become naturalized citizens, the duties of citizenship, etc.

The presidents of the Board since its organization have been as follows: M. J. Murphy, 1903; Joseph L. Hudson, 1904; Charles F. Bielman, 1905; James Inglis, 1906; Lem W. Bowen, 1907; George T. Moody, 1908; Edward A. Sumner, 1909; Abner E. Larned, 1910; Milton A. McRae, 1911; Edwin Denby, 1912; Homer Warren, 1913; Charles B. Warren, 1914; James Couzens, 1915 (resigned before expiration of term and Allan A. Templeton was chosen to fill vacancy); Allan A. Templeton, 1916-17; Joseph G. Crowley, 1918; Allan A. Templeton, 1919; Charles H. Campbell, 1920; John A. Russell, 1921.

The membership of the Board of Commerce numbers over fifty-five hundred, and as each member pays annual dues of \$25, the income from this source alone is over \$137,500. In addition to this considerable sums have been raised by subscription for special purposes. Among the things accomplished by this organization are better transportation facilities for Detroit shippers; a better system of advertising for Detroit business men; the improvement of Wayne County roads, and the introduction of more systematic methods of collecting and disposing of garbage. In fact, it might be said that the Board has been interested in every movement for the betterment of Detroit and the improvement of general conditions.

Some of the major activities of the Board of Commerce may be described as follows: under the department of public affairs come the activities such as aeronautics, Americanization, banking and currency, building laws and regulations, city conditions and ordinances, clean-up and paint-up, education, equalization, fire prevention, good roads, inland waterways, military training, national guard, national legislation, port development, public improvements, recreation, rifle, social insurance, state legislation, trademarks and patents, and zoning; under the department of business affairs come foreign trade, industrial activities, merchant marine, postal affairs, and transportation; under the department of organization affairs comes the management of the annual

lake cruise of members, employment, entertainment, finances, general office, house, library, and publication; and under the department of affiliated organizations comes the work of the Adcraft members, motion picture exchange managers, retail merchants and wholesale merchants.

Other commercial organizations of the city include the Detroit Stock Exchange, the Detroit Transportation Association, the Retail Grocers' Association, the Retail Druggists' Association, the Lumber Dealers' Association, the Builders' and Traders' Exchange, the Credit Men's Association, the Coal Exchange and the Real Estate Board. Each of these has for its field a particular line of business, to the improvement of which its efforts are directed. All of them cooperate with the Board of Commerce in every way.

CHAPTER XXIII

DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURING

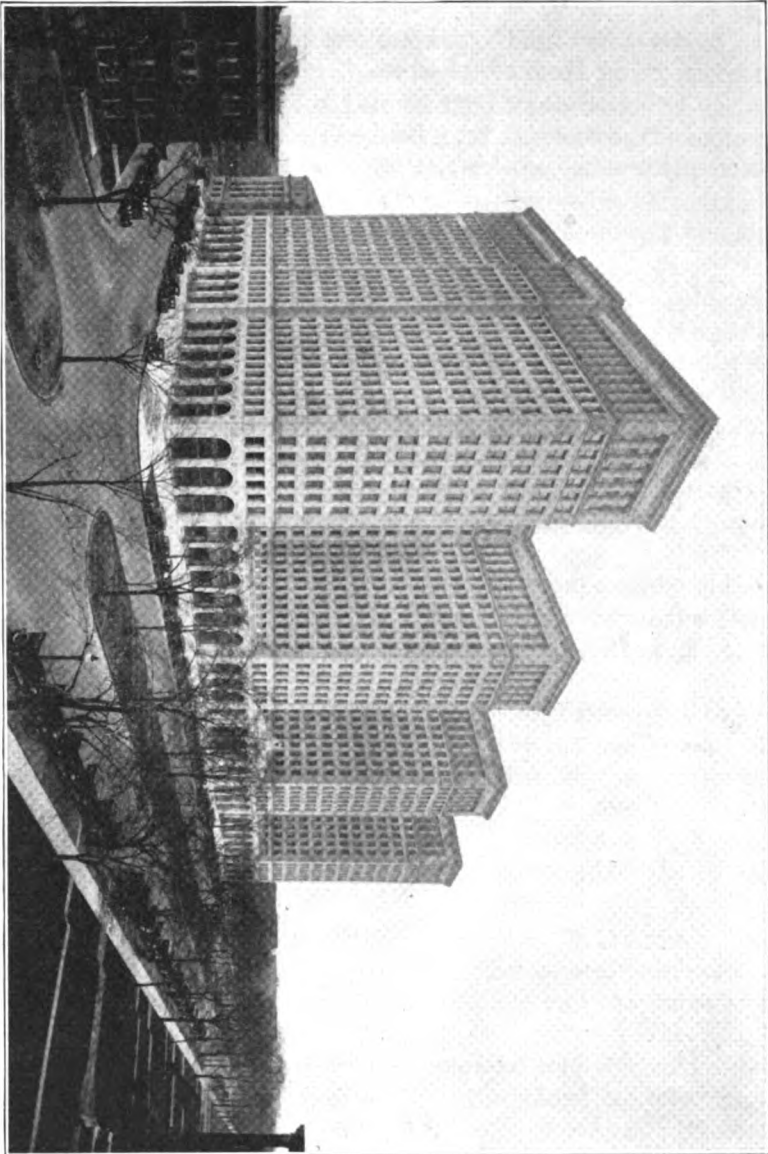
EARLY MILLS—STATISTICS OF INDUSTRIAL GROWTH—DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE INDUSTRIES—ACCESSIONS FROM OTHER CITIES—BEGINNING OF MODERN DEVELOPMENT—CAR BUILDING—A PIONEER IN IRON MANUFACTURE—PRODUCTS OF THE SALT BEDS—SHIP BUILDING A STANDARD INDUSTRY—WORLD'S STOVE-MAKING CENTER—PHARMACEUTICAL MANUFACTORIES—PAINT AND VARNISH MANUFACTORIES—THE BURROUGHS ADDING MACHINE—THE STORY OF DETROIT'S GREATEST INDUSTRY—CADILLAC—FORD MOTOR COMPANY—PACKARD—DODGE—HUDSON—HUPMOBILE—MAXWELL—OTHER AUTOMOBILE COMPANIES—DETROIT'S WAR INDUSTRIES—LIBERTY MOTOR—GENERAL MOTORS CORPORATION—AUTOMOBILE ACCESSORY AND BODY PLANTS—MISCELLANEOUS ESTABLISHMENTS.

Nature ordained that Detroit should be a great manufacturing city. Its situation on the strait connecting the upper and lower lakes, assuring easy access to the raw materials from forest, soil and mine, its location at the gateway through which east and west passenger and freight traffic would naturally go; the infusion into its population of the best blood of New England, New York and Ontario—these elements all combined to forecast for the place a secure industrial position.

One of the first needs of a new country after settlers begin to come in is a mill for grinding grain, and Cadillac met this need by setting up a water mill on the Savoyard River where it crossed what is now the Cass Farm. The toll which he first fixed for grinding wheat was one-eighth, but in 1709 the Government required him to change it to one-fourteenth. The annual income from this mill reached as high as 500 crowns. When Cadillac gave deeds of land it was usually with the stipulation that the grain raised should be ground at this mill. About 1720 a second water mill was authorized to be built by Charles Campau on May's Creek, near the crossing of Fort and Twelfth streets now. At a later date a number of windmills were established along the river. They were of circular form with broad, sloping stone foundation and upright wooden body surrounded by a conical roof, which was turned by a long sweep so as to bring the sails into position. The mill which gave name to Windmill Point, and Knaggs Mill in Springwells Township, lasted until the middle of the Nineteenth Century. Such "hand trades" as that of the blacksmith, the locksmith, armorer and brewer were carried on under license of the commandant.

These primitive modes of manufacture sufficed for the community until after the American occupation. Even then the town was slow in coming to its heritage as a manufacturing center.

In the earlier days of the town, capital was scarce, rates of interest were high, and markets were few. It was not until after the adoption of a national state banking system as completed in 1861 and the organization of institutions



GENERAL MOTORS BUILDING

Fifteen stories in height, 504 feet by 323 feet, covering the entire block bounded by West Grand Boulevard, Cass Avenue, Milwaukee Avenue and Second Avenue, in the exact geographical center of the City of Detroit. The building is the largest office building in the world, with a total floor area of thirty acres, containing 1,700 offices with a capacity of 6,000 people. The building was commenced in 1919. When finally completed, the cost of the building and the appraised value of the land, are estimated at \$20,786,000.

under the national bank act of 1863 that means could be commanded for the conduct of large operations. The census of 1850 showed a manufacturing product in Wayne County valued at \$1,950,983, and this included a considerable product of the grist and saw mills outside of the city. The product in Washtenaw County was then half as large as that of Wayne, and Lenawee and Oakland were not much behind Washtenaw. From 1860 to 1870 the capital invested in manufacturing in Wayne County, being nearly all in Detroit, increased 256 percent, and the value of the product 303 percent. This was a period of inflated values and the value of the product increased by a much larger percentage than the quantity of the output. From 1870 to 1880 was a period of declining values, and while the quantity of manufactured goods increased, the aggregate value remained nearly stationary. From 1880 to 1890 the value of the product increased 156 percent, and from 1890 until 1899 about thirty-five percent. The total value of that year was \$88,639,000 and the number of employes was about forty-five thousand.

In 1880 Detroit was the nineteenth city in the country in the value of its manufactured products; in 1890 the sixteenth, having passed Jersey City, Louisville, Lowell and Milwaukee, and being passed by Minneapolis. In 1899 it was the fifteenth. In 1909 it had risen to ninth place and five years later it was sixth. In 1916 it reached fourth place, a position which it has since maintained, being surpassed only by New York, Chicago and Philadelphia in their order. In 1919 the number of industrial employes, as reported by the state labor commissioner, was 310,000 and the value of the manufactured product was \$1,450,000,000.

The report of the United States Census Bureau on manufacturers gives the following totals for the calendar year 1919 of the industries within the Detroit city limits. The statement includes the city proper, Highland Park and Hamtramck.

	1914	1919	% Increase
Number of establishments.....	2,150	2,226	03.6
Capital employed.....	\$405,376,813	\$1,230,470,739	203.5
Salaried officials and clerks.....	21,471	34,928	16.1
Average number of wage earners...	124,638	231,645	84.2
Salaries and wages.....	\$123,044,832	419,774,189	241.2
Cost of materials.....	\$296,852,528	964,963,591	225.1
Value of products.....	\$569,519,227	1,803,728,219	216.8

In 1914, when the thirteenth census was taken, the capital employed was \$405,376,813, the cost of the materials was \$296,852,528 and the value of the product was \$569,519,227.

In 1919, the difference between the cost of material and the value of the product was \$838,744,628. This represents the value added by labor and is equivalent to \$3.625 for each wage earner.

The average wages for all classes of work for the past seven years were reported by the labor commissioner as follows:

1913.....	\$2.60
1914.....	2.67
1915.....	2.74
1916.....	2.99
1917.....	3.59
1918.....	4.72
1919.....	5.30

In the latter year the averages for certain classes were: Superintendents, \$10.38; foremen, \$7.40; traveling salesmen, \$8.21; skilled workmen, \$6.36; unskilled workmen, \$4.89; office men, \$5.81; foreladies, \$4.38; women superintendents, \$4.59; office women, \$3.21; women over 16 in factories, \$3.05.

The peak of employment in this district was reached about July 1, 1920. There was then a gradual decline till the last of September, when the bottom began to drop out. At the end of the year the factories represented in the Employers' Association had less than one-seventh as many men on their payrolls as they had six months earlier.

The year 1921 commenced just where 1920 left off. There was steady improvement till the middle of May, when these factories were employing about sixty percent of their maximum. They remained at about this figure up to the last of November. In the last two weeks in December there was again a rapid decline, but much less marked than that of a year earlier.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE INDUSTRIES

In its advanced position in this respect Detroit is noted, as it has been at various other periods, for three things; its superiority over all other cities in a few special lines, the great range and variety of its other products, and the wide distribution of its manufacturing districts. It was the pioneer in the West in the conversion of iron ore into pig, in the making of Bessemer steel and in the rolling of steel rails, though its supremacy in those respects long since passed away. It was among the earliest cities in the West to engage in car building, was the original home of the Pullman car, and afterwards became the largest manufacturer in the country of freight cars, a business which has now very nearly ceased. It took from Albany, Troy and Buffalo the supremacy in stove making and held first place in this for more than two score years. It has for a long time boasted the largest single manufactory of pharmaceutical preparations, and is second only to New York in the total value of that product. It has recently reached second place and will soon hold first in the casting, rolling and manipulation of brass. It is one of only three cities that have a large lead in aluminum castings. It is one of only two, and far the largest of the two, in the making of soda ash and kindred alkalies. At one time it made ninety percent of all the computing machines assembled in the country, and is still far in advance of all competition in that line. It has now a world-wide supremacy as well as a world-wide fame, in the making of automobiles and has a world-wide market for its products in this line. It was by far the largest producer of aeroplane engines, notably the Liberty Motor, during the war, and gives promise of coming to the front in the manufacture of the planes themselves.

Aside from the specialties, in which it is beyond competition, the city is remarkable for the variety of its products. It is not specially known as an iron city, yet its iron industries are large and varied, and it is one of the largest consumers of pig iron in the country. The brass and copper industries are almost as varied as those of iron, including nearly every variety of mechanical appliance in which precision is desired, and every article of household furniture and use. Michigan was for many years the leading white pine state, and is still one of the large producers of ornamental and useful hard woods. Among Detroit's industries are included a great variety of those in which wood is the chief material. The city is not a large producer of textile fabrics as a whole,

but excels in certain special lines, notably overalls. It makes many varieties of electrical appliances and a host of other things. The Census Bureau's survey of manufactures for 1914 showed 260 different classes of manufactures in the city, and there are scores and even hundreds of articles under each class. This diversity of manufacture is one of the best elements of its prosperity. Skilled mechanics are trained in every branch, and work is to be had in almost every line. More important yet is the home market that is created for a variety of products. In many manufactured articles Detroit is its own best customer. The report of the State Labor Commissioner for 1918 shows 155 different factories which employed 300 or more hands each. Of these forty-eight employed over 1,000 and five over 10,000.

Detroit's manufacturing industries are not, as in some cities, collected in a single congested and unwholesome district. They throng the river front and adjacent streets from Woodward Avenue to Belle Isle bridge. They make a sizable manufacturing city by itself of the Milwaukee Junction district, and one almost equally large about West Detroit Junction. They occupy a number of separate blocks in the down-town districts. They scatter along the banks of the River Rouge, and their tall chimneys and derricks dot the landscape along the salt and soda district for eight miles west of the city limits. They occupy nearly all the sites along the inner belt line railroad and have already taken up several miles of frontage on the outer line, or Detroit Terminal Railway as it is called. This separation of industries over large areas gives great advantage of profit, convenience and accessibility. It prevents the crowding of freight into one section. It prevents the raising of factory sites to a prohibitive or speculative price. It gives opportunity to intersperse the factory districts with cottage districts so that wage earners may live reasonably near their work.

ACCESSIONS FROM OTHER CITIES

The period from 1904 to 1910 was especially marked by the removal of manufacturing companies from other cities to Detroit. This was partly due to exceptionally good industrial conditions in this city, which was then, as now, more of an "open shop" town than any other large industrial center in the country. It was partly due also to the fact that general conditions for manufacture and shipment were excellent and that residential attractions were superior. The rise of the automobile industry was a still more important factor in this result, acting as a magnet in drawing hither many factories engaged in allied production. In the space of four years thirty companies moved here from other cities or established branches here. In the number were some which have since taken rank among the largest in the city.

Early in 1903 the Packard automobile was being manufactured at a small plant in Warren, Ohio. A little group of young men in Detroit, with inherited wealth, business training and prophetic vision, bought the machinery and business and moved them to Detroit.

The same year the Arithmometer Company, now the Burroughs Adding Machine Company, moved here from St. Louis, mainly to escape the trade union domination in that city. Along with the machinery they brought on special trains 253 families, arriving here in the afternoon.

Morgan & Wright, one of the constituent organizations of the United States Rubber Company, moved here from Chicago, primarily to be near the best market for their product. They commenced with 800 men making a variety of

rubber goods. They have since employed 4,800 at one time, working mainly on automobile tires.

What is now the Timken-Detroit Axle Company, brought machinery and a working force from Canton, Ohio, coming because this was their best market for automobile axles. The machinery was speedily set up in a factory, fortunately found vacant, and the employers announced that they would ultimately employ 1,000 men. They actually increased their force within a few years to nearly 5,000.

Those given are, perhaps, the best examples of the impetus given to Detroit industry by factories moving from other cities. But there are numerous others. A list of twenty-one companies, selected on account of their rapid growth, shows a total of 5,245 employes when they started at various periods. The same companies had 48,000 on their rolls in the latter part of 1917. They came to Detroit not by reason of artificial inducements, such as bonuses, stock promotions, free sites, free water or exemption from taxation, for no such inducements were offered, but for business and residence considerations alone. It is noticeable also that the period that was most fruitful in this respect was coincident with the early activities of the Board of Commerce, an organization that was in many ways helpful to these new enterprises.

The necessary industry of milling and the small trades, common blacksmith shops, boat, canoe and carriage building, were about all the mechanical industries they had until after the American occupation. In 1810 there was a household production of flax and woolen goods, hats, soap and candles with a little tanning of hides, and the making of saddles and bridles. The estimated value of all these goods was \$24,842. In 1820 the factory product was valued at \$19,100, with 31 men employed and \$5,315 paid in wages. In 1840 the value of the manufactured product was \$312,470, of which \$116,375 was the product of flour, grist and saw mills.

BEGINNING OF MODERN DEVELOPMENT

It was in the decade before the Civil war that the foundation of a number of modern industries was laid. In 1853 the first car works were built, and in 1856 the first match factory. Both of these were large industries for more than half a century thereafter. In 1852 the first large vessel was launched and one of the big shipbuilding plants of the present day is in direct succession from that venture, retaining even the same location. In 1863 the first marine engine was built and the second of to-day's big ship yards was the outgrowth of that enterprise. In 1858 the first varnish factory was built, and the business is still conducted in the same location and under the same family name. In 1860 the first stove was built here. Its maker, Jeremiah Dwyer, in after years, organized the first two stove companies, saw the city reach the front rank in that line of industry, and fifty-nine years after his first venture, was still president of one of the largest stove companies in the country. The "Mayflower" tobacco was first manufactured here in 1853. It has been made by the same family and has gone under the same name ever since.

It is interesting to take Detroit's leading industries topically and chronologically. The town was located on the edge of the forests. The whole country and all the surrounding country, for that matter, were densely wooded. Besides that an abundant supply of logs could be easily and economically floated down lake and river from the immense pine areas farther north. Working in wood

was naturally one of the first industries to be organized on a large scale, and the saw mill was the first method of this development. In the early '50s the river front in Detroit and Springwells was lined with saw mills and the foundations of several good family fortunes were laid in this business. Statistics of this industry were not regularly compiled, but in 1859 there were eleven mills in operation with a cut of 30,000,000 feet a year. The industry lasted into the Twentieth Century, lasted, in fact, until the log supply from the Lake Huron shore was exhausted, and Canadian export restrictions had cut off the supply from the Georgian Bay district.

CAR BUILDING

Manufactures in which wood was the chief material greatly surpassed the saw mill in importance. Among these, car building was among the first and for many years far the largest. In 1853 George B. Russell and other parties secured premises on the Gratiot Road and commenced the manufacture of twenty-five cars for the Detroit and Pontiac Railway. This was the inauguration of car building west of Albany. In 1854 the co-partnership became Robinson, Russell & Company, which was, in 1868, merged into an incorporated concern—the Detroit Car & Manufacturing Company—the works having been removed from Gratiot Road to the foot of Beaubien Street. In 1856 the company built shops on Croghan Street. At that time there were no houses in that vicinity, and the subsequent settlement of that portion of the city is directly traceable to the location of these works.

In 1871 the business was sold to the Pullman Company, which, in a few years, enlarged the works so as to cover the whole block between Croghan Street, (now Monroe Avenue), St. Aubin and Macomb streets and the Detroit & Milwaukee Railroad. Then came an incident characteristic of the Detroit authorities of those days. The company wanted to expand their works over much larger space, and asked that Macomb Street be vacated for a single block. The common council refused; the company began to look elsewhere for a site, and finally located near Chicago, founding the town of Pullman. It retained the shops here as a branch till 1893, when they were abandoned. The Detroit Car Company built, in 1872, extensive works on Adair Street but did not last many years. Meantime the Michigan Car Company, organized in 1864, built large works at Grand Trunk Junction, and the Peninsular Car Works followed in 1885 at Milwaukee Junction. The Michigan Central and the Grand Trunk railroads had car shops in or near the city and the street railway company followed at a later period. The Russel Wheel & Foundry Company also did an extensive business in the building of logging cars.

The Detroit branch of the great manufacturing institution, the American Car & Foundry Company, is comprised of what was formerly known as the Peninsular Car Company, located at Ferry and Russell streets, the Michigan Car Company, the Detroit Car Wheel Company and Detroit Pipe & Foundry Company, located at Michigan and Clark avenues, and the Baugh Steam Forge, located on the river at the foot of Clark Avenue. All of these properties were merged into the Michigan-Peninsular Car Company in September, 1892, and in March, 1899, were acquired by the American Car & Foundry Company with other plants located in Chicago, St. Louis, Buffalo and other cities. The plants in Detroit are designated as the Peninsular Department, Michigan Department and Forge Department. In 1884 the Peninsular Car Company purchased

twenty-five acres of land at Ferry and Russell streets, erected buildings and installed first-class equipment. Then it was only necessary to arrange for the construction of wooden cars. When the demand for steel cars made it apparent that eventually the wooden car would give way to the car of steel construction, large shops were erected at this plant and equipped with machinery adapted to this work. The buildings alone now cover about twenty acres and the total acreage occupied is fifty-two. There are also foundries at this plant in which are made the wheels and castings for cars turned out. The Michigan Department, at Michigan and Clark avenues, occupies thirty-nine acres. The Forge Department occupies nine acres on the Detroit River. Statistics of the state department of labor show that in 1919 there were 2,423 people employed at the Detroit plants of this company. The company's general offices are in St. Louis, Missouri. Representative Detroit capitalists who were formerly identified with the car building industry in Detroit are: Col. Frank J. Hecker, C. L. Freer and James McGregor, and the late James McMillan, John S. Newberry, Christian H. Buhl, Theodore D. Buhl, Russell A. Alger, James F. Joy, and William C. McMillan. The car business reached its high water mark in 1907, when it employed over 9,000 men and had a production valued at \$28,000,000. The two big freight car plants were then building 100 cars a day. During the late war the immense plant of the American Car & Foundry was given over to the making of munitions and when fully organized was turning out war materials in tremendous quantities.

During the period of its ascendancy, car building added more to Detroit's fame as a manufacturing center than any other industry. Its products rolled over the rails in every state and territory in this country and were sent also to Canada, Mexico, Spain and Russia. In its latest stages it was much more of a metal than a wood industry, but was always a large consumer of forest products.

Ship building was the next great industry in which wood was the chief raw material, but this is deserving of treatment in a section by itself. For hulls, iron, steel and, latterly, concrete have since displaced wood. Next to house building the greatest use of wood in the city is in the making of automobile bodies and following that is furniture making, both very important industries. Originally the whole country was heavily wooded. From its forests there came not only valuable house and shipbuilding timber, but the wood that for half a century furnished the fuel for its brick kilns and charcoal iron furnaces.

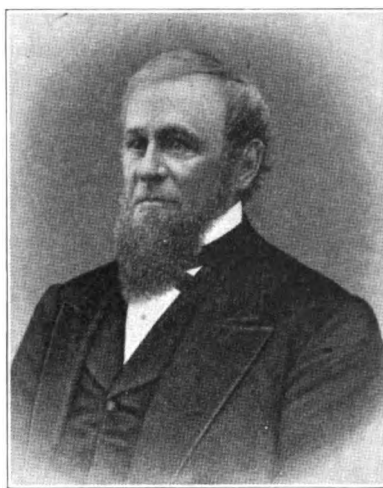
A PIONEER IN IRON MANUFACTURE

Surprise has often been expressed that Detroit, with all its varied industries, in many of which iron is the basic material for manufacture, should not have taken a more prominent position in the making of iron itself. It was in fact among the pioneers in various phases of this industry. The first iron blast furnace in this country west of Pittsburgh was built in Hamtramck in 1856 by Dr. George B. Russel. From that time till 1905 "The Hamtramck Iron Works" was one of the landmarks of Eastern Detroit industry. The site of this plant, now over three miles within the city limits, was at the foot of Concord Avenue on land now occupied by Morgan & Wright.

Beyond the city on the west, in the large township of Ecorse, Capt. E. B. Ward established in 1854 the Eureka Iron & Steel Works. That and the Wyandotte Rolling Mills, whose construction followed, constituted for many years the largest industrial plant in the county. They were built partly with Detroit



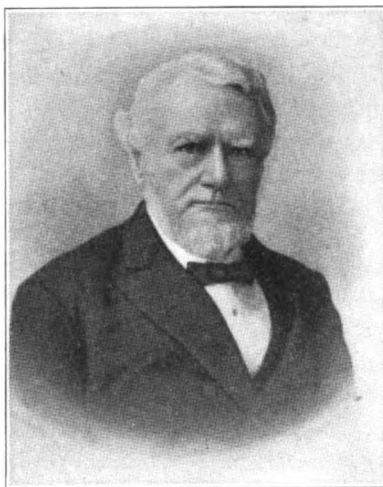
Thomas Berry



Merrill I. Mills



Daniel Scotten



Christian H. Buhl

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN

capital, but were located in what is now the city of Wyandotte, because that was on the edge of one of the finest tracts of woodland then left in Southern Michigan, whose thousands of acres promised a supply of charcoal for many years to come. It is an interesting fact of local history that the first steel rails made in this country were rolled at the Wyandotte Mills, and that the first Bessemer steel produced in this country came from the same mills. In 1862 William Franklin Durfee, who had studied the Bessemer steel process in England, went to Lake Superior to test the suitability of its iron ores for the manufacture of steel, under a process invented by Mr. William Kelley. He succeeded in making ingots of steel, and established the fact that some of the best Bessemer ores in the country were in the Lake Superior district. He interested Captain Ward in his experiments, and the first steel rails made in this country were rolled at the Wyandotte mills, May 25, 1865. Mr. Durfee also constructed at that point the first analytical laboratory built in the United States as an adjunct to steel works. It was a great aid in the study of the Bessemer process and in the use of regenerative furnaces. After the success of Mr. Durfee's plan for making steel rails became apparent, the Wyandotte mills were found not to have sufficient capacity for their economical production. A difference of opinion arose between Captain Ward and his associates, as to the advisability of enlarging the plant. The result of the disagreement was the withdrawal of two members who were largely interested in the concern, and the establishment of the South Chicago Rolling Mills. This enterprise afterwards developed into the Illinois Steel Company's immense works, the largest steel rail producers in the world. This was not the first, nor was it the last time that Detroit lost an important industry through lack of the timely foresight and enterprise required to take quick advantage of a passing opportunity. The mills at Wyandotte ceased operations in the '90s, after about thirty years of successful operation.

It has long been a theory of commercial writers that Detroit should be a large manufacturer of coke iron as well as of charcoal iron. The arguments to support this position have been numerous and apparently convincing. The answer to them was for a long time short but conclusive. The freight rate on iron ore from the Lake Superior region to Lake Erie ports was the same as to Detroit, while the former were much nearer to the coal fields. It requires about one and one half tons of ore and two tons of coke to make one ton of iron, and the advantage was, therefore, with the Lake Erie ports. An expert who made a thorough examination of the whole subject in 1903 said that when pig iron sold at \$28.00 a ton it might have been made very profitably in Detroit, but when it came down again to \$14.00 or \$15.00 a ton, which was the price then ruling, it could not be profitably made here with Pennsylvania coke; nor could coal be advantageously coked at this point except under especially favorable conditions. These favorable conditions had then arisen, and the same gentleman who formerly advised against the establishment of coke iron furnaces became the chief promoter of the initial enterprise of this character. These conditions are, first, the opening of new railroad connections with the coal fields of Ohio and West Virginia; second, and much more important, the building of coke ovens in connection with the great alkali manufactories in this district. The economic use of heat, power, and material which this combination secures makes it possible to lay down at the door of the furnace a superior quality of coke that will enable Detroit to compete with any of the lake cities in the production of coke pig. The initial enterprise of this kind, the Detroit Iron & Steel Company, established

and incorporated in 1902, located on Zug Island, has had a successful career but remains thus far without an imitator. That, and the Detroit Iron Furnace plant on Wight Street, successor to three of the old charcoal iron companies, are the sole producers of "pig" in this city.

Detroit is, however, one of the largest consumers of pig iron in the country. Among its numerous and varied manufactures, those into which steel enter as among the most important materials form no inconsiderable portion. Its immense shipbuilding interests, its automobile plants, now the most important in the country, its stove works, its steel spring works, its manufactories of spring beds, its structural steel works, its bridge building, its steam fitting and heating its malleable iron and grey iron works, and a host of others are constantly using or manipulating iron or steel in some form. The monthly export tables mention nearly 150 classes, including thousands of individual articles, in which iron is an essential part.

PRODUCTS OF THE SALT BEDS

It is very rarely, except on the discovery of precious metals or diamonds, that a new industry comes into such sudden and so great prominence as that achieved by the salt and soda industry of the "Down River district" in Wayne County. Up to 1888 there was no district along the eastern shore of Michigan that appeared to be less promising than the river front from Fort Wayne to Wyandotte, and again from the other side of Wyandotte to Trenton. There was an old glass factory on the east bank of the tortuous and sluggish River Rouge. There was a sawmill, which had seen its most active days, at Ecorse and one at Wyandotte. For the rest, the fifteen miles of marsh fronting on the most magnificent waterway of the continent, was put to but little industrial use. A few reels and tumble-down shanties indicated occupation during the comparatively short season, when commercial fishing could be carried on at a profit. At the two mouths of the Rouge, and at some other points along Detroit River, the amateur sportsman took a few bass and perch, and swapped many lies or fired at the elusive duck. With these exceptions the only frequenters of the marsh that watched the mighty fleet of vessels, passing and repassing on the river, were the frog, the muskrat, and the mudhen. In summer a few vessels were towed up the muddy Rouge to the manufactories on the higher ground beyond the marsh.

Borings were made below Wyandotte in the hope of finding gas or oil for use in the iron works at that point, but salt was found instead, and that laid the foundation of a new industry. The pioneer work in the development of the salt beds was done by Capt. J. B. Ford of Ford City, Pennsylvania, a large manufacturer of plate glass, and consequently a large consumer of soda ash, for which the country was then dependent upon Belgian and English manufacturers. A series of borings followed by very careful examinations of the salt brought up, of the water from the river, and of the limestone, which crops out a few miles distant, convinced the captain that this was the ideal place for the manufacture of soda ash, and in 1889 work was commenced, which became Plant No. 1 of the Michigan Alkali Company.

There was then only one manufactory of that product in the country and the officers were very close-mouthed, in reference to methods, as all the alkali manufacturers have been since. The new concern had to feel its way along through various experiments with the ammonia process, and as an officer of the company

says, expended over a million dollars before it began to get any practical and satisfactory results. One of the things it had to contend with was the desperate competition of the English manufacturers, who pooled together and put their product on the American market at less than cost in order to break down the manufacturers in this country. Captain Ford, however, was a man of grit as well as capital, and maintained a sturdy fight. Finally, the pendency of the Dingley tariff bill afforded an opportunity to check that kind of English competition, which was done by levying a duty on three-eighths of a cent a pound on soda ash, and three-fourths of a cent on bi-carbonate of soda and caustic soda.

After the experimental stage was over the works became very prosperous, and it was upon the foundation thus laid that the immense chemical plants at Wyandotte and Ford City were built. In 1895 the Solvay Process Company of Syracuse, New York, purchased the old exposition grounds of sixty-seven acres, with the buildings standing thereon, for a manufacturing site, and Brady Island, just across the Rouge, comprising 232 acres, was added. They began the development of the salt beds underlying Zug Island, and now this is much the largest industry in the Delray district.

The discoverers and patentees of the ammonia, or Solvay, process in the soda ash industry were two brothers, Ernest and Alfred Solvay, of Brussels, Belgium, and the process was perfected in 1863. By this process, ash, under ammonia treatment, is made from a purified solution of salt, charged with ammonia and treated with purified carbonic acid. After filtering and drying, it is ready for market as an exceedingly fine carbonate of soda. This is used in bleaching, purification of oils, tanning of leather, desulphurization of ores, purification of gas, scouring of wool, tempering of steel and principally in the making of glass. It is an essential raw material for soda, baking powder, borax, lye, paper, paint, soap and varnish. These are just a few of the principal uses among hundreds for the manufactured product.

The Solvay Process Company, the Semet Solvay Company, the Michigan Alkali Company, the Pennsylvania Salt Manufacturing Company, and the Detroit Rock Salt Company are incorporated companies manufacturing soda ash and salt products in Detroit, Wyandotte and River Rouge districts. In a period of good production the various industries of this class in the down river district employ over ten thousand men, with a product running high into the millions in value. This industry has a national as well as a local significance and value. The year before the companies mentioned commenced to put their product on the market in quantities, Detroit imported 450,000,000 pounds of soda ash and exported none. In 1918 the city exported 238,435,000 pounds and imported none. In the latter year, 97,378,000 pounds of caustic soda and 40,969,000 of other sodas were also exported. The manufacturing establishments engaged in this industry in Wayne County are either a part of, or controlled by, national corporations of vast extent.

SHIP BUILDING A STANDARD INDUSTRY

A "forty-niner," who was first a miner and afterwards a vessel owner and explorer along the coasts and up the rivers of California and Oregon, told on his return to Detroit years afterwards of a queer craft which he saw enter the harbor of San Francisco in the early '50s. The vessel was built originally upon the lines common in those days for an ocean-going schooner, but was flattened amidships as if pressed in an immense vise. Examination showed that she had

been shaved off on either side, so that for some distance along the waist her lines were straight and parallel. Inquiry brought out the fact that she was built in Detroit for ocean travel. She proved to be too wide for the locks in the Welland Canal. Accordingly, her master had her planed off inch by inch until she could barely pass through the narrowest locks, the tightest squeeze, doubtless, that any vessel ever had in that passageway. This was only one of the ingenious devices employed by Detroit builders in an industry that deserves a place here, for boat and shipbuilding as classed in the government tables as manufactories.

The founders of Detroit made the first approach to the site of their settlement in batteaux and they and their successors have been engaged in constructing some sort of river or lake craft ever since. They have passed through all the successive steps from the canoe and the dugout to the largest of modern craft, even to the steel ocean-going freighter. Work at Detroit yards has included tugs, two, three and four masted schooners, coarse freight wooden steamers, package freight and passenger steamers with wooden hulls, steam barges, passenger ferry steamers, the largest car ferries, iron and steel freighters of every class, ice crushers, a floating drydock, pleasure yachts, and the finest side-wheel passenger carriers that sail any waters.

The first merchant sail vessel was built here in 1769 and was called the *Enterprise*. The *Angelica*, of forty-five tons, followed in 1771. In 1782 there were nine armed vessels afloat in these waters, all built in Detroit and all in good order, the largest, a brig named the *Gage*, having fourteen guns: the others were the *Dunmore*, *Hope*, *Angelica*, *Felicity*, *Faith*, *Wyandotte*, *Adventure*, and a gun boat. In 1796 twelve merchant vessels were owned here, as well as numerous brigs, sloops and schooners. In 1797 the United States schooner *Wilkinson* was built at Detroit under the direction of Captain Curry. This boat was later renamed the *Amelia* and became part of Commodore Perry's squadron.

The *Argo*, in 1827, was the first steamer built in Detroit, followed in 1833 by the *Michigan*, built by Oliver Newberry. The *Mayflower*, owned by the Michigan Central Railroad, was launched on the 16th of November, 1848. She was a vessel of 1,354 tons. The *Mayflower* sunk December 11, 1851, while steaming from Buffalo to Detroit, after having been damaged by floating ice. Silas Farmer, in his *History of Detroit*, gives a list of over 175 steamboats constructed at this port between 1827 and 1887.

The modern great ship building industry goes back in its roots to the middle of the last century. The construction of drydocks began also about the same time. The floating dock of O. M. Hyde was completed in December, 1852, and at the same time the docks of the Detroit Dry Dock Company were constructed at the foot of Orleans Street. Under the names of G. Campbell & Company, Campbell & Owen, Detroit Dry Dock Company, and the Detroit Shipbuilding Company, business has been conducted at the same location ever since, the Wyandotte yard (established by E. B. Ward in 1872) having been added in 1879. The company is now a part of the large American Ship Building Company. It retains its old name, however, and was last incorporated March 31, 1899, and now has an authorized capital stock of \$1,450,000. The Detroit plant at the foot of Orleans Street covers fifteen acres and is equipped with docks, drydock and shops. The Wyandotte plant, covering twenty-four acres along the river, has two large building berths and shops. Recent reports of

the state labor bureau indicate that in 1919, 3,010 men were employed by the Detroit Shipbuilding Company. Merton E. Farr is the president of the company.

In 1863 the firm of Cowie, Hodge & Company commenced the building of marine and other classes of engines at the foot of Rivard Street. Under the successive names of Hodge & Christie, Samuel F. Hodge, and the Riverside Iron Works, the same business was continued and expanded until 1902, when the property was acquired by the Great Lakes Engineering Works. A shipyard was equipped at Ecorse, subsequently another was purchased at St. Clair and the work of the Rivard Street shops was turned almost entirely into marine channels. In 1910 the St. Clair yards were abandoned and extensive works were commenced at Ashtabula, Ohio. In September, 1920, New York interests headed by Antonio C. Passano purchased the property of the Great Lakes Engineering Works for \$1,850,000.

Prior to the advent of the last-named company, Detroit had been second or third among the lake ship building ports in the amount of work turned out in any given year. But with the coming of the new company, it jumped at once to the front rank. In 1905, the lake ship yards launched thirty-one big freighters with a total tonnage of 285,400. Of these the two Detroit companies were credited with fourteen and a tonnage of 134,400. The nearest competitors were the Cleveland companies, which, at their yards in Cleveland and Lorain, launched ten vessels with a tonnage of 85,500. Amid various fluctuations in the demand for this kind of tonnage since then, the Detroit companies have kept well to the front.

The season of 1911 brought an unique feature to lake shipbuilding. This was in the form of contracts for the construction of steamers and barges for the Atlantic trade. Two factors brought these contracts this way. The first was the ability to build vessels of the type wanted more quickly than the ocean ship yards were able to do it, and the other was the lower cost at which the work could be done here. The vessels are limited in size to the capacity of the Welland Canal. During 1917 and 1918 almost the entire construction work at both companies was in vessels built under government direction, for ocean service.

The increase in tonnage of vessels built here has been almost as striking as the change in material and type of construction. In 1882 the record cargo of iron ore was 1,604 gross tons; in 1885, 2,254; in 1890, 2,744; in 1895, 3,843; in 1900, 7,045; in 1905, 10,629; in 1906, 13,294. That very nearly reached the limit of cargo possible with the present depth of channels, though in 1919 a maximum of 14,000 tons was reached. The record cargo of wheat from 1839 to 1845 was that of the Osceola, Chicago to Buffalo, with 3,678 bushels. Recent cargoes have exceeded 420,000 bushels.

WORLD'S STOVE-MAKING CENTER

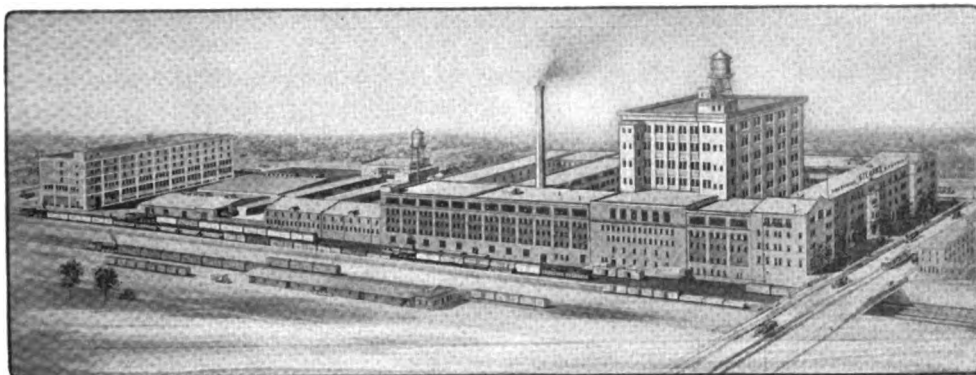
Detroit ranks as the greatest stove-producing city in the world and has held this position for nearly a half century. Cooking stoves and ranges, heating stoves, gas ranges and heaters, electric heaters, and furnaces of all kinds are manufactured in the city by five great companies, one of them the largest in the world. These five companies are: The Michigan Stove Company, the Detroit Stove Works, Peninsular Stove Company, Detroit Vapor Stove Company, and the Art Stove Company. The combined annual output of all Detroit stove

factories is approximately 600,000 stoves, ranges and furnaces. One company alone manufactures over four hundred different models. The plants occupied by the companies cover over forty acres of ground and the number of employees closely approaches the five thousand mark.

The pioneer company of this group is the Detroit Stove Works, which was first incorporated in 1864, and again in 1907. The beginning of this company really dates back to 1861, when Jeremiah Dwyer, his brother James, and Thomas W. Misner organized the J. Dwyer & Company. Jeremiah Dwyer was a native of Brooklyn, where he was born in 1838, and was brought to Detroit by his parents the same year. After his education he eventually became an apprentice in the old Hydraulic Iron Works, where he learned the trade of foundryman, and from this he stepped into the stove manufacturing business, with which he remained prominently identified until his death in January, 1920. The plant of this small company first organized by Mr. Dwyer was located near the site of the present Michigan Stove Company and the first stoves were sold by personal solicitation among the residents of the city. Two years after the organization, Misner's interest in the firm was purchased by William H. Tefft, but the firm name remained the same. Within a few years after his start, Mr. Dwyer became acquainted with Charles DuCharme, one of the wealthy Detroiters of that period and a member of the firm of Buhl, DuCharme & Company, hardware dealers. From them, Dwyer bought his pig iron and similar materials for the manufacture of stoves. DuCharme influenced Dwyer to expand his business, consequently in 1864 the Detroit Stove Works came into existence, the founders having been Jeremiah Dwyer, James Dwyer, Merrill I. Mills, Edwin S. Barbour, and William H. Tefft. In 1869 Mr. Jeremiah Dwyer sold out his interest in this company on account of health and sojourned in the South until 1871, when he returned to Detroit. The Detroit Stove Works, when working at capacity, employs close to one thousand men. The "Jewell" brand of stoves features the output of this plant.

Jeremiah Dwyer and his brother were the first Michigan foundrymen to apply engineering to the foundry trade. Before this, molders in Detroit had worked by "rule of thumb." William H. Keep, the first mechanical engineer in foundry work in the state, introduced the use of metal mixtures for stove molding, and was the first in Michigan to develop the utilization of southern irons in mixtures for "thin plate" molding.

After returning from his southern trip, with renewed health, Jeremiah Dwyer again became active in business and in the autumn of 1871 brought about the incorporation of the Michigan Stove Company, in association with Charles DuCharme, Francis Palms, Richard H. Long, Merrill I. Mills, and George H. Barbour. The original executive officers were: Charles DuCharme, president; Jeremiah Dwyer, vice president and manager; Merrill I. Mills, treasurer; and George H. Barbour, secretary. Charles DuCharme died in January, 1873, and was succeeded in the presidency by Francis Palms, who also retained the position until his death. Jeremiah Dwyer was the next president and held the office until his decease in 1920, whereupon George H. Barbour became the leading official. The officers at the present time are: George H. Barbour, chairman of the board; Charles A. DuCharme, president; Harry B. Gillespie, vice president and treasurer; Charles B. DuCharme, vice president; Emmett J. Dwyer, vice president; Francis Palms, secretary; Louis B. Young, general manager.



FREDERICK STEARNS & COMPANY



PARKE, DAVIS & COMPANY

The Michigan Stove Company began the actual manufacture of stoves on September 12, 1872. The first year a small variety of models were made, with sales valued at \$300,000. Today the annual production is about three million five hundred thousand dollars worth of stoves, ranges and furnaces, with more than four hundred models. The original plant covered about five acres, while the present plant on East Jefferson Avenue covers about sixteen acres. The present plant capacity is 150,000 annually and the number of employes is approximately one thousand two hundred. Soon after the organization of the company, all of the products were trade-marked under the name of "Garland." The products first sold in Michigan, Ohio and Indiana, but now they are sold throughout the United States and Canada. The company was first capitalized for \$300,000, but now the capitalization is \$3,000,000.

The Peninsular Stove Company was incorporated March 23, 1881, and reincorporated in 1903. The plant was located at the corner of Fort and Eighth Streets. The original officers of this company were: W. B. Moran, president; W. N. Carpenter, vice president; James Dwyer, general manager; Robert McD. Campau, secretary; and Clarence Carpenter, treasurer. It is recorded that in 1883 the company made 273 varieties of stoves, ranges and furnaces, producing 20,000 articles. In the first year of its existence, the company shipped its product to sixteen states, which territory has now grown to cover the entire United States and Canada. The company now has a capitalization of about \$3,000,000 and is officered by the following: John M. Dwyer, chairman of the board; F. T. Moran, president; J. M. Dwyer, vice president; Daniel T. Crowley, vice president and general manager; Edwin L. Dwyer, treasurer; Albert E. Dwyer, purchasing agent; Alfred B. Moran, secretary; F. C. Moran, manager furnace department. Approximately one thousand men are employed by the Peninsular Stove Company during the good seasons.

The Art Stove Company was incorporated in 1888 and is now capitalized for \$600,000. This concern, with a plant at 6531 Russell Street, manufactures "Laurel" stoves, ranges and furnaces. The officers are: William A. Dwyer, president; John O. Campbell, vice president and general manager; Harry C. Kendall, treasurer; and Hugh Ledyard, secretary.

The Detroit Vapor Stove Company, incorporated in 1894 and located at 12345 Kercheval Avenue, manufactures what is probably the best oil cook stove on the market, with a yearly production of 100,000 stoves. About five hundred employes are retained at the height of production, and the officers of the company are: John S. Sherman, president; Edwin P. Harms, vice president and secretary; George H. Harms, treasurer; and A. G. Sherman, manager. The capital stock authorized is \$450,000.

PHARMACEUTICAL MANUFACTORIES

Detroit ranks second only to New York in the value of its manufactured pharmaceutical products. Having at least three companies of national reputation, the manufacture of drugs and kindred products is as distinctive to the City of Detroit as the making of automobiles, stoves or adding machines.

The most notable of the pioneers in the drug-manufacturing business was Frederick Stearns, of whom a biographical sketch is presented in another volume of this work. Mr. Stearns came here from Buffalo in January, 1855, and in April following established himself in the retail drug trade with L. E. Higby, and later acquired the entire ownership. Mr. Stearns was ambitious to become

a pharmaceutical manufacturer and he first undertook the work in a limited way in 1856, with one room, a cooking stove, and one girl as an assistant. He marketed his own products by canvassing the towns along the railroads west of Detroit and soon built up a reputation which warranted the addition of steam power and milling and extracting machinery, much of which was of his own invention. Twice his establishment was destroyed by fire, but he persisted and each time repaired his losses and started anew. In addition to his manufacturing, he continued his retail drug business. He was an enemy of the patent medicine, which he knew to be based upon quackery, and in 1876 he created the idea of counteracting trade of this type by putting up ready-made preparations, or prescriptions, suitable and useful for common ailments, with the formula plainly inscribed upon the label, also simple directions for its use. This departure was then known as the "New Idea." It was immediately successful and soon he built up a large trade through the drug stores of the United States and Canada.

While he began with a single room, twelve feet square, in 1856, he was constantly forced to increase his facilities until eventually his manufacturing establishment covered four acres of floor space, while his employes numbered over four hundred in addition to thirty-five traveling salesmen. His retail business, which had at first yielded about \$16,000 yearly, constituted the nucleus of a trade which sometimes brought him more than that sum daily. His patronage also came from the West Indies, the Spanish-American republics, and Australia. In 1881 he disposed of his retail business, which at that time was the largest in Michigan, and in 1882 incorporated the manufacturing enterprise under the name of Frederick Stearns & Company, for the accommodation of which he erected a plant at the corner of Twenty-first and Marquette streets. He continued actively in the management until 1887, when he turned this duty over to his sons, Frederick K. and William L., and retired to well-earned rest and the opportunity to gratify his desire for study and travel. Mr. Stearns died January 13, 1907. The present building erected at 6533 East Jefferson for the accommodation of the rapidly-growing business was occupied in February, 1900.

In addition to the making of drugs, the company manufactures a high-class and complete line of toilet preparations, the best known of which are marketed under the trade name of "Day Dream" products. The officers of the company at the present time are: Mr. Frederick K. Stearns, chairman of the board; Willard Ohliger, president and general manager; Frederick S. Stearns, treasurer and first vice president; David M. Gray, secretary and second vice president.

On May 7, 1867, Dr. Samuel P. Duffield, Hervey C. Parke and George S. Davis organized a company under the name of Duffield, Parke & Company, and prepared to engage in the manufacturing of pharmaceutical preparations. Their first laboratory was established at the corner of Henry Street and Cass Avenue. In 1869 Dr. August F. Jennings succeeded Doctor Duffield as a member of the firm, and the title was then changed to Parke, Jennings & Company. In 1871 Doctor Jennings retired and William H. Stevens and John R. Grout became special partners. With this change came the present firm name—Parke, Davis & Company. Under this title the business was incorporated January 14, 1875, with an authorized capital stock of \$125,000, which has since been increased to \$12,000,000. The first board of directors and incorporators consisted of Hervey C. Parke, George S. Davis, John R. Grout, William

H. Stevens and Harry Tillman. Mr. Parke was president, Mr. Davis, the secretary, and Mr. Tillman treasurer. The quarters at Cass and Henry soon became too small and 1873 a new site was secured on the east half of the block bounded by Joseph Campau, Guoin, McDougall and Atwater. Upon this site a two-story brick building was erected. From time to time this tract has been added to and new buildings constructed as the requirements of the growing business demanded. Nearly twenty acres of floor space are occupied by the company. The number of employes ranges between two thousand and two thousand seven hundred and fifty. The company sets forth that they are manufacturers of pharmaceutical products, new chemicals, digestive ferments, empty capsules and other gelatine products, pressed herbs, etc., propagators of vaccines, serums, antitoxins, and importers of crude vegetable drugs and oils. Branch laboratories are maintained in London, England, in Canada and in New South Wales, and branch houses are located in England, Canada, Australia, Russia, India, Brazil, Cuba and Japan.

Nelson, Baker & Company, also devoted to the manufacture of pharmaceutical preparations, was founded in the late '80s by E. H. Nelson. In 1893 the company erected a laboratory on Lafayette Avenue and Brooklyn and this original home has been enlarged to suit the growth of the company. The company manufactures full and complete lines of pharmaceutical preparations. Incorporation of the company occurred in 1889 and now the authorized capital stock is \$1,000,000. The officers at present are: Edwin H. Nelson, president; Alfred Lucking, vice president; Frank W. Keyser, general manager; J. S. Black, secretary; and C. R. Burrell, treasurer. An average of two hundred and fifty people are employed by this company.

F. A. Thompson & Company was organized in the year 1898, chiefly through the efforts of Frank A. Thompson. The company was incorporated in 1898 and now has an authorized capital stock of \$550,000. The firm manufactures a general line of pharmaceutical preparations, a specialty being made of nicotine products from tobacco for the destruction of plant insects and other vermin, including the various parasites which infect animals. The company also manufactures resinoids, alkaloids, medicinal extracts of all kinds, and other preparations sold to the manufacturing and wholesale trade. The plant is located at 1962 Trombly Avenue and the officers in 1921 are: Frank A. Thompson, president; M. B. Whittaker, vice president; John McFarlane, secretary; and Fred Guenther, treasurer.

PAINT AND VARNISH MANUFACTORIES

The manufacture of paints and varnishes and kindred products has, from a very early day, carried the name and reputation of Detroit throughout the United States and foreign countries. There are several companies at the present time engaged in this class of manufacturing. The oldest and most important of these is the firm of Berry Brothers, known for over a half century wherever varnishes and allied products are marketed. The manufacture of varnish in itself is an absorbing story.

Fine varnishes are combinations of copal gum, linseed oil and turpentine. The gum is melted and the solvents added while the gum is in liquified form, after which the mixture is strained, filtered and consigned to huge tanks for a prolonged sojourn to get ripe and mellow.

Copal is of vegetable origin, being the fossilized resin of an extinct race of

trees and is found in places now treeless and barren, at depths ranging from two to twelve feet or more, in Africa, New Zealand, the Philippines, the Baltic, and other parts of the world.

The usual method of procuring the gum is very primitive. With a spear sharp enough to penetrate the ground the digger prods the soil until it encounters something hard. He then digs with his spade, and although the obstruction is not always gum, he is often rewarded with the desired prize, and keeps on digging anyhow. While not the most lucrative job in the world, the industrious gum digger earns a satisfactory income. Copal gums differ widely in hardness, and also in color, which ranges from transparent white to very dark brown. The variations in the grades of gum, and the proportions of gum, linseed oil and turpentine used in varnish-making determine the adaptability of varnish for various uses. Substitutions of inferior materials for copal gum, linseed oil and turpentine, and the use of adulterants, produce poor and unsatisfactory varnish.

The firm of Berry Brothers rose from the most humble origin, the business having been established in 1858 by Joseph H. and Thomas Berry, on an extremely modest scale. The infant industry speedily grew into lusty manhood, however, and has kept on growing until the present mammoth factory is one of the show places of Detroit.

The first factory used in 1858 was just a frame shack with a brick chimney, located on the Detroit River where they are still situated. The site of this old building is now occupied by some of their large storage warehouses. At their private dock on which these warehouses are built, they ship and receive goods by the big lake freighters.

They soon outgrew the cramped conditions and meager facilities of the little shack, and the steadily growing demand for their varnishes necessitated larger quarters. In the early '60s the little frame shack gave place to a substantial group of brick buildings that not only had the appearance of a real varnish factory, but as a matter of fact formed a very completely equipped little plant.

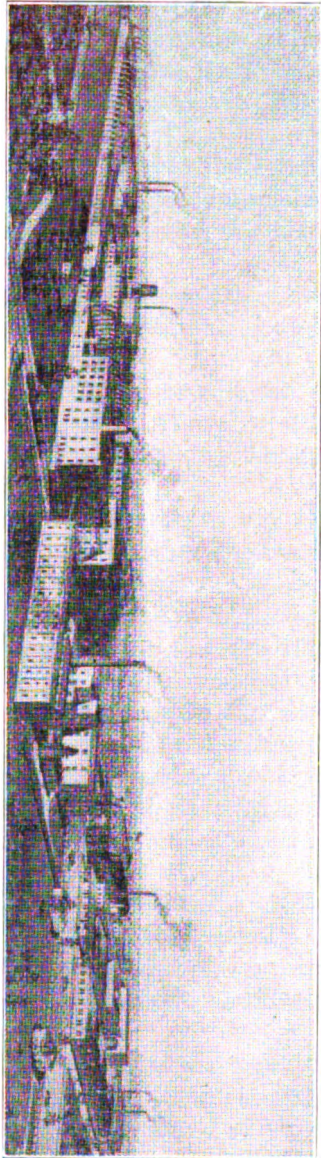
It was here that "Hard Oil Finish" was born, an interior finish that Berry Brothers originated and christened, and which became world famous. It is now known as Luxeberry Wood Finish, a registered trade name they adopted many years ago to protect buyers against numerous inferior varnishes having no fixed standard of quality or price, and wrongfully called "Hard Oil Finish."

A new factory building completed in the '70s, showed a remarkable expansion both in the manufacturing equipment and storage capacity. It was a large up-to-date factory for that period, including ample gum melting facilities, a four-story main building, and several substantial smaller buildings for raw material and manufacturing purposes.

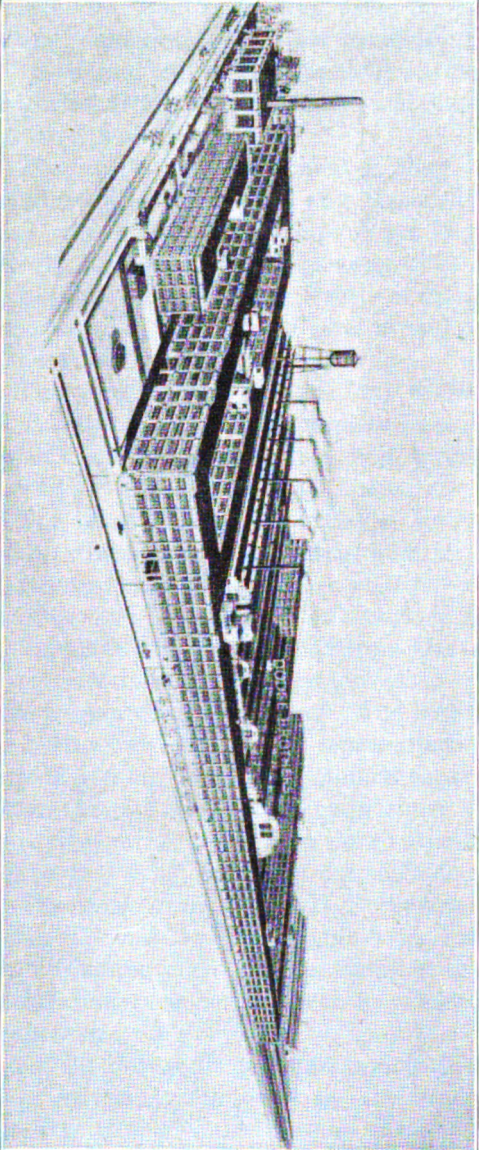
This factory met with disaster, the main four-story structure having been completely destroyed by fire in 1877. New buildings were started while the ruins of the old plant were still smoldering, and business was continued without interruption.

In the '80s the factory was again greatly enlarged, the equipment at that time consisting of two extensive batteries of kettles, larger and more substantial buildings, greatly increased storage capacity and improved shipping facilities. The side track in front of the factory, and the Detroit River at the rear, giving rail and water transportation right at the factory doors.

In the early '90s expansion was again necessary, and extensive additions



BERRY BROTHERS PLANT



DODGE BROTHERS MOTOR CAR COMPANY

were made to the plant affording facilities for a greatly augmented output. Ten years later, the volume of business again necessitated enlargement.

The popularity and success of the house of Berry Brothers rests upon a number of solid foundation stones. They have introduced and marketed many finishes that have become staple commodities in varnish using circles.

Prominent among the architectural finishes they have introduced are the "Luxeberry" line, embracing wood finishes, spar varnish, wall finishes, cement coating, enamels, etc. Other architectural finishes that are universally known and used are Liquid Granite floor varnish, Berrycraft stain finish, Lacklustre, Dulgloss finish, Lusterlo, Lionoil, and Shingletint, all of which are Berry Brothers' exclusive products.

They are equally prominent in the production of finishes used in the various manufacturing industries, and especially in connection with the automobile trade where their Raven Japans are in great demand for producing the black lustrous surfaces seen on pleasure cars.

Besides varnish, Berry Brothers manufacture a line of coach colors, fillers, surfacers, etc., and operate what is said to be the largest shellac bleaching plant in the world.

The geographical ramifications of Berry Brothers embrace in addition to the factory at Detroit, a complete factory and storage facilities at Walkerville, Canada, and representatives and branch offices in Great Britain, Europe, Australia, Cuba, and South America.

The home affiliations consist of eight branch offices and warehouses in the United States, and the general administration building in Detroit consists of six large private offices, and a spacious main office in which the entire factory of 1858 could be exhibited as a curio. A more tangible idea of the magnitude of this plant will be conveyed from the fact that the little frame shack of 1858 has grown into an aggregation of forty-eight buildings which comprise the present manufacturing plant. The little thirty-gallon melting kettle first used has been retired and is now represented by three batteries of kettles numbering forty-five in all, having a combined capacity of 11,500 gallons at a single batch, and in the storage tanks is maintained a million and a half gallons of varnish. The daily normal capacity in the shellac department is 15,000 pounds of bleached shellac, and 5,000 gallons of cut shellac.

The death of Mr. Joseph H. Berry some years ago, and the more recent passing of Mr. Thomas Berry, although a sad loss to their many friends and employes, had no lasting effect on the standing or conduct of the business, except such official changes as became necessary, and today the company is doing the largest business in its history.

All the old traditions upon which the house of Berry Brothers was built are preserved and maintained by the company. The business policies are also earnestly supplemented by the various heads of departments, many of whom have been connected with the house for long periods of years, and whose interest in the successful conduct of the business is based upon personal regard for the house as much as for interested motives, and with such an "esprit de corps" no house can do otherwise than prosper.

The present personnel of the house of Berry Brothers is: Frederick L. Colby, president; Edward W. Pendleton, vice president; William R. Carnegie, treasurer and general manager.

Berry Brothers was last incorporated December 31, 1913, and has an authorized capitalization of \$3,000,000.

The Detroit White Lead Works dates back to 1865, when J. H. Worcester established on Jones Street, between Third and Fourth, a small factory in which he began operations under the title of the Detroit White Lead & Color Works. After a failure, Worcester again took up the work and continued until 1880, when Col. Fordyce H. Rogers purchased the entire plant, and organized the Detroit White Lead Works, which was incorporated December 22, 1880, with a capital stock of \$50,000. The original president of the company was F. D. C. Hinchman. On February 27, 1896, the factory was destroyed by fire, but was rebuilt upon a more extensive scale on Milwaukee Avenue. Operations in the new plant were begun November 6, 1896. The company was reincorporated in 1910, with an authorized capitalization of \$300,000. The officers are: W. H. Cottingham, president; R. W. Levenhagen, vice president; J. G. Burns, secretary. The number of employes averages about 200.

The Acme White Lead & Color Works, now owned by the Sherwin-Williams interests of Cleveland, Ohio, and located at St. Aubin and the Michigan Central railroad, had its beginning in 1884, when William L. Davies and Thomas Neal started in business in a small rented building on the old "circus grounds" on the Jones Farm, in the vicinity of Grand River Avenue and Fourth Street. Neal and a paint-maker were the only employes then. In the second year, Albert E. F. White and H. Kirke White became financially interested in the concern, and at the end of the year an additional building was secured. This was the beginning of a growth which was scarcely interrupted. New buildings were added and the capital stock increased as the growing trade warranted. The company was first incorporated in December, 1884. In March, 1920, as stated before, the Acme White Lead & Color Works was purchased by Sherwin-Williams of Cleveland, but the old name was retained for trade purposes, although a new corporate title of Motor City Paint Company was adopted. The most recent incorporation was January 6, 1920, at which time a reduction in the capital stock was authorized. This company, which employs about 400 people, manufactures lead products, paints, enamels, stains, varnishes and colors. The officers are, in 1921, W. H. Cottingham, president; G. A. Martin, vice president; Thomas Neal, vice president; M. W. Neal, vice president and treasurer; A. M. Woodward, secretary.

The Detroit Graphite Company, located at 550 Twelfth Street, manufacturers of ready-mixed paints for exterior and interior use in the protection of metal surfaces from corrosion, was organized in 1892, chiefly through the efforts of Alexander A. Boutell, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and treasurer of the Baraga Graphite Company, owners of graphite deposits in the Upper Peninsula. The first officers of the company were: A. G. Boynton, president; Ralzemond A. Parker, vice president; Alexander A. Boutell, treasurer and general manager; William F. Monroe, secretary. The first plant was located on Twelfth Street, near Fort, and for the first four years little progress was made. However, in 1896, the company got its products before the ordnance departments of the United States Army and Navy, and after the most rigid tests, they were adopted by the government for general use in both branches. This insured the success of the company and the growth has been steady since that time, with a consequent increase of plant facilities. The company was reincorporated in 1907 and now has an authorized capitalization of \$1,100,000.

The officers in 1921 are: F. W. Davis, Jr., president; T. R. Wyles, vice president; and W. F. Monroe, secretary and treasurer. The company was the first to use graphite as a material in paint manufacture and the process is now covered by a patent.

THE BURROUGHS ADDING MACHINE

There is no story in American industrial history more absorbing, more replete with human interest, than the story of the inventor of the adding machine and his years of disheartening labor to perfect his creation. The immense manufactory known as the Burroughs Adding Machine Company, with its 12,000 employes, its vast organization, and its yearly output of over 125,000 calculating machines, is built upon the dreams, the ambitions, the creative genius and the struggles of one man, whose name is now perpetuated in the title of the company.

William Seward Burroughs was the son of a mechanic and was born in Rochester, N. Y., January 28, 1857. While he was still a small lad, his parents moved to Auburn, N. Y., where he and his brothers were educated in the public schools. According to the father's desire that his youngest son should choose a "gentleman's" vocation, young Burroughs, after his graduation from high school, entered the Cayuga County National Bank of Auburn as a clerk. This was not in accordance with the young man's wishes, for he had a natural love and talent for mechanics and the boredom and monotony of clerical life weighed heavily upon him. Seven years in the bank caused his health to break and he was forced to resign.

During the time he was employed in the bank, Burroughs had recognized the need of some system or device to relieve the tiresome duties of a bank clerk. A mechanism for this purpose did not at first assume form in his mind, but the germ of the idea was created. In 1882, when he was in his twenty-fifth year, Burroughs went to St. Louis, Mo., where he obtained a job in a machine shop. These new surroundings, which appealed to him more, hastened the development of the idea he had in mind and the tools of his new craft gave him the opportunity to put into tangible form the first conception of the adding machine. Accuracy was the foundation of his work. No ordinary materials were good enough for his creation. His drawings were made on metal plates which could not stretch or shrink by the smallest fraction of an inch. He worked with hardened tools, sharpened to finest points, and when he struck a center or drew a line, it was done under a microscope. His drawings are today a marvel of accuracy.

Burroughs gave up his regular employment and looked around for a small, well-equipped shop where he could rent bench space and obtain an assistant to carry on his work. He finally located the shop of Joseph Boyer, at 244 Dickson Street, where he set up his tools and started out to make the adding machine commercially practical. His funds soon disappeared, but the development of the idea did not lag, the chief reason being that Burroughs had met Joseph Boyer, who, next to the inventor himself, was the greatest factor in making the present industry a possibility.

Seldom has an inventor with a great idea been compelled to struggle under such conditions as faced Burroughs during the time he was developing his ideas for the first practical adding machine. With every penny of his own money and all he could borrow spent, he still fought on. He set out himself to raise

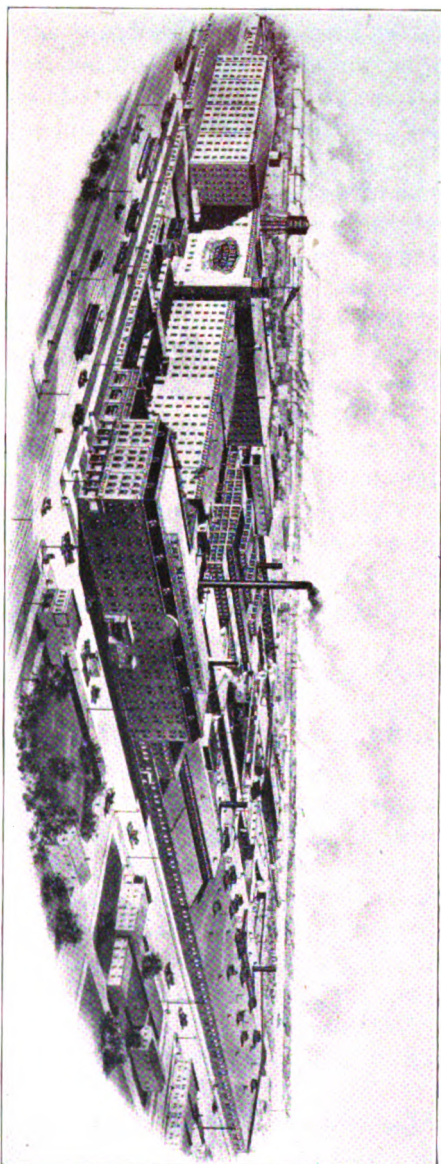
money by the sale of stock in the projected enterprise. With this money he would then begin his experiments again, but about the time he was well under way, the bottom would drop out of the treasury. However, at the Boyer shop, activities continued unabated in spite of these obstacles. A small organization was built up, which made in brass the adding machine parts which the inventor desired. Finally, in the latter part of 1884, the first model of the machine was displayed and was the basis for the Burroughs patents, which were secured in 1885.

There now came a protracted period of new discouragements. The first machines proved unsatisfactory, principally because the human equation had not been taken into account. One person would operate with a heavier touch than another, consequently the results obtained on the machine varied. The stockholders complained and the general opinion was formed that the new machine was a failure. But the setback was only a whip to Burrough's determination. He began work again notwithstanding the fact that he was upon the verge of a physical breakdown. In fact, he did all of his earlier work under the handicap of gradually declining health. He knew himself and his endurance as well as he knew the ultimate value of his brain-child, so in feverish desperation he set about to remedy the defect in his first model. At his bench he toiled for hours, without food or sleep, and on the morning of the third day he had eliminated the one great defect by an automatic controller, or dashpot, substantially the same as is used today on all adding machines. With this addition, the machine became practical, in that it could be operated by even a novice.

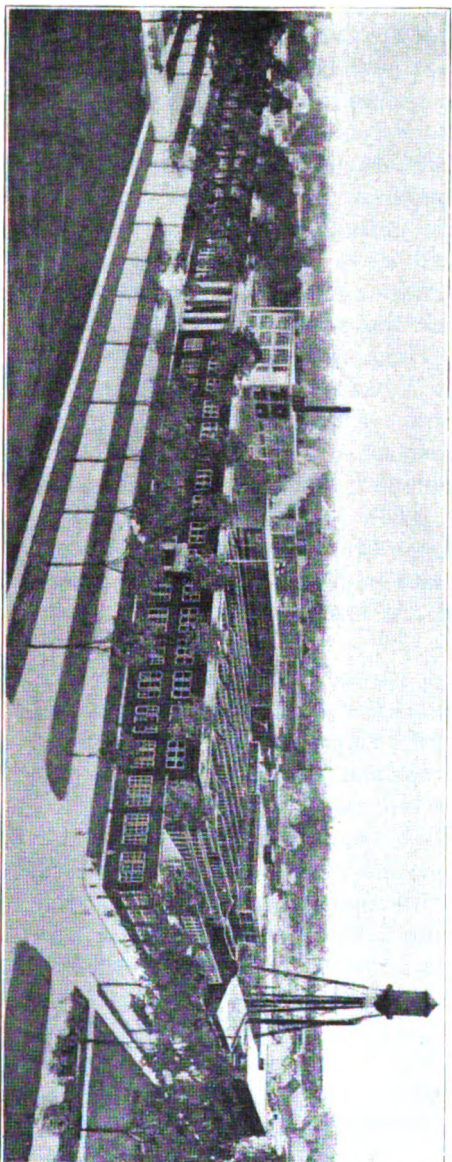
Then came the problem of manufacturing and selling the machines. In January, 1888, there was organized at St. Louis the American Arithmometer Company, which was incorporated with a capital stock of \$100,000. The original officers were: Thomas Metcalfe, president; William S. Burroughs, vice president; Richard M. Scruggs, treasurer; and A. H. B. Oliver, secretary. William R. Pye was also one of the original stockholders. A contract was entered into with the Boyer Machine Company for the manufacture of the device, the selling operations were established and from time to time different models were put out, the beginning of the long line of models now manufactured. Twice, while in St. Louis, the company was compelled to enlarge its floor space, in order to fill the increasing number of orders for the machines.

In 1904 conditions seemed to favor the removal of the plant from St. Louis. Trade union domination in that city was a restriction upon the proper development of the concern, also Joseph Boyer used his influence to accomplish this removal to a more advantageous location. Special trains brought the machinery, together with 253 families, to Detroit, arriving here in the afternoon. By means of arrangements made through the real estate committee of the board of commerce, most of the people were comfortably housed the same night, many of them in places which they afterwards bought. This was one of the most remarkable "hegiras" in manufacturing history.

The Burroughs Adding Machine Company, organized in Detroit, was incorporated in January, 1905, and succeeded the American Arithmometer Company. The first buildings in Detroit, located at Second Avenue and Amsterdam Street, contained 70,304 square feet of floor space, but the increase in production and sales has been such that these quarters have been enlarged from time to time until now there are 894,895 square feet of floor space in the Detroit



MICHIGAN STOVE COMPANY



BURROUGHS ADDING MACHINE COMPANY

factory alone. The first officers of the new company were: Joseph Boyer, President; Henry Wood, of St. Louis, Vice President; Benjamin G. Chapman, Secretary and Treasurer; Alvan Macauley, General Manager. New models were continually added. Conspicuous among these were the electric drive, developed in 1905; the Duplex machine, put on the market in 1910; automatic carriages, introduced to meet the demand for cross tabulating of numbers and amounts, and a long line of subtracting, bookkeeping and calculating machines.

Burroughs himself did not live to see the wonderful development of his invention and its tremendous popularity, but he did live to see hundreds of practical machines of the early model used in the banks of the country, and to reap a substantial reward from his original holdings in the company. His death occurred September 14, 1898.

Joseph Boyer became president of the old company in 1902 and of the new company upon its organization, and so continued until 1920. Alvan Macauley became general manager of the business in 1902 and was actively in charge of it until 1910 when he became associated with the Packard Motor Car Company, of which he is now President and General Manager. He was succeeded by Andrew J. Lauver. Benjamin G. Chapman, also in 1902, became a director and was elected Secretary and Treasurer, serving the old and the new companies successively in that capacity until his retirement from business in 1920. In 1913 Claiborne W. Gooch, formerly European Manager, became a director and the active Vice President, in which capacity he was in charge of the business until 1920. In January, 1920, Standish Backus, a prominent attorney of Detroit, who had for several years been a Vice President and a member of the Board, was elected President and became active in the business, while Joseph Boyer became Chairman of the Board, retaining, however, his active interest in the business.

The Company now has an issued capital stock amounting to \$24,750,000 par value, and an authorized capital stock of \$30,000,000. It controls the following subsidiary companies: Burroughs Adding Machine Limited, a British Corporation which conducts the manufacturing and selling activities of the Company in Great Britain and under whose supervision its European operations are directed; Burroughs Machines Limited and Burroughs Adding Machine of Canada Limited, two Canadian Corporations which supply the Canadian and part of the foreign demand; *Societe Anonyme Burroughs* which operates with headquarters at Paris, France; *Societa Italiana Addizionatrice Burroughs*, with headquarters at Milan, Italy; *Sociedad Anonima Burroughs* with headquarters at Barcelona, Spain; the General Adding Machine Exchange, Inc., and the Moon-Hopkins Company. The business of the Moon-Hopkins Billing Machine Company, of St. Louis, Mo., was acquired in 1921 and its product added to the long line of Burroughs models.

Besides its Detroit factory the Company owns and operates manufacturing plants in Windsor, Ontario, and Nottingham, England. In normal times the Company affords employment to upwards of 10,000 persons. The selling organization reaches into nearly all civilized countries with agencies in some 400 important business centers of the world, of which more than half are in the United States.

At the January meeting in 1921 the following officers were elected: Joseph Boyer, Chairman of the Board of Directors; Standish Backus, President; C. W.

Gooch, First Vice President; B. G. Chapman, Vice President; F. H. Dodge, Vice President and General Manager; A. J. Lauver, Treasurer; G. W. Evans, Secretary, and L. A. Farquhar, Comptroller.

THE STORY OF DETROIT'S GREATEST INDUSTRY

A motion picture of any business street in the world would reveal a Detroit-made car. Although not the birthplace of the first automobile, Detroit was the foster-mother of the infant industry and nurtured it through the first months of tribulation. However, this same infant was a husky one, a prodigy, and quickly grew to maturity. The rise of the automobile industry is one of the romances of modern business and in Detroit it found its best expression.

The first gasoline auto driven on the streets of Detroit was by Charles B. King in 1894. The car had four cylinders and a speed of about twenty miles per hour. Henry Ford came out with his car about a year later. He was at this time an engineer in the Edison Company and lived in an humble cottage on Bagley Avenue. In a shed at the rear of his home his first car was put together, some of the parts for which were donated by King. The last-named did not follow up his invention for some years; eventually he organized the King Motor Company, which put out the pioneer eight-cylinder car.

A number of cities have laid claim to the honor of having been the home of the first horseless carriage and many of them have advanced facts which have seemed convincing, but upon analysis of the early days of the industry, if it might have been so called, it appears that the first commercially practical car had its origin at Lansing, Mich., and was built by Ransom E. Olds, whose popular, curved-dash, \$650 Oldsmobile is well remembered. However, this odd little car was not Mr. Olds' first.

Ransom E. Olds was a native of Geneva, Ohio, where he was born June 3, 1864. He received a common school and business education and in 1885 purchased an interest in his father's shop, a small affair, but which was the home of the first practical automobile. In this shop he built a vehicle which would run under its own power supplied by steam generated by gasoline. This was in September, 1886. Mr. Olds usually chose the early hours of the morning for experimentation in the open, for then he had the street to himself and there were fewer horses to scare, also fewer people to give vocal expression to their sense of humor. Mr. Thurlow Pope, in a paper prepared at the request of and read before the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and later published in the Michigan Manufacturer and Financial Record, states in part:

"In 1886 Ransom E. Olds built a car at Lansing, and the record bears out the statement that this car was bought, sold and used for practical purposes, which is the true beginning of the automobile for commercial purposes in the world. * * * In a comparatively brief sketch it is well, in order to avoid misleading ideas, to keep in mind the difference between the automobile as an experiment, a toy for the rich only, and the automobile in its relation to trade and commerce. Michigan's claim is not to the birthplace of the automobile idea, but to the birthplace of the automobile as a practical element in progress—in short, the place of origin of a vehicle which could be built within the limits of trade prices. The inventive genius of Ransom E. Olds brought forth through years of obscurity, poverty and hard work a machine which

moved without the help of an animal and in which gasoline was used as a means of power, in September, 1886.

"H. L. Barber, in his book 'The Story of the Automobile,' makes the statement that the first commercial transaction in automobiles was the sale of a car by Alexander Winton to Robert Allison, of Port Carbon, Pa., in 1898. The data for automobile history is very scarce and Mr. Barber's statement should be corrected while proof is still extant, for the immense industry will some day demand its historian. The above error, which is unintentional, should of course be excused, but at the same time the facts should be supplied to show where Mr. Barber is mistaken.

"Mr. Olds strengthened and improved his invention very much in the succeeding six years, and proved his success to such an extent that the 'Scientific American,' which was probably our foremost mechanical journal of that day, sent a representative to Lansing, who after due trial and testing wrote an extended article for his magazine describing the machine in detail. The car was used for practical purposes during the years it was being improved and in 1893 was sold by Mr. Olds to the Frances Times Company, of London. The transaction took place in New York City, completing the first automobile transaction as an act of commerce. The car was afterward shipped to one of the Times company's branches at Bombay, where it saw service for a number of years. This, then, we may pass to history's record as the first commercial dealing in an industry which, during the generation which created it and within the lifetime of the man who invented and built the car, was to pass from a business of \$500 to a business involving thousands of millions."

Olds continued his experimentation until 1894, when he evolved a gasoline-driven car instead of his old steam-powered machine. In 1896, E. W. Sparrow, of Lansing, became interested in the new invention of Olds and persuaded S. L. Smith and Henry Russel to invest some money in the new proposition. The result was the organization in 1896 of the Olds Motor Vehicle Company, with a capital stock of \$5,000.

During this time other experiments were being made in different parts of the country. The Selden machine was being perfected in the East. Charles E. Duryea was tinkering with a gasoline machine in Springfield, Massachusetts, and he, with his brother Frank, organized the Duryea Motor Wagon Company, which was the first automobile company in America. Elwood Haynes' first car had been built in the shop of the Apperson Brothers in Kokomo, Indiana, and Alexander Winton, Cleveland manufacturer of bicycles had made a motor-bicycle in 1893 and his first motor car in 1895. Following the example of Duryea, who put his car on exhibition with Barnum & Bailey's circus, Olds placed his car on view at county fairs in 1898 and 1899.

Then came the construction of the first automobile factory in Detroit. Mr. Olds journeyed to New York City and Newark, New Jersey, to interest eastern capital in the manufacture of his car. He was received with hospitality and invited to look over proposed sites in Newark but when it came to the actual putting up of cash, the easterners were a bit reluctant, and Olds returned west. En route to Lansing, he stopped in Detroit, where he met S. L. Smith, wealthy copper mine owner. The latter let it be known that he had money to invest in the business, also wished to start his two sons, Frederick L. and Angus S., into business life. The result was that Mr. Olds consented to remain

in Detroit, and the Olds Motor Works was incorporated as a reorganization of the Olds Motor Vehicle Company and the Olds Gas Engine Works of Lansing, with a capital stock of \$350,000, of which \$150,000 was paid in. S. L. Smith and Henry Russel supplied most of the capital, and Frederick L. and Angus S. Smith became officials in the new company. The first Detroit factory of this company was located on Jefferson Avenue on the site of the present Morgan & Wright Building. This was the first automobile factory in the city.

Mr. Olds, Mr. Smith and others went to New York City to arrange for the distribution of their cars in the eastern markets. At the same time Roy D. Chapin drove one through under its own power to prove the durability of the car, also the driver. Space for exhibiting the car was secured in Madison Square Garden. A. G. Spalding & Company had previously agreed to operate the New York agency for the car, but at the last moment failed to do so, and R. M. Owen and Roy Rainey secured the agency for both New York and Ohio. The first year they sold 750 cars in New York alone. This first car manufactured by the Detroit company was designed to sell for \$1,250, but despite the fact that it embodied many new mechanical features it was not a success, but was the forerunner of the popular-priced, "curved-dash" car which Mr. Olds designed and placed on the market for \$650. In 1900 about 400 of these novel cars were manufactured and in 1901, so fast had the demand grown, that 4,000 of them were built. At this time other manufacturers in the country such as Winton, the Pierce-Arrow, E. R. Thomas, Haynes, the Locomobile, Colonel Packard, F. B. Stearns, Clark Brothers and Nordyke & Marmon, were producing cars, but in numbers very small compared to the Olds production. This little runabout hit the popular fancy and the promoters reaped a bountiful reward. It was not long until the capital stock had been increased by stock dividends from \$350,000 to \$2,000,000.

This phenomenal success of the Olds Motor Works brought immediate fame to Detroit and gave the city a flying start toward the goal of being the foremost automobile manufacturing city on the globe. Not only that, but it developed a group of men who were destined to be leaders in the motor industry, many of them to be founders of gigantic manufactories of their own. Among these men we recognize such names as Henry M. Leland, Horace E. and John F. Dodge, Roy D. Chapin, Howard E. Coffin, B. F. Everitt, William E. Metzger, Benjamin Briscoe, J. D. Maxwell, R. B. Jackson, J. J. Brady, Charles B. Wilson, H. T. Thomas, Frederick O. Bezner, Charles D. Hastings and Charles B. King. The Olds plant on Jefferson Avenue was not a manufacturing institution in the sense that we now recognize the term. It was simply an assembling plant. The Leland & Faulconer machine shop, for instance, contracted to supply the motors for the runabout; the Dodges made the transmissions, the Briscoe Manufacturing Company made the radiators. William E. Metzger was the first sales agent for the company.

A frequent and interested visitor to the Olds works in those days was Henry Ford, who was building a machine of his own. In 1901 the Henry Ford Automobile Company was formed, but Ford soon dropped out, and in 1903 the present Ford Motor Company was organized. Ford's first company lost money. However, William H. Murphy, A. E. F. White, Lem W. Bowen, and Clarence Black were enthusiastic and, with Henry M. Leland, organized the Cadillac Automobile Company, using an improved engine that A. L. Brush, a young

mechanic, had designed while making motors for the Olds car. When two Cadillacs had been manufactured, William E. Metzger, the first general sales manager, took them to the New York show, and returned with orders for 2,200 cars, only three of which were actually built at that time. The rise of the Cadillac from this time until its absorption by the General Motors Company in 1909 was the second remarkable event of the automobile industry as developed in Detroit.

In 1904, through differing opinions with the directors, Mr. Olds resigned from the company which he had started. The company then started to build a high-priced car, but it could not take the place of the little curved-dash machine. In 1907 the company was combined by William C. Durant with the Buick company to form the General Motors Company.

After his retirement, Mr. Olds again became interested in an automobile venture with his friends and eastern capitalists and in 1905 the Reo Motor Car Company was organized and the car they made became one of the most successful in the country.

From the Olds organization of 1903 can be traced the genesis of several other companies. J. D. Maxwell went out to organize the Northern Automobile Company with G. B. Gunderson, W. T. Barbour, and William E. Metzger. This company was later merged with the Wayne Auto Company, which had been organized by B. F. Everitt, to make the E. M. F (Everitt-Metzger-Flanders) car. The E. M. F. car was one of the first successful medium-priced, full-sized automobiles and won an excellent reputation. After this car had been sold to the Studebakers, Everitt, with William Kelley and William E. Metzger, organized the Metzger Motor Car Company. Later the Flanders company was organized with Everitt as president but afterward sold out to the Maxwell. Roy D. Chapin graduated from the Olds factory and in 1906 with E. R. Thomas of Buffalo began to make the Thomas-Detroit car, later called the Chalmers-Detroit. An off-shoot of the Chalmers enterprise was the Hudson Motor Car Company, later taken over by Chapin, Coffin, Jackson and Bezner. The Detroit Electric Car made by W. C. Anderson, was the pioneer electric car of the city. The Lozier was also brought here early.

This, in brief, is the history of the beginning of automobile manufacture in the City of Detroit. Intelligent, far-seeing men these pioneers of the industry were, but in their most optimistic moments they could not have prophesied the extent the business would grow. The success of the Olds company encouraged others. In 1901 there came the incorporation of the Cadillac company, and in December, 1903, the Packard began operations. In June, 1903, the Ford Motor Company was incorporated with an authorized capital of \$150,000, but only \$28,000 paid in, and the company was located in a small plant at the crossing of the inner belt line at Mack avenue. These were the small beginnings of an industry that in the course of thirteen years from 1903 enormously enhanced the prosperity of four Michigan cities, and in Detroit alone had increased its product to 960,000 cars valued at \$610,000,000, and employing in their making 130,000 persons in shop and office.

Automobile making did not appear in the census tables as a separate industry till 1904. In view of the proportions to which it has since attained it is worth while to reproduce here the modest tabulation which officially appeared at that time.

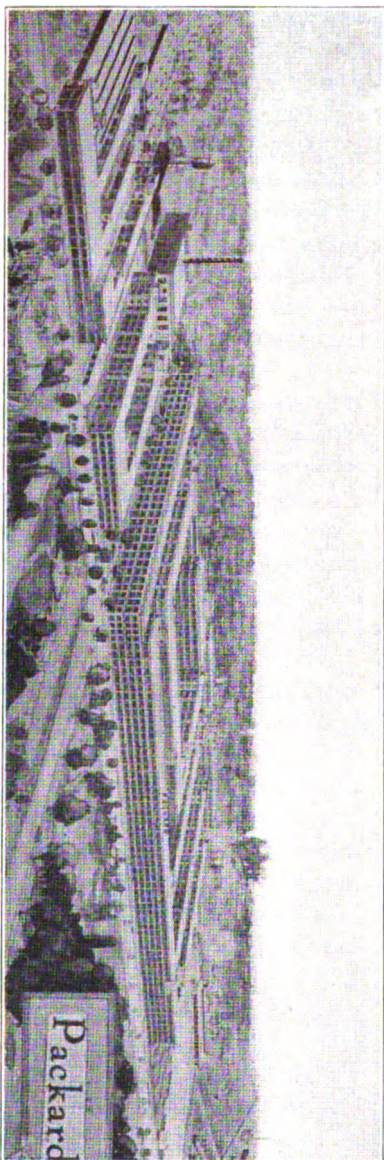
	Bodies and Parts	Automobiles	Total
Number of establishments.....	7	12	19
Capital.....	\$464,027	\$2,982,949	\$3,446,976
Wage earners.....	470	1,564	2,034
Total wages.....	226,021	733,012	959,033
Miscellaneous expense.....	39,883	1,287,160	1,327,043
Cost of materials.....	431,232	2,199,277	2,630,509
Value of product.....	857,839	5,382,212	6,240,051

In 1917 the report of the Michigan commissioner of labor listed twenty-three companies in Detroit and suburbs which assembled cars, employing, at the time of inspection, 92,772 people in factory and office. There were also 132 companies whose sole or principal business was the making of automobile parts and accessories and their employes numbered 43,804, making a total of 136,576 in this metropolitan district dependent upon this industry alone. They, with their families would make a good sized city of themselves. The number of cars produced was 1,100,000, with a value of \$880,000,000.

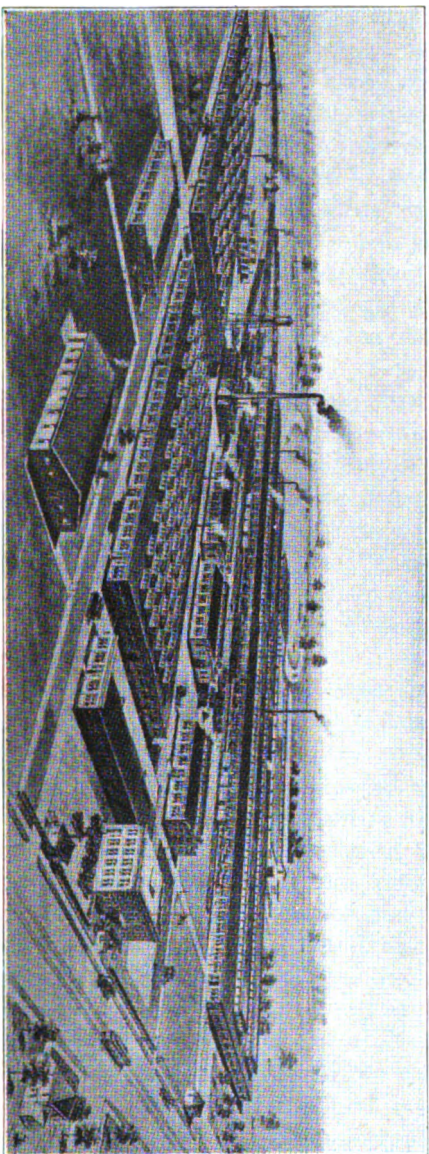
It is difficult to grasp these figures of themselves. An illustration or two may help. A million cars on parade, at a distance of only 50 feet from the front of one car to the front of the next, would make a procession 9,470 miles long. If transported on steam railroads they would fill 114,218 large freight cars, making a train 969 miles long. Taking an average working day of ten hours and working 300 days in the year, there is an average production of a car every eleven seconds.

In 1904, when the auto industry first appeared in the census reports, it contributed a little more than one-thirtieth to the city's industrial population and a little over one-twentieth to its manufactured product. Five years later, 1909, it had about one-sixth of the employes and more than one-fourth of the product. Four years later yet it contributed more than two-fifths of the employees and about one-half of the product. It now gives employment to just about as many workers as all other industries in Detroit combined. It is also a high priced article, its value being nearly double that of all other manufactured products combined. The Ford Company has at some periods had over 40,000 men on its payroll at one time, three others employ over 10,000 and seventeen others between one thousand and 6,000 each. Detroit makes about sixty percent in number of all the automobiles made in the country, though as it is peculiarly the home of the low priced car, the value of the product falls a good deal less than that percentage.

The rapid and immense growth of the automobile industry in Detroit was not accidental. The chief honor for this development goes to the men of Southern Michigan who had the courage and ambition to take hold of the new idea and see it through. Although many other cities had equal facilities as a shipping port, Detroit was the possessor of other advantages which aided materially in the growth of the business of automobile making. Michigan was, at the earlier stages, manufacturing more marine gas engines than any other state in the country, and Detroit itself had more expert gas engine workers than any other city. It was not necessary to import or to train this important class of skilled workers. They were already at hand. Michigan surpassed every other state in the manufacture of carriages, buggies and wheels. Its workers in this line could immediately adapt their plants to the making of any style of body or tonneau required for the automobile. Detroit and the



PACKARD MOTOR CAR COMPANY



MAXWELL MOTOR COMPANY

three other Michigan cities of Pontiac, Lansing and Flint supplied, for the first three years, nearly all the bodies used here without the erection of a single additional plant for that purpose. It was a fact established by careful inquiry that Michigan could then make auto bodies for sixty percent of the cost of like bodies made in eastern cities. Again, Detroit is the center of the malleable iron manufacture in this country, and this material entered largely into the making of the first cars. Old plants in Detroit and two other cities were equipped for supplying the springs needed. The city was well supplied with manufactories of copper and brass, which could readily turn their machinery to the production of those auto parts that are made of these metals. It was therefore possible for the first manufacturers to obtain the essential parts of an auto as required. It should be added also that Detroit is the home of fine color work for painting, and a fine and durable gloss finish is an essential to all first class autos. Finally, Detroit is a good distributing point for the whole central, southern and western trade of the country. Capital, energy and foresight, assisted by these advantages naturally brought the rest. It was the most noticeable case in the history of the city where intelligent enterprise seized upon opportunity.

It is not alone in the manufacturing end of the automobile business that Detroit has excelled. No other business in the city has ever been so well advertised and no other has ever employed as many or as energetic or ingenious salesmen. Detroit cars have been displayed in nearly every public exhibition in this country and many in Europe. They have been entered in every speed and endurance test and cars have been sent on private tours under almost all conceivable conditions. If there was a rough road anywhere that a car could "negotiate," some adventurous Detroiter has made the attempt and published the results.

Not only has this country been thoroughly explored, but foreign countries have been invaded. The distribution of Detroit-made cars has been world wide. Proximity to this country pointed out Canada, Mexico and the West Indies as natural markets. Sales have been made in France, the original home of the auto car, and in England and Germany, although the manufacturers of those countries make the greatest efforts to keep the markets in their own hands. Spain, Italy and once Russia furnished better markets. Norway, Sweden and Denmark have been good purchasers. Of the British dependencies, India, Burmah, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have all furnished customers. Sales have been made in Yucatan, a number of the South American states, China, Siam, Japan, Siberia, the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines. There is hardly any country with passable roads that has not seen the Detroit auto car speeding over them. Even such out of the way places as Montenegro, Iceland and the Faroe Islands have been mentioned in the Government reports as destinations of American-made cars.

Most of the direct exports of cars from this customs district go to Canada and England. Their total value in 1904 was \$162,529 and they did not pass the half million mark till 1909. The next year there were above \$2,000,000 and continued increasing until in 1917 and 1918 they were about \$20,000,000. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, they amounted to \$48,612,000. Exports to other countries, except as they are redistributed from England, go mostly through the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard ports, and do not appear on the books of the local custom house. Their amount is not definitely known but

it is very large. During the war the shipments of Detroit-made trucks, ambulances and messenger cars to the front in France assumed immense proportions. A very common sight during the freight congested winter of 1917-18 was long lines of khaki-covered Packard trucks starting under their own power to Philadelphia and Baltimore, thence to be shipped to France. Many of them carried loads and they made better time to the seaboard than they could have done if shipped as freight over the steam roads. They met a grave European need and solved a serious transportation problem at the same time.

A concise tabular statement is interesting as showing the successive steps in the growth of this industry as nearly as they can be ascertained. In 1907 the number of cars put out was 15,700. The figures for subsequent years with the number of men employed and the value of the product foot up about as follows:

Year	Employees	No. of Cars	Value
1908.....	7,250	18,200	\$ 22,600,000
1909.....	17,437	45,500	59,536,000
1910.....	29,243	114,100	134,587,000
1911.....	45,585	130,000	152,000,000
1912.....	57,293	150,000	165,000,000
1913.....	67,432	283,000	208,000,000
1914.....	60,835	330,000	264,000,000
1915.....	81,594	455,000	350,000,000
1916.....	120,000	959,000	600,000,000
1917.....	135,000	1,000,000	650,000,000
1919.....	136,000	1,100,000	880,000,000

During the latter part of 1917 and nearly the whole of 1918 the automobile companies were engaged in making munitions and other war materials, which is described in a later paragraph of this chapter. Several months in 1919 were required to return fully to the normal type of production.

In The Detroit of January 21, 1922, Mr. William Stocking wrote:

"Up to the present time, 1920 ranks as the banner year in automobile production, registration and export. An exhaustive canvass made by the Cleveland Trust Company showed 7,092,990 cars carried over from 1919 and 2,205,197 produced in this country in 1920. There were 100 imported and 180,207 exported. This leaves 9,118,000 used at some time during the year. Of these something less than half a million were retired during the twelve months. The total number under registration at the end of the year is given by another authority at 8,914,197, of which 7,957,504 were passenger cars and 956,693 commercial. The proportion of commercial cars, including the various grades of trucks, recently produced is larger than that, reaching as high as one in five of the total production.

"Of the cars produced in 1920 the Fords numbered 1,027,677, or 46% of the whole. The Detroit companies together made 58% of the whole. During the first ten months of the year almost every auto and accessory company was working with full force. The time since then has told a different story. There was a tremendous drop in production in November and December of 1920, a revival in the first part of 1921 and another drop in the latter part of that year. Aside from the Fords, which maintained a high rate of production during the summer months, the total was probably not 50 per cent of that for 1920. The exact figures are not yet available.

"The direct exports of automobiles and parts from this district for the first ten months of 1920 aggregated \$48,559,665 in value. In the corresponding period of 1921 they were only \$16,370,157. In the first eleven months of 1920 the total exports in this line from the whole country were \$274,614,127; in 1921 only \$76,387,435. The collapse of the foreign market has been a large contributing cause to the depression here.

"The most notable incident of the year in this industry is the great, almost spectacular, reduction in the prices of cars. The cuts commenced in the latter part of 1920 and have continued from time to time almost down to the present. The reduction has affected every company and almost every make of car. It is believed that this movement has reached its limit and that no further reductions can be expected.

"Among local incidents of interest to the industry in the course of 1921 was the completion of the immense construction improvements commenced by Morgan & Wright and Dodge Brothers in 1920. In the latter part of the year the General Motors Company fitted up for office and general use the unfinished portions of its colossal structure at Grand Boulevard and Cass.

"Respecting the prospects of the industry for 1922 there are varying opinions. One good authority in New York recently ventured the following forecast: 'The progress of the automobile industry in 1922 will require careful watching. Two features especially call for close consideration. One is the fact that profits will be smaller owing to the reduction in car prices through keen competition. To what extent the reduced selling prices will be offset by the institution of economics and lowered production costs remains to be seen. Another uncertain element is represented by the probability that the demand for cars is not likely to be equal to the combined plant capacity of the country. This will mean that certain cars of established popularity are likely to profit at the expense of others of less reputation. Some of the motor companies undoubtedly will have a prosperous year. Others may have hard sledding.'

"At the New York exhibition the prediction generally accepted was for production of 1,500,000 cars in 1922. In this city a fair year's business is confidently anticipated. The second week in January over 50,000 men were added to the payrolls of the automobile factories. The preparations now about completed for the exhibition, January 21-28, indicate a disposition to push the market to its utmost."

Such cars as the Ford, Packard, Cadillac, Dodge, Paige and Maxwell have been perhaps the most notable successes in the field at Detroit. Half a dozen other companies have been prosperous, but the automobile business has not been all profit. In the number of companies incorporated there have been many more failures than successes. The failures have generally come in the attempt to build up a market for a car which did not meet public favor. There have been only a very few cases where a company once well established has been obliged to retire from the field, although at times more than one of them has been on the very brink of financial disaster.

The benefits of the industry to Detroit and Michigan are many and varied. Not the least of these is the impetus which it has given to the good roads movement. The automobile manufacturers, working with such associations as the Detroit Automobile Club, have done everything within their power to create for this county and state a road system of excellence. There are other automobile towns in Michigan, but Detroit's interest in the business is much greater

than that of all the rest combined. According to the report of the state labor commissioner the number of persons employed in the industry here in 1917 was 135,000. The number similarly employed in the five other automobile cities was as follows: Flint, 18,262; Lansing, 7,875; Pontiac, 5,747; Jackson, 4,683; making a total of 36,567. In Flint, Pontiac and Lansing, this business accounted for much more than half the whole number of industrial employes.

The foregoing paragraphs have treated the industry as a general topic. It is the province of a dignified publication in itself to present the vastness of detail covering the organization, development and scope of each of the automobile companies which are operating and have operated in Detroit and Wayne County. One writer has said: "Very little has the record of the automobile been touched. In all of the books on Michigan history, copious treatement is given the money represented by our agriculture, our lumber interests, our salt industry, our furniture output, our mining product; yet this giant industry, which far overtops them all, not only in money values but in its far-reaching influence, is dismissed in this manner: 'Automobiles are made in many cities, etc., etc.'" This statement is very true, for the automobile industry awaits its historian. The builders have not had time to keep records; they have been crowded to keep pace with their own industry. Even at this early day in the business, the historian finds conflicting statements as to the pioneers of the work, the making of the motor cars, and thousands of other details. This generation of founders has not yet passed away and it is from them that the true history must be compiled in its tremendous scope. In this chapter dealing with the manufacturing history of Detroit it has been the purpose to collect sufficient facts of the automobile history to build a substantial framework upon which the future historian may lay his structure of facts, figures and anecdote concerning Michigan's greatest industry. In presenting some of the concrete facts concerning the larger companies now in the field, we begin with the Cadillac as the pioneer of the now existing group.

The inception of the Cadillac motor car dates back to June, 1902, when several of Detroit's prominent citizens and capitalists, Clarence A. Black, Lem W. Bowen, William H. Murphy, A. E. F. White, and a few others, with Henry M. Leland, organized the Cadillac Automobile Company. At once the company proceeded with preparations to make cars on a hitherto unknown scale. The company purchased the plant of the old Detroit Motor Company and in 1903 the works were considerably enlarged to meet the demands of the new institution. In this way they were equipped for business in every way except the manufacture of motors. The Leland & Faulconer Manufacturing Company was then a company with a high reputation for making marine and automobile motors, as well as high efficiency machinery, gears, etc. Their cooperation was secured and a contract made for the manufacture of 3,000 Cadillac single-cylinder engines, a very large contract for the time. Before the close of the year 1902 a number of cars were built and tested. The following year about 2,000 cars were made and sold. The remainder of the 3,000 motors were used within a few months and a second large order placed.

In April, 1904, the company suffered a disastrous loss by fire, in which a considerable portion of the plant was destroyed. Not disheartened, however, the officials immediately began the rebuilding of their plant and within one week the shipping of cars was resumed. The company continued the manufacture of one-cylinder cars for about five years and produced in all about

20,000 machines of this type. In the meantime, in 1905, the company placed its first four-cylinder car on the market.

In 1905, the interests of the Cadillac Automobile Company and the Leland & Faulconer Manufacturing Company had become so closely identified that a consolidation of the two was effected under the name of the Cadillac Motor Car Company, and the general management of the new concern was assumed by Henry M. Leland, assisted by his son, Wilfred C. Leland, who was elected secretary. The company was incorporated with an authorized capitalization of \$1,500,000. The old company had been incorporated for \$300,000. The business is now controlled by the General Motors Corporation.

In 1906 a new model was added to the line and another in 1907. A new era in the matter of production began in 1908, when the new model, known as the Cadillac "Thirty," to be sold for \$1,400, was placed upon the market. This model was variously refined and enlarged from time to time. In 1914 the new Cadillac "Eight" appeared and in many respects has been the most popular model ever presented by that company. There are a number of other models which have met with success.

Mr. Henry M. Leland was succeeded in the general managership of the company by Wilfred C. Leland about July 1, 1909.

In 1921 the new plant of the Cadillac Motor Car Company, located at 2860 Clark Avenue and consisting of eight buildings, was occupied. This replaced the old plant, which consisted of some seventy-seven old type structures scattered about Detroit. The largest of the new buildings is the manufacturing unit, 800 feet long and 600 feet wide, having a floor space of 970,000 square feet. This building is so arranged that raw materials can be brought into one end of the building and the completed chassis run out from the other end under their own power. Other buildings are the assembly building, administration building, heat treating, storage, oil storage and salvage buildings. All are of four stories in height and combined total 2,100,000 square feet of floor space. Forty-six acres of ground are provided for the plant and the area is bounded by Michigan, Scotten, Clark and Trombley Avenues.

FORD MOTOR COMPANY

The Ford Motor Company came into existence on June 16, 1903. Twelve years before this, Henry Ford, as an employe of the Edison Company, began his experimental work on gasoline-driven motor cars, but on account of the lack of gasoline engine parts here he constructed the car with his own hands. He required two years to do this, but the car would run, whereupon five more years were spent experimenting and building up a second car. During this period no effort was made to commercialize his invention. Both the Henry Ford Automobile Company and the Detroit Automobile Company were formed at this time, but neither company survived.

In 1902, Henry Ford formed a copartnership with A. Y. Malcomson, coal dealer, and from this partnership there finally emerged the Ford Motor Company, now the world's largest automobile manufactory. The basis of this partnership was the agreement made by Mr. Malcomson to pay all the expenses of the company up to \$3,000. A one-story structure at the Mack Avenue crossing of the inner belt line was rented as a factory and production begun. The \$3,000 soon disappeared and an additional \$4,000 had been forthcoming from Malcomson before results were obtained. Then the quest for more stock-

holders began and the search was a difficult one. Capital appeared to be scarce. At last a few venturesome investors were unearthed and Ford and Malcomson held 51 percent of the stock for their invention and original investment rights. John F. and Horace E. Dodge, then operating a machine shop in Detroit, subscribed for \$5,000 worth of stock each, the money to be paid out of profits on 650 chassis which they contracted to manufacture. John W. Anderson and Horace H. Rackham, law partners, who drew up the papers when the company was organized, threw in \$5,000 each. John S. Gray was persuaded to invest \$10,000, with the presidency of the company as an added incentive. James Couzens, at that time a clerk in Malcomson's coal office, managed to raise \$2,500, which he put into the company, and was made secretary and business manager. Albert Strelow was another \$5,000 investor.

The venture was a success from the very start. Five months after the organization of the company, a dividend of 2 percent was paid; a month later a 10 percent dividend was declared; in January, 1904, there came a 20 percent dividend and six months another of 68 percent. By the end of the first year the stockholders had received back every dollar they had invested. Despite the unprecedented dividends there were those of the stockholders who desired to withdraw. In 1906 Mr. Malcomson withdrew from the company, and received \$175,000 for his share. Strelow later sold his stock to Couzens for \$25,000, this stock having netted him 400 percent.

About the time of the purchase of the Malcomson stock, when Henry Ford gained control of the company, the factory on Mack Avenue became inadequate for the increasing production. A modern three-story factory building was then put up on Piquette Avenue and Beaubien Street and in 1906 the offices and machinery were moved therein. The value of this move is shown by the fact that in 1906 there were only about 1,600 cars made, while in 1907 the output reached 8,423. The present plant, greatly enlarged to meet the tremendous growth of the business, was constructed on what was formerly a race track in Highland Park. The site of the plant covers something over 300 acres, with about 90 acres of floor space under roof.

About this time there began the series of litigations known as the Selden patent suit, which was one of the first legal difficulties encountered by the Ford company. The patents upon which this suit was based were those of George B. Selden, the inventor of the first gasoline motor car, and which were owned by the Electric Vehicle Company of Hartford, Connecticut. These owners claimed that the patents covered every kind of gasoline-driven vehicle. After litigation extending from 1905 until 1911, the Ford Motor Company was released from the Selden patent claims by the New York court of appeals, which reversed a former decision of a lower court in favor of the patentees. Henry Ford's first car figured in the suit and helped to win it, for by actual demonstration it was shown that the Ford car was running in the streets under its own motive power before the Selden patent was granted.

In 1914 there was inaugurated the first profit-sharing plan of the Ford Company, when it was announced that the company would share \$10,000,000 in profits with the employees. The result was a storm of applications for positions. The employment offices of the company were subjected to a mass attack of thousands of people anxious to be on the payroll of a company which should do such an unheard of thing as to share profits with the employees. The expedient of a fire-hose was necessary at one time to relieve the congestion. In



FORD MOTOR COMPANY



FORD MOTOR COMPANY

September, 1914, a balance sheet of the business was published and it showed a surplus of \$50,000,000 and \$27,000,000 in cash on hand or in banks. Even as the published figures astounded the financial world, the innovation of profit-sharing was declared by rival companies to be impractical. However, it worked, then and frequently in subsequent years.

Previous to the adoption of this plan, 40,000 men were employed each year to maintain a working force of 10,000. In 1913, the year before the profit-sharing began, with an average working force of 13,632, the number of employees who left the Ford Motor Company was 50,448. When profit-sharing had been tried for three years, the company had a working force of 40,903 men and that year the number of men to leave the employ of the company, for every reason, was 7,512. The rules governing the eligibility of an employee to participate in the profit-sharing plan after six months on the payroll were laid down as follows:

"1. Every employee twenty-one years of age who leads a clean and constructive life, and is of proved thrifty habits. A married man must be living with and taking good care of his family.

"2. Any employee under twenty-one years of age who lives with and is the sole surviving support of a mother, next of kin, and leads a clean and constructive life."

A board of 200 advisers, employees of the company, passed on the qualifications of their fellow-employees for a share in the profits. The first year seventy percent were found to be qualified. Three years later, ninety-nine and one-half percent of the employees came under the qualification.

Concurrently with the profit-sharing plan, and in accordance with the Ford idea of benefiting the social and financial condition of the employees, there was established the Ford English School. There were hundreds of employees who were unable to speak English, which hampered their development and also their value to the company. In May, 1914, the school was organized with one teacher and twenty pupils. The same month five experienced teachers took up the work and in September a call for volunteer teachers was made. The result was soon an enrollment of 2,200, which number reached 4,000 by 1920, the pupils ranging in age from eighteen to seventy-two years.

Notwithstanding the rapid progress of the company and the steady flow of wealth engulfing the stockholders, there were those of the latter who did not agree with the Ford policies of expansion, etc. Perhaps the first open break in the situation came with the resignation of James Couzens from the company. In November, 1916, the Dodge brothers, in their position as minority stockholders, began suit against Mr. Ford as the majority stockholder to compel a larger division of earnings among the stockholders. Previously Mr. Ford had announced the intention of the company to establish its own blast furnaces on the River Rouge, also to double the size of the plant. As part of their suit, the Dodge brothers sought to prevent Mr. Ford from carrying out his designs. They took the position that the Ford Motor Company had not the legal right to indulge in industry aside from the manufacture of motor cars, and also maintained that the company as then constituted, was a violation of the Michigan laws in that it represented investment in excess of \$25,000,000 to which corporations were restricted by the state laws. The Dodge brothers also assailed the policy of Mr. Ford in reducing the price of the product as production itself increased. Filing of the suit disclosed the enormous profits which had been

made for the stockholders. Among these disclosures was that in 1914, on a capital of \$2,000,000, dividends totaling \$21,000,000 were paid. In May, 1915, a special dividend of \$10,000,000 was paid, and in October of the same year \$5,000,000 was distributed. In 1916, it was stated, the company earned \$60,000,000.

Work on the River Rouge blast furnaces had already started when the Dodge brothers began their suit. An injunction was issued restraining Mr. Ford from carrying on the work, but the court later allowed the work to proceed upon the filing of a bond by Mr. Ford for \$10,000,000 to secure the Dodge brothers against loss if it should be decided that the company could not build the furnaces. While the court contest was being waged, the legislature also became a battle ground for the two sides. A bill was introduced at Lansing to remove the limit on corporate capitalization, which had the support of the Ford interests, the Detroit Board of Commerce and large corporations here. It was opposed by the Dodge brothers. The contest took its way through the local courts and up to the supreme court and was finally decided on sort of a compromise basis, in that both sides received compensation. The right of the company to expand was upheld, also its right to build furnaces on the River Rouge. The minority stockholders were satisfied by the order of the company to disburse from its surplus \$19,000,000 in dividends.

The next indication of individual disagreement with the Henry Ford expansion policy was the resignation of certain of the officials. The first was that of Norval A. Hawkins, general sales manager. Then came the resignation of C. Harold Wills, who had been associated with Mr. Ford from the very beginning and was regarded as not only the mechanical genius of the organization, but as one of the highest-priced men in the industrial world. Mr. Wills was the designer of many of the labor-saving machines used by the Ford Motor Company and many of the improvements in the product. He is also a steel expert and has to his credit the perfection of processes which marked an epoch in the use of steel. Since his retirement from the Ford company, Mr. Wills has organized and promoted a new automobile company, located at Marysville, Michigan, where the Wills Ste. Claire car is manufactured, and has perfected the new steel known as molybdenum. Mr. Wills' resignation was followed by that of John R. Lee, former head of the sociological department of the plant, and lastly by that of Frank L. Klingensmith, recently the president and one of the organizers of the new Gray Motor Corporation. In the early part of the year 1919, Henry Ford himself stepped down from the active presidency of the company in favor of his son, Edsel B., who then assumed the presidency. This was followed by the purchase by the Fords of the entire stock of the minority stock-holders, a deal involving vast sums of money and which indicated a value for the whole property of about \$250,000,000. This gave to Henry Ford and his son free rein to develop the business along the lines which they conceived to be "for the greatest good for the greatest number." The company has expanded in every direction, including the making of the low-priced tractor at the Dearborn plant, the development of the River Rouge blast furnaces, the purchase of a railroad to insure a coal supply, and in 1922 the purchase of the Lincoln Motor Company to manufacture the Lincoln car as the most popular priced expensive car. Something of the growth of the Ford Motor Company may be indicated by the number of cars produced each year, which is as follows:

1903-04 (to September 30th).....	1,708
1905.....	1,695
1906.....	1,599
1907.....	8,423
1908.....	6,398
1909.....	10,607
1910.....	18,664
1911.....	34,528
1912.....	78,440
1913.....	168,220
1914.....	248,307
1915.....	308,213
1916.....	533,921
1917.....	700,000
1918.....	706,584
1919.....	790,558
1920.....	1,000,000 plus

The largest day's production was on October 28, 1920, when 4,688 completed cars were turned out. All of the Ford cars are made upon one style of chassis, with four styles of body—roadster, touring, coupe and sedan, in addition to the one-ton truck. The reports of the state labor commissioner for 1904 credited the Ford Motor Company with thirty-one employes at that time and 229 in 1905. The same commission in its report for 1919 listed the Highland Park plant with 41,489 employes, with almost 17,000 at the River Rouge plants, including shipbuilding, and 4,013 at the Dearborn tractor plant. At one time in 1920 there were 56,000 people on the payroll. The company maintains wholesale branches and assembly plants in all of the larger cities of the country. A discussion of the war work done by the Ford Motor Company is reserved for a later paragraph of this chapter.

In 1903 the Packard car was being manufactured at Warren, Ohio, by J. W. and W. D. Packard. The business was first incorporated in September, 1900, the original company having been the successors to the business carried on by Packard & Weiss and the Ohio Auto Company. The car then being produced was a mechanical marvel for the time, but the marketing of the car was not being carried on in the most advantageous manner. It so happened that Mr. Henry B. Joy, of Detroit, first saw a model of the car while visiting the annual automobile exhibition in New York City and immediately recognized its merits and value as a commercial product. With this in mind, Mr. Joy soon visited the Ohio plant, with the intention of buying into the company, but the owners were reluctant to become partners with outside capital, but at the same time were much impressed by Mr. Joy's ideas concerning the manufacture and distribution of their product. Consequently, within a comparatively short time, Mr. Joy had entered the company as general manager and director. Immediately the business methods introduced by Mr. Joy became effective and he was soon allowed almost unlimited latitude in his work. This was the actual beginning of the great Packard manufactory development.

At this time Detroit was becoming known as the automobile manufacturing center of America and offered much greater advantages than Warren, Ohio, for the production of the Packard car. Accordingly, Mr. Joy succeeded in having the plant moved to this city, J. W. Packard still being the president of the

company. The factory once having been constructed and actual manufacturing started in the new field, Mr. Joy was repeatedly requested to assume the office of president of the company. In 1905, when the name of the concern was changed to the Packard Motor Car Company, he was formally chosen chief executive, which position he held until 1916, and for one year after this was chairman of the board of directors, resigning to enter the service of his country. Detroit's acquisition of such an institution as the Packard Motor Car Company is almost wholly attributable to the efforts of Mr. Joy, which are also, in large measure, accountable for the great growth of the Packard here and its well-earned reputation as the most popular high-priced car in America.

The company started here in 1903 with \$500,000 capital and employed about 600 hands. Every year brought an increased payroll and generally a substantial increase in capital stock. In 1916-17 there were 16,000 people employed and in 1919 the capital stock reached the maximum of \$50,000,000. The last incorporation was on September 1, 1909. Seventy-four acres of ground are occupied by the Packard plant, with 116 buildings and 3,000,000 square feet of floor space. The Packard plant is a city in itself and combines every advantage and convenience for the social, as well as the economic, welfare of its army of employees. The Packard "Twin Six" and truck have become famous the world over, and the recent model, the "Single Six," bids fair to become equally as notable. The present officers of the company are: Alvan Macauley, president; F. R. Robinson, secretary; and F. L. Jandron, treasurer. Packard's part in the development of the famous Liberty Motor is detailed in a later paragraph.

The Dodge motor car stands as a tribute to the work of two brothers—John F. and Horace E. Dodge. As young men they learned the machinist's trade in their father's shop at Niles, Michigan, which was their home town. In 1886 they went to Battle Creek, Michigan, then after a brief period to Port Huron and thence to Detroit. Here they found employment with the Murphy Engine Company. In 1894 they went to Windsor, Ontario, where they became machinists for the Dominion Typograph Company. Their ability to produce excellent machine work and tools brought them to the attention of Fred S. Evans, a Detroit manufacturer. About this time the brothers invented the first ball-bearing bicycle, and after this accomplishment they joined Mr. Evans in organizing the Evans & Dodge Bicycle Company in 1897 and leased the plant of the Dominion Typograph Company at Windsor, carried on the business for two years, then sold out to a Canadian bicycle concern. With their plant equipment, the machinery and the cash received in the deal, they came to Detroit and in 1901 opened a machine shop in the Boydell Building on Beaubien Street. After many discouragements here, their business began to develop and soon they sought larger quarters, which they found at Monroe Avenue and Hastings Street. In 1910 they began the erection of their present plant, but already they had become connected with motor car building, their first contract of this character having been for transmissions for the original Olds runabout, the order having called for the manufacture of 3,000 sets.

When, in 1903, Henry Ford began the manufacture of his motor car, he asked the Dodge brothers to undertake the manufacture of engines, transmissions and steering gears in quantity production. This they did and so rapidly did their business grow in connection with the development of the Ford car, that when they abandoned the Hastings Street plant in 1910 it was the largest and best equipped machine plant in Detroit. In the organization of the Ford Motor

Company, the Dodge brothers each took \$5,000 worth of stock, to be paid out of their profits on the manufacture of 650 chassis. Later, they acquired additional stock. When, in 1919, the Fords bought out the minority stockholders, the Dodge brothers received \$27,000,000 for their 2,000 shares.

It was in 1914 that the Dodge brothers decided to manufacture their own car and built a million-dollar plant in Hamtramck, this task and the designing of the motor car having consumed more than two years. Production of this car, however, began in 1914, and by 1915 the company had reached the eighth place in volume of automobile production of American cars and in 1917 were in fourth place. Six years after the inauguration of the business, the Dodge Brothers' Hamtramck plant represented an investment of \$20,000,000, the buildings covering seventy-five acres, while the product ran from 750 to 1,200 cars daily. By 1917 there were 15,000 men and women employed by the company. An account of the war work done in 1917 and 1918 is given in a later paragraph of this chapter.

The Hudson Motor Car Company was organized in the year 1909 and incorporated February 20th, principally through the efforts of Roy D. Chapin, Howard E. Coffin, Frederick O. Bezner, and Roscoe B. Jackson. The company at first produced a low-priced roadster model, but has gradually improved its model and increased its production until it is one of the largest of the moderate-priced car manufactories. The business was first started in a small rented factory, but the demand for more room soon became imperative. Twenty-five acres of land were then procured on Jefferson Avenue opposite the old Grosse Pointe race track and a modern, concrete plant constructed. The authorized capital stock of the Hudson Motor Car Company is now \$2,500,000. The report of the state labor commission for the year 1919 indicates that in that year there were 5,659 people employed by the company.

Affiliated with the Hudson Motor Car Company is the company organized as a close corporation to manufacture the Essex car, a medium-priced product of distinctive design and remarkable excellence. This branch of the company was incorporated September 21, 1917.

The officers of the Hudson Motor Car Company are now: Roy D. Chapin, president; Howard E. Coffin, Frederick O. Bezner, vice presidents; W. J. McAneany, secretary; R. B. Jackson, vice president, treasurer, general manager.

On November 8, 1908, there was incorporated the Hupp Motor Car Company under the laws of Michigan. The present company, known as the Hupp Motor Car Corporation, was incorporated November 24, 1915, and took over the business and factories of the old company at Detroit and Windsor, also the plant of the American Gear & Manufacturing Company of Jackson, Michigan. The business was started by R. C. Hupp. The Hupmobile, as the product of this company is called, is known wherever automobiles are sold and is one of the most popular of the medium-priced cars on the market. The company is capitalized for \$6,500,000 and is officered by Charles D. Hastings, president and general manager; DuBois Young, vice president; Arthur Von Schlegell, vice president, secretary treasurer. The plant is located at Mt. Elliott and Milwaukee avenues. About 1,700 people were employed by this company in 1919, according to the state labor commission report.

The Maxwell Motor Corporation, with its Detroit plant located at Jefferson Avenue and the outer belt line, has an authorized capitalization for \$37,471,500. This organization was incorporated May 7, 1921, under the laws of West Vir-

ginia to effect a reorganization and merger of the Maxwell Motor Company and the Chalmers Motor Corporation. When purchasing the assets of the Maxwell Motor Company, the Maxwell Motor Corporation secured all rights, title and interest in the Maxwell Motor Sales Corporation, the Briscoe Manufacturing Company, the Newcastle Realty Company and the Maxwell Motor Company of Canada, Ltd.

The Maxwell Motor Company, one of the merged companies, was incorporated under the name of the Standard Motor Company in Delaware on December 31, 1912, but adopted the Maxwell name January 18, 1913. At a receiver's sale in this same month of January, 1913, the company purchased the United States Motor Company, the Maxwell-Briscoe Motor Company, the Dayton Motor Car Company, the Columbia Motor Car Company, the Alden-Sampson Manufacturing Company, the Brush Runabout Company and the Briscoe Manufacturing Company. In the following April the Flanders Motor Company was bought. On September 1, 1917, the company leased the Chalmers Motor Corporation for a period of five years, but in 1920 it was shown that the Maxwell owned more than ninety-five percent of the outstanding capital of this company.

In May, 1921, the company, which had been placed in receivership on April 9th, was sold under an order of the United States District Court for \$10,915,100 and the property was acquired by W. P. Chrysler and H. Bronner, representing the Maxwell-Chalmers reorganization committee. On May 7, 1921, as stated before, the company was chartered under the present name. The officers at this writing are: W. Ledyard Mitchell, president; Carl Tucker, vice president; L. W. Linaweaver, secretary; Walter M. Anthony, treasurer; T. H. Thomas, comptroller. Plants are operated at Detroit, Dayton, and Newcastle.

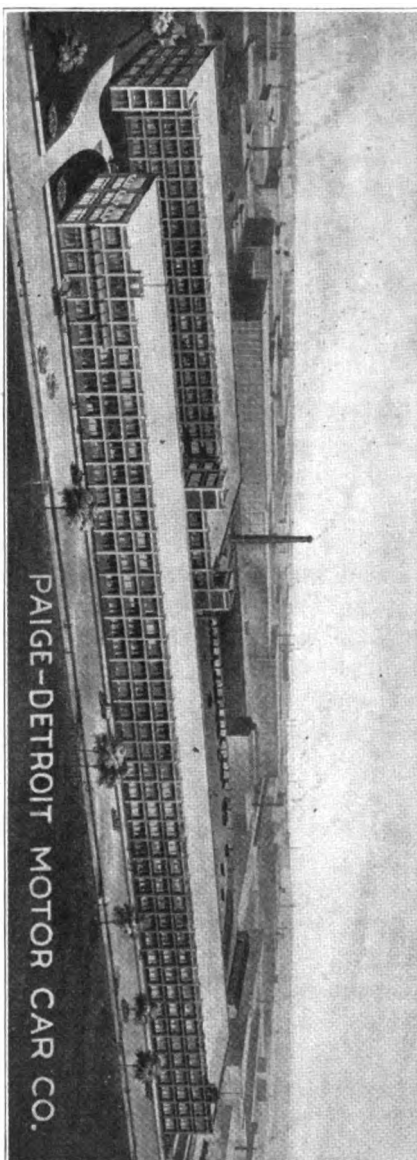
The Paige-Detroit Motor Car Company was incorporated in 1908 and has an authorized capitalization of \$5,000,000. In 1919 there were 1,534 on the payroll of this company, which has three plants in Detroit, the principal one located at Fort and McKinstry. Harry M. Jewett is president of the company.

The Saxon Motor Car Corporation was incorporated November 23, 1915. In February, 1917, the plant of the Saxon company was completely destroyed by fire, entailing a loss of \$2,000,000. This was the most costly fire which ever occurred in Michigan. A new plant was constructed and leased to the United States government, but later was sold to the General Motors.

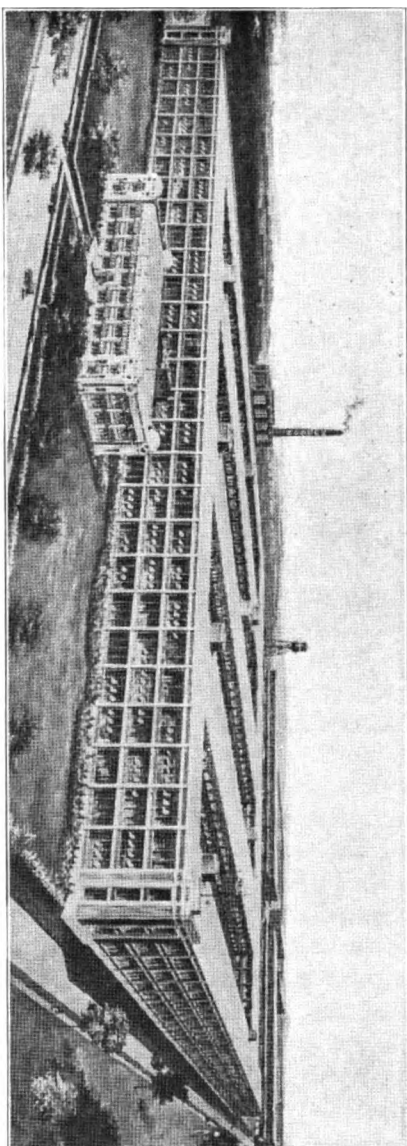
The King Motor Car Company, formerly a Detroit corporation, incorporated in 1912, was purchased at court sale in December, 1920, by Charles A. Finnegan, of Buffalo, and his associates. The King car was the pioneer of eight-cylindrical machines.

The Liberty Motor Car Company, located at Charlevoix and the Detroit terminal railway, was incorporated in 1916 and has an authorized capitalization of \$2,750,000. The officers are: Percy Owens, president, J. O. Low, vice president; D. E. Williams, secretary and treasurer.

The Lincoln Motor Company was first incorporated in 1917 for the manufacture of Liberty motors, with a capitalization authorized at \$8,000,000. Henry M. and Wilfred C. Leland were the principal organizers. On January 17, 1920, the company was reincorporated for the manufacture of automobiles of high grade, with Henry M. Leland as president of the company. In the latter part of 1921, the business depression and other reasons forced the company to



PAIGE-DETROIT MOTOR CAR CO.



HOME OF THE HUDSON SUPER-SIX

enter the hands of a receiver. The plant is located at Warren and Livernois Avenues. In February, 1922, the plant was purchased by Henry and Edsel Ford.

The Studebaker Corporation was incorporated February 14, 1911, as a consolidation of the Studebaker Brothers Manufacturing Company and the Everitt-Metzger-Flanders Company, for the manufacture of Studebaker automobiles. Factories of this organization are located in South Bend, Indiana, and Walkerville, Ontario, in addition to the Detroit plant. The general offices are located at South Bend. The Detroit plant is located at Brush and Piquette, and in 1919 there were 2,487 people employed

The Columbia Motor Company, having an authorized capitalization of \$6,000,000, is officered by the following: J. G. Bayerline, president; William E. Metzger, vice president; A. T. O'Connor, secretary and treasurer. The plant is located at 6501 Mack Avenue. In 1919 there were employed about 150 men on the average.

One of the most recent of the automobile companies organized in Detroit is that promoted by Messrs. Everitt and Flanders and Capt. Eddie V. Rickenbacher, for the manufacture of a motor car known as the "Rickenbacher." Another organization of recent date is that of the Gray Motor Corporation, fostered by Frank L. Klingensmith and Frank F. Beall, with the object of making a low-priced car.

The history of the Detroit automobile shows has an important bearing upon the industry itself. The first show was given in 1902 in the Light Guard armory, which also housed the 1903 and 1904 exhibitions. From that date, each year, the exhibition of automotive products has been held as follows: 1905, Riverview Park; 1906 to 1913, Wayne Gardens; 1914, Ford Branch building; 1915, Detroit Lumber Company plant; 1916, Riverview Park; 1917, Billy Sunday tabernacle; 1918, Simons Sales Company service station; 1919, Crosstown garage; 1920, Ford Branch building; 1921 and 1922, Morgan & Wright Building.

The Commerce Motor Car Company, manufacturers of light delivery trucks, was incorporated January 12, 1911, with an authorized capitalization of \$700,000. The officers of the company are: Walter E. Parker, president; H. B. Bennett, vice president; Frank A. Bradley, secretary and treasurer. The plant of this company is located at 7434 Mackie Avenue. About 160 men are employed during full production.

The Federal Motor Truck Company, corner Federal and Campbell Avenue, was incorporated February 10, 1910, for the manufacture of motor trucks. Their product now consists of trucks weighing one, one and a half, two, three and a half, and five tons. The company has an authorized capitalization of \$2,000,000 and is officered by: Thomas E. Reeder, president; Martin L. Pulcher, vice president and general manager; W. C. Rowley, vice president; H. J. Warner, vice president; Charles F. Mellish, secretary; and Edward P. Hammond, treasurer.

The Standard Motor Truck Company, 1111 Bellevue Avenue, was incorporated in 1912, with half a million dollar authorized capitalization. The officers are: Albert Fisher, president; A. E. Fisher, vice president; F. J. Fisher, secretary and treasurer.

The Denby Motor Truck Company was incorporated December 16, 1915,

under Delaware laws to succeed the company of the same name previously incorporated in Michigan.

The Acason motor truck is also manufactured in Detroit by a company of which H. W. Acason is president. The plant is located at 2821 Jefferson Avenue.

Among the incidental benefits of this industry to the community has been the impetus which it has given to the good roads movement. The automobile manufacturers have vied with the owners in the effort to create for this county and vicinity one of the best road systems in the country.

There are other automobile towns in Michigan, but Detroit's interest in the business is much greater than that of all the rest combined. According to the report of the State Labor Commissioner the number of persons employed in the industry here was 135,000 in 1917. The number similarly employed in the five other automobile cities was as follows: Flint, 18,262; Lansing, 7,875; Pontiac, 5,747; Jackson, 4,683, a total of 36,567. In Flint, Pontiac and Lansing this business accounted for much more than half the whole number of industrial employes.

Taking all industries together, according to the industrial census of 1914, which is the latest reported, Detroit and its manufacturing suburbs had a little larger manufactured product than all the rest of the state combined. In the following individual classes in addition to automobiles it had a larger product than all the rest of the state; brass and bronze products, men's clothing, women's clothing, copper, tin and sheet iron products, electrical machinery, iron and steel work, patent medicines and compounds, printing and publishing and shipbuilding. In some of these there is a very large percentage of excess.

DETROIT'S WAR INDUSTRIES

The World War, which caused serious disturbances and dislocation in many kinds of business, severely taxed the resources of the Detroit manufacturers. In no other city of the country did the war demand greater changes in method and material of manufacturing production, and in no other city was the demand better met. The most distinctly Detroit production of this period was the Liberty motor for aeroplane use.

In the early part of 1918, the German air forces held the upper hand. In October following the German Albatross and Fokker were crowded from the skies. The greatest factor in the accomplishment of this feat was the Liberty motor—made in Detroit.

The Liberty motor, as finally developed, was considered the finest aviation engine in the world for wartime purposes. The engine itself was not an invention, but more of an evolution. Prior to the entrance of the United States into the World War, the Packard Motor Car Company had spent two years in the development of an aviation motor. In September, 1915, the Packard Twin Six motor came upon the market, at a time when aeronautics as a part of the war were being studied by engineers and manufacturers with the view of developing an aeroplane engine of superlative qualities. The Twin Six seemed to possess distinctive qualities which could be developed into an aviation motor. The result was the construction of the Packard 299, which was finished in February, 1916. Installed in a special racing chassis and driven by Ralph De Palma, it established new world's records for speed at distances from 10 to 616 miles. Then came the second engine, the Packard 905, an improved

design, of twelve cylinders as the first model, but of three times the number of cubic inches piston displacement. The 905 was completed in December, 1916. Installed in a racing machine this motor established new speed records from $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to 10 miles at a maximum of 130 miles per hour. Further distances were impossible owing to the inability of any tire to withstand the speed. The next model was the second one of the 905 type, but with distinct improvements. One of these was the employment of all-steel cylinders instead of cast-iron cylinders. The making of these cylinders involved new problems in engine construction, such as the welding of different thicknesses of steel without burning the thinner piece, but eventually these obstacles were overcome. The second 905 was begun in April, 1917, the same month in which America entered the war. At this time, the Council of National Defense, the Aircraft Production Board and other groups were organizing in every way, and an aircraft program of large scope was planned. A new aviation engine was needed. The Packard 905 was excellent for war purposes in every way but that of horse-power. The experiences of other countries taught that engine endurance was subordinate to actual speed, that certain safety factors should be sacrificed by even one-half in order to enable the motors to be operated at full speed, if but for a short time. Col. Edward A. Deeds was chief of aircraft production and his assistant was Col. Sidney Waldon.

To perfect the proposed motor, J. G. Vincent, Packard vice president of engineering, and E. J. Hall, of the Hall-Scott Motor Company of San Francisco, were called into consultation by Colonel Deeds at Washington, D. C. These two engineers began their work at the New Willard Hotel, assisted by leading engineers of the country, and five days later it was announced that the design of the new Liberty motor was completed. This was in the first week of June. The Government appropriated \$250,000 for the building of eleven engines. The drawings were rushed to Detroit and by day and night work, the first Liberty engine was produced in the Packard experimental shops between June 13th and July 2d. On July 4th the first motor was exhibited at Washington, followed later by the remaining ten. The government ordered 22,000 Liberty motors from five manufacturers, and the first engine under the production contracts came from the Packard plant on Thanksgiving Day, 1917. Numerous changes were made in the Liberty as production increased, every one of which was designed to increase the efficiency and power of the motor. Of the first 10,000 engines, Packard built forty percent. For six weeks before the armistice, there were being produced in this country over 150 Liberty motors per day.

While not in a strict sense a Packard motor, it was an evolution of the principles embodied in the Packard aviation engine which had been developed for two or three years previously. The Packard Motor Car Company withdrew its name entirely from the motor, so that it might be known as a national development, surrendered the drawings and designs, patents, and services of its chief engineer, in order that the government might have the benefit of its work. The Packard Company blazed the way for the production of these motors in quantity, simply because it was the only plant equipped to do the work immediately after the acceptance of the plans by the Government.

The development of the Liberty motor was not without opposition. Due to the mystery which shrouded everything of governmental nature during the stress of war times, rumors became numerous that the Liberty was a Packard motor and was so designated on the floor of Congress. Also, it was stated that

Engineer Vincent gave the initial production in the experimental stages to the Packard, in which company he was financially interested. Finally, President Wilson authorized Charles E. Hughes to make an investigation, which he did, in complete exoneration of the Packard Company and its officials from all the unwarranted charges which had been made. The knowledge of the development of the Liberty motor which came after the war brought forth facts which gave the public a complete understanding of the remarkable work done by the engineers selected by the Government to carry on the task.

For the production of the Liberty motor, Henry M. Leland and his son, Wilfred C. Leland, organized the Lincoln Motor Company and with record speed erected a huge factory in the western part of the city. Also the Ford and Cadillac plants devoted part of their equipment to the same work, and the four companies combined—Packard, Ford, Lincoln and Cadillac—made over ninety percent of all the Liberty motors produced in this country. Before the military campaign closed, the production was up to the full requirements of the United States and allied governments.

The making of the airplane engine was very naturally accompanied by the manufacture of other parts and finally of the planes themselves. There were at one time sixteen companies prominently engaged in the manufacture of bodies and other parts, and this was one of only two cities whose work was approved by the senatorial investigating committee which made a tour of the airplane plants. Eastern airplane producers were scored as backward in production. Detroit production was officially declared to be "satisfactory in all respect." One company not only manufactured parts, but assembled the planes themselves. In the latter part of November its thousandth De Haviland Plane was completed and was exhibited to wondering crowds in the Liberty Forum on Cadillac Square. A smooth field, one-half mile square, well equipped with hangars, completed the airplane equipment of the city.

During the war period, the Dodge brothers, in a period of four months, built and equipped a munition plant said to have been unsurpassed in the world. It covered eleven acres, cost \$10,000,000, and was furnishing employment to 8,000 men just prior to the signing of the armistice. Moreover, the mechanical genius of the brothers was brought forth when the government desired to obtain the intricate recoil mechanism on the famous French "155" gun. The French factories could turn out only five of these guns daily and the United States had pledged fifty daily. After two great American manufacturing concerns admitted their inability to make the recoils, the Dodges were asked to attempt the work and were given a model of the mechanism. For several days they devoted their time to the study of the model and then announced that they could build the mechanism, that they would build their own plant and finance the undertaking, also supply the recoils to the government at cost. Twenty-four hours after the acceptance of the offer, they had 1,800 men breaking ground for the new plant and within five days steel arrived from the Bethlehem Steel Company and the Russel Car & Foundry Company was ready to make the structural steel for the plant. The two brothers gave their time night and day to pushing the work.

At length they erected a temporary shelter on the ground, that they might sleep there, and with a staff of engineers they worked far into the night, designing the new machinery which made possible the quantity production of the complicated recoil mechanism. When the plant was put into operation, it contained

129 pieces of machinery new to American industry. The completion of this plant, through the coldest winter in forty years, involved the extension of water mains, sewers, and a street car line. In six months time the first machinery was started in a completed building 800 by 600 feet, covering eleven acres.

Just before the beginning of the year 1918 an officer of the Government Munitions Department came to Detroit with the offer of a large initial contract for the manufacture of shells. In less than twenty-four hours a company was organized with \$2,000,000 capital, and very soon an incompleting building, started for another purpose, was purchased and preparations for manufacture were commenced.

A complete transformation of an old plant was that of the American Car & Foundry Company, which had formerly employed about 4,000 people. In 1915 this company began on war orders for the British Government. In 1918, the company was devoting its whole force to United States war contracts. In the meantime, new machinery had been introduced and a force of 10,800 wage earners built up. The production included three different sizes of shells, gun caissons, gun limbers and store wagons.

The automobile companies were all conspicuous in war work. As an indication of the tremendous work done by the Ford Motor Company the following facts are cited. 2,000,000 steel helmets, enough to fit out every man in the A. E. F. Order for 5,000 Liberty motors, delivery nearly completed when armistice was declared. 10,000 caissons, principally for 155 mm. guns; more than 8,000 delivered. Order for 112 Eagle boats, 200 feet long, 25-foot beam. Twenty-five were delivered when the order was reduced to sixty-two. 8,000 trucks, 25,000 regular Ford cars, 6,000 ambulances; 400,000 cylinders for Liberty motors, also 700,000 bearings for same engine. Much experimental work was done by the Fords in building 3-ton tanks. Work totaling \$1,000,000 in the production of special devices was done for the British Navy.

Early in the war, the Packard Motor Car Company became the largest manufacturer in the country of auto trucks for use in the field. It supplied hundreds of these to the allies and to the United States Government. and during the severe winter of 1917-18 gave important aid to the relief of freight congestion. During the coldest weather its cars not only went under their own power from Detroit to New York and Baltimore for shipment abroad, but carried loads of freight besides. Strings of fifteen or twenty of the large, khaki-covered cars, in charge of army chauffeurs and bound for the Atlantic seaboard, were a common sight on the streets. In addition to its vital part in the development of the Liberty Motor, this company made other important contributions to aeroplane construction, took large contracts for munitions and other war material, and was rapidly approaching 100 percent in war production when the armistice came.

Every other automobile plant in the city was engaged in some form of government work. Early in the summer the United States Government limited the production of pleasure automobiles to 50 percent of the normal output. In the fall, production was further limited to 25 percent, with the request that so far as possible "non-essential" work should be entirely eliminated, a condition that was reached by most of the large plants.

The automobile companies were not alone in essential war industry. Almost every establishment in the city working in the metals, whether steel, iron,

brass, copper or aluminum, and they number several hundred, and every wood working, leather and textile establishment as well, was interested in some form of war order. Through contracts direct with the Government or through sub-contracts fully 90 percent of the factories of any magnitude in the city had some share in this essential production. The war orders for 1917-18 aggregated about \$900,000,000.

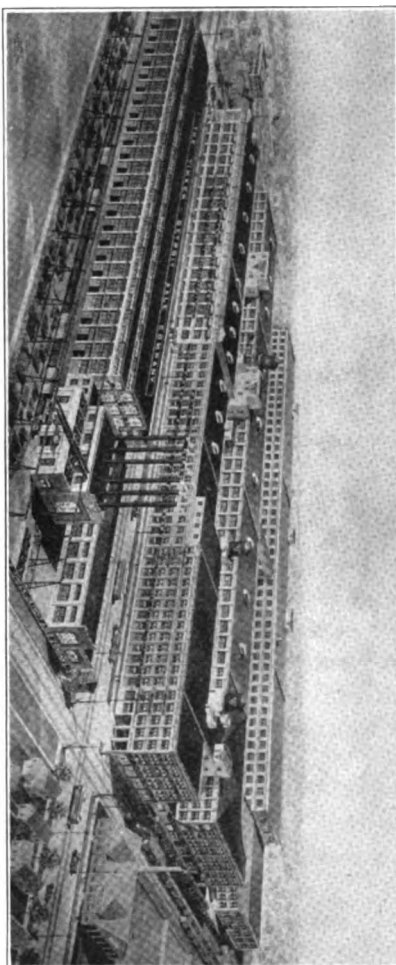
The withdrawal of 50,000 men from the factories in Wayne County for service in camp, field and trench created a shortage of labor. Partly to supply the demand, women took up factory work in unusual numbers and in unaccustomed forms. The number of women in the factories before this extra demand came was about 20,000. In a very few months this was more than doubled, many of the women being engaged in heavy machine shop and foundry work.

With the conclusion of the armistice the ability of Detroit manufacturers to adapt themselves to new conditions was severely tested. War contracts were very abruptly cancelled, though settlements with the Government could not be so speedily made. The transition from war to peace work was more rapid than might reasonably have been expected. The plants which were built exclusively for war contracts had to be entirely remodeled, but all except two were operating on new work within a few months. The old plants were more readily transformed. The complaint of unemployment, by those thrown out of work by the cancellation of war contracts was only temporary. By early spring production had become nearly normal and before midsummer of 1919 there was a scarcity of labor in nearly every mechanical employment. The establishment of new industries was not very great, but the expansion of old plants was unprecedented. New building construction undertaken by manufacturing companies during the year approached \$10,000,000, a figure never hitherto approached.

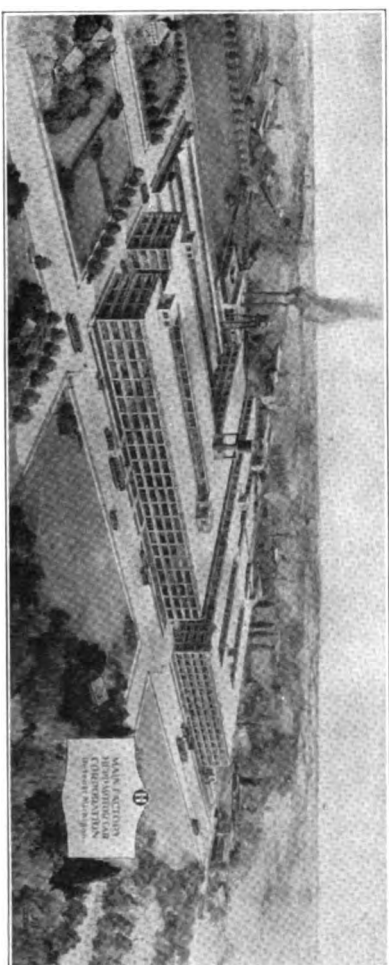
This condition in the industrial world, however, proved to be only a brief stimulation, as in the latter part of 1920 and 1921 those dreaded features of war's aftermath—financial depression, lack of business, and unemployment, appeared. This unsettled condition of trade and business made existence difficult for even some of the largest and most firmly entrenched companies, but the climb to normalcy is now being accomplished slowly, which indicates that the new era is being constructed on solid foundation.

GENERAL MOTORS CORPORATION

The General Motors Corporation, now a vast organization whose holdings show seventy-eight divisions, subsidiaries and affiliated companies, whose plants are located in thirty-five cities of the United States and Canada, and consist of over 1,500 buildings, bears an important relation to Detroit manufacturing. This corporation was incorporated October 13, 1916 under the laws of Delaware and acquired in exchange for its own stock practically all of the stock of the General Motors Company (since dissolved). This latter company, of which W. C. Durant was the moving spirit, was incorporated in New Jersey September 16, 1908, to manufacture and deal in motors, motor cars and machines, to acquire from others their business, if of the same general character as that for which the company was organized; to acquire patents and trademarks; to acquire and dispose of by sale, mortgage or otherwise, securities of other corporations with similar corporate powers and to aid such other corporations



THE TIMKEN-DETROIT AXLE COMPANY



MAIN FACTORY OF HUPP MOTOR CAR CORPORATION

The first automobile companies to be acquired were the Buick, Olds, Oakland and Cadillac, in the order named. The Chevrolet did not come in until May, 1918, and United Motors in December following. Originally, each of the affiliated companies continued as a separate entity and had only a financial relationship with the holding company.

The automobile industry was expanding very rapidly in 1908, and General Motors acquired control of various companies making major assemblies, such as motors and axles and parts. In a little more than two years the company had ownership or large holdings in Northway Motor & Manufacturing company, Weston-Mott company, Champion Ignition company, Jackson-Church-Wilcox company, Michigan Auto Parts company and Michigan Castings company. By the end of 1910 the company had entered the commercial vehicle field by taking in the Rapid and the Reliance company; a foundation for operation in Canada was laid by acquiring a substantial interest in McLaughlin Motor company, Ltd., of Ontario.

Rapid expansion in the automobile industry throughout the country resulted in generally trying industrial conditions in 1910 and many companies were unable to continue in business, owing to lack of capital, and bad management. General Motors proved an outstanding exception. In the three years from 1912 to 1915, the organization made an impressive record of sales and earnings, which was possible by its program of production on a large scale. Substantial additions were made to the plants of the Cadillac, Buick and Weston-Mott companies. In 1915 the company paid its first cash dividend on the common stock, at the rate of 50 per cent.

ENTER LOW-PRICED FIELD

In May, 1918, the operating assets of the Chevrolet were acquired, and the corporation actively entered the field of the low-priced car. In December of the same year, General Motors absorbed the United Motors corporation, which included the Dayton Engineering Laboratories company, Hyatt Roller Bearing company, New Departure Manufacturing company, Jaxon Steel Products company, Remy Electric company, Harrison Radiator company and Klaxton company. In 1918 also, General Motors purchased the Janesville Machine company, maker of farm implements, and the Lancaster Steel Products company. Properties acquired in 1918 represented an investment exceeding \$40,000,000, most of which took the form of common and debenture stock of General Motors corporation.

In 1919, striking expansion of manufacturing facilities was made. The Buick factory at Flint, with a capacity of 350 passenger cars a day, was enlarged to a capacity of 500 cars per day. A new factory for the Cadillac division at Detroit was begun, providing for a total capacity of 30,000 passenger cars per year. It was completed two years later at a cost of approximately \$15,000,000 and is the world's largest plant for the manufacture of multi-cylinder cars. Substantial additions were also made to the plants of the Chevrolet group, the Oakland at Pontiac and the Olds at Lansing. The Samson division at Janesville was equipped with new facilities, providing for a capacity of many thousand tractors per year, while it still continued to produce farm trucks and agricultural implements. General Motors truck division at Pontiac was provided with additions to permit an annual production of 20,000 trucks.

INTEREST IN BODY PLANT

In the same year the corporation acquired an important interest in the Fisher Body corporation, the largest maker of automobile bodies in the world. An investment of more than \$27,000,000 was used to expand and develop the Fisher plant. Other properties were acquired in 1919, to add new lines to General Motors products. These included Delco Light company, producing complete farm and home electric light and power plants; Frigidaire corporation, making a line of mechanical refrigerators; Dayton-Wright company, Dayton, producing aeroplanes and aeroplane parts. This company holds important contracts with the United States government.

In 1919 there began the work on the General Motors Building, a picture of which is reproduced herewith. This building, with the General Motors Building at Broadway and Fifty-seventh Street, New York City, form the two principal office units of the company. The Detroit building was projected by Mr. Durant and was at first to have been called the "Durant Building," but with the advent of new controlling interests in the corporation this plan was changed, also the plan to have the Detroit structure house the whole General Motors office force.

In November, 1920, Mr. Durant was succeeded as president by Pierre S. du Pont, representing new interests in the control of the organization, including E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company and J. P. Morgan & Company. The organization of the General Motors Corporation now includes, as manufacturing units, the following: Buick Motor, Buick Manufacturing Company, Cadillac, Oakland, Olds, Sheridan, General Motors Truck, Samson Tractor, Central Axle, Central Forge, Central Gear, Central Products, Michigan Crankshaft, Saginaw Products, Northway Motor & Manufacturing, Buffalo Metal Goods Company, Frigidaire Corporation, Muncie Products Corporation, Samson Tractor of California, Champion Ignition, General Motors Research, Dayton-Wright Company, Delco Light, Sunnyhome Electric, Saginaw Malleable Iron and Scripps-Booth Corporation, under the General Motors group; under the United Motors group are the Hyatt Roller Bearing, Remy Electric, Jaxon Steel Products, Lancaster Steel Products, Dayton Engineering Laboratories, Klaxon Company, Harrison Radiator Corporation and New Departure Manufacturing; under the Chevrolet group are Chevrolet Motor of Bay City, Chevrolet Motor of California, Chevrolet Motor of Michigan, Chevrolet Motor of New York, Chevrolet Motor of St. Louis, Chevrolet Motor of Texas, and Toledo Chevrolet Motor Company. The products of the General Motors Corporation are: passenger cars, Buick, Cadillac, Chevrolet, McLaughlin, Oakland, Oldsmobile, Scripps-Booth, and Sheridan; trucks are the Chevrolet, General Motors, Oldsmobile, Samson; farm machines and implements include the Janesville line; Frigidaire ice machines; accessories and parts are the A-C spark plugs, Titan spark plugs, Delco systems, Harrison radiators, Hyatt roller bearings, Jacox steering gears, Jaxon rims, Klaxon horns, New Departure bearings, New Departure brakes, Remy system. These named do not include the General Motors of Canada, Ltd., with its manufacturing units and sales units. The General Motors has thirty-five sales units in this country, in Canada and in Europe. It also has control over the Fisher Body Corporation, General Motors Acceptance Corporation, General Exchange Corporation, General Motors Building Corporation, and the Modern Housing Corporation.

AUTOMOBILE ACCESSORY AND BODY PLANTS—FOUNDRIES, MALLEABLE IRON AND CASTINGS, RADIATOR COMPANIES, MOTOR PLANTS AND OTHER INDUSTRIES

The automobile industry in itself is of recognized magnitude, but the growth and development of those manufactories which are allied to the big automobile plants is a subject of less common knowledge. The making of auto bodies, various accessories, sheet metal, wheels, axles, lamps, in fact, everything which goes into the making of a motor car, requires manufacturing plants of vast size and number, each a specialist in one phase of the industry.

The largest factory of this type, and the largest of its kind in the world, is the Fisher Body Corporation, now under the control of the General Motors Corporation. The Fisher Body Corporation was incorporated August 21, 1916, under the laws of New York, and acquired all the property of the Fisher Body Company, the Fisher Closed Body Company, and the Fisher Body Company of Canada, Ltd. The organization known before as the Fisher Body Company was incorporated July 22, 1908, and the Fisher Closed Body Company on December 22, 1910. Some conception of the size of the Fisher Body Corporation may be given by the statement that the organization operates a total of thirty-two plants for the manufacture of open and closed bodies for automobiles, body hardware and accessories. Twenty-five of these plants are located in Detroit. The Detroit plants include a total of 4,500,000 square feet of floor space. All of the plants of the company have a combined floor space of about 5,500,000 square feet, which would be about 280 acres. The Fisher Body Corporation supplies an important percentage and in some cases the total requirement of the Ford, Cadillac, Buick, Hudson, Essex, Studebaker and Chandler cars. The Fisher Body Company of Ohio was incorporated on October 17, 1919, to build and operate a plant at Cleveland. The National Plate Glass Company, a subsidiary concern, was incorporated in 1920. About November, 1919, the General Motors Corporation acquired control of the Fisher Body Corporation through the acquisition of 300,000 of the 500,000 shares existing at \$92 per share. The officers of the Corporation now are: Louis Mendelssohn, chairman of the board; Frederick J. Fisher, president and general manager; Charles T. Fisher, vice president; Louis Mendelssohn, treasurer; A. Mendelssohn, secretary; William Butler, comptroller. The corporation is capitalized for nearly \$36,000,000. Nearly 10,000 people are given employment.

The Trippensee Manufacturing Company, engaged in the making of automobile bodies, with plant located at Stanley Avenue and Twelfth Street, was started in 1906 as manufacturers of Trippensee Planetarium and wood specialties. The building of automobile bodies was begun in 1907 and in that year incorporation papers were taken out. The organizers of the company are the present officers, namely: William F. Trippensee, president; Albert W. Trippensee, vice president; and Frank J. Trippensee, secretary and treasurer: the three are brothers. The company has an authorized capitalization of \$1,000,000 and employs about five hundred people.

The C. R. Wilson Body Company was incorporated in 1899. This business was the outgrowth of that started in 1870, when C. R. Wilson came to Detroit and in 1875 began the manufacture of buggy woodwork. In 1876 he was joined by his brother, J. C., and the company was incorporated in 1886 as the C. R. & J. C. Wilson Carriage Woodwork Company. The brother afterward sold his interests in the company and the name became the C. R. Wilson Body Com-

pany. C. R. Wilson became interested early in the automobile development in the manufacture of bodies for the machines and in this way became connected with the founders of the Ford, Olds and Cadillac plants. His first work was done for these makers. This company now, which in normal times employs about two thousand five hundred men, has its principal plant located on Clay Avenue and the Grand Trunk Railroad, and is officered by the following: C. R. Wilson, president; George D. Wilson, vice president; C. Haines Wilson, secretary and treasurer.

The Aluminum Castings Company, 7610 Joseph Campau Avenue, was incorporated on August 13, 1909, but on November 15, 1919, became incorporated as part of the Aluminum Manufacturers, Inc., with general offices in Cleveland, Ohio. This is one of the largest shops in Detroit for the making of aluminum and brass castings, with a payroll, in normal times, of nearly two thousand people.

The American Injector Company, manufacturers of brass goods and located at 175-184 Fourteenth Avenue, was incorporated in 1886. The officers of this company are: John Trix, president; John J. B. Trix, vice president; Herbert B. Trix, secretary and treasurer. About one hundred and fifty men are employed by this concern. The authorized capital stock is \$200,000.

The Charles B. Bohn Foundry Company, engaged in the manufacture of aluminum, brass and bronze castings for automobiles, motors, farm tractors and allied industries, is located at 3516 Hart Avenue. This company was incorporated April 23, 1918, with an authorized capitalization of \$500,000, as a consolidation of a company of the same name and its subsidiary, the Peninsular Smelting and Refining Company. About seven hundred people are employed in the plant when working at full capacity.

The Bowen Products Company, located at 2760 Warren Avenue, west, manufactures various parts for automobiles. This company was incorporated in November, 1917, and at the same time given an authorized capitalization of \$2,500,000. George W. Bowen is president of the company, which has a payroll of nearly eight hundred men when running at capacity.

The American Agricultural Chemical Company, manufacturers of fertilizers, has a Detroit branch located at the corner of Forman and Carbon avenues, where some three hundred and fifty people are employed. The general offices of this company, which is of national scope, are in New York City.

The American Auto Trimming Company, located on Meldrum Avenue, was incorporated in 1910, with a capitalization of \$150,000. The state labor bureau in 1919 reported that 657 men were employed in the plant at that time.

The American Blower Company, as it now exists, was incorporated January 15, 1909, under the laws of New York, and was a consolidation of the fan and blower business of the old American Blower Company at Detroit and the Sirocco Engineering Company of Troy, New York. In 1913 the company purchased the air washer interests, including the patent rights, of the McCreery Engineering Company of Detroit. The plant, which is located at 6004 Russell, is used by approximately six hundred employes. The officers of the company are: James Inglis, president; J. F. G. Miller, vice president and treasurer; Frederick R. Still, vice president and secretary. The authorized capitalization is \$1,500,000.

The American Electrical Heater Company, at 6125 Woodward Avenue, was incorporated in September, 1894, and has an authorized capitalization of \$115,-

000. About three hundred people are employed. Robert Kuhn is president of the company and B. H. Scranton is president of the board.

The Michigan branch of the American Radiator Company had its foundation in 1888 and the original incorporation was made under the title of the Michigan Radiator & Iron Manufacturing Company. The chief promoter was John B. Dyar, who had been for about a decade the managing owner of the Detroit Metal & Heating Works. In the forming of the company there were associated with him such men as Martin S. Smith, Clarence Carpenter, Clarence M. Woolley, James McMillan, E. W. Meddaugh and Ernest E. Mann. John B. Dyar was the first president of the company. The company purchased a tract of land on Trombly Avenue between Russell Street and the Grand Trunk Railway and erected thereon a foundry building, machine shop, core room, cleaning room, warehouse, and an office building. Starting with 200 employes, the payroll was gradually increased to meet the incoming business, and the 1919 report of the state labor bureau credits the company with 372 employes. In 1891 the American Radiator Company was organized and assumed control and possession of the plants of the Michigan Radiator & Iron Manufacturing Company and the Detroit Radiator Company, as well as the Pierce Steam Heating Company of Buffalo. At first the company engaged in the manufacture of cast-iron radiators for water and steam-warming purposes, and was second to the Detroit Steam Radiator Company to take up this line of work in Detroit. In 1891, the company began making water and steam-warming apparatus and in 1894 the first boilers for house-warming purposes were turned out. The American Radiator Company was reincorporated February 10, 1899, and acquired the property of the old company of the same name, the St. Louis Radiator Manufacturing Company, the Standard Radiator Manufacturing Company of Buffalo, and the radiator department of the Titusville Iron Company of Pennsylvania. The American Radiator Company of Michigan was incorporated August 1, 1906; all of the stock of this company is owned by the American Radiator Company. Two plants, one on Trombly and one on Joseph Campau, are operated in Detroit.

The Detroit Steam Radiator Company, mentioned above as having been merged with the American Radiator Company was organized and incorporated in 1882 by Henry C. and Charles C. Hodges; this firm was the first to manufacture the cast-iron radiators of the type which have become standard the world over.

The Jefferson Forge Products Company, employing about three hundred people in the manufacture of drop forgings, was incorporated January 27, 1906, in Michigan as the Anderson Forge & Machine Company. The name was changed to the present style February 6, 1920. This company, the principal stock of which is owned by the Alger family, makes drop forgings for the automotive trade, also other products.

The Automobile Crank Shaft Corporation was incorporated September 26, 1916, to succeed the old Automobile Crank Shaft Company of Michigan, which was organized in 1906. The company manufactures crank shafts for motors for autos, marine engines, aeroplanes and tractors. The plant is located on Piquette Avenue.

The Automatic Products Company, located West Grand Boulevard, was incorporated in 1913 with an authorized capital stock of \$200,000. About

three hundred and fifty people are employed when the plant is operated at capacity.

Under the title of the Sprocket Chain Manufacturing Company, the business of the Buhl Malleable Company had its inception on April 11, 1899, when the company was incorporated with a capital stock of \$25,000. The company began the manufacture of sprocket chains by purchasing the Detroit Sprocket Chain Company. The Buhls assumed control of the business and on August 14, 1899, was incorporated as the Buhl Malleable Company, with a \$50,000 capital. The first officers were: Theodore D. Buhl, president; Alexander McPherson, vice president; Frederick T. DeLong, secretary and treasurer. Upon the death of Theodore D. Buhl in April, 1907, his son, Arthur A., became the president of the company and yet remains the executive head. The plant of this company, at Wight and Adair, is in the main that formerly used by the Peninsular Car Company. The capital stock of the company is now authorized at \$460,000, about seven hundred and fifty people are employed, and the product includes all classes of malleable iron work and castings.

The Buhl Stamping Company was founded in 1888, the interested principals in the new corporation having been junior partners in the wholesale hardware concern of Buhl Sons & Company. The first president of the company was Theodore D. Buhl; Charles H. Jacobs, vice president; Dewitt E. Delamater, secretary; and Jefferson M. Thurber, treasurer. The capital represented in the organization was \$25,000 and the plant secured for the start of the business was that of the Buhl Iron Works, located on Third, Larned and Congress streets, from Third to Fourth. About three hundred people are employed in the manufacture of metal stampings and kindred products at the Scotten Avenue plant. The president of the company now is L. D. Buhl.

The Caille Brothers Company, at 6210 Second Boulevard, is a manufacturing business which was moved here from Saginaw in 1895 by A. Arthur Caille. In 1893, Mr. Caille brought his first patents in the coin-controlled slot machines and from that time built up a business which was one of the largest of its kind in the world. In recent years, however, the company has turned its attention to the making of other products, specializing on marine motors and scales. Adolph Caille is president and general manager of the company.

One of the distinctive products of the Detroit manufacturing field is that of overalls. One of the principal companies turning out overalls in quantity is the Larned, Carter & Company, located at Eighth and Howard streets. This company was organized by Abner E. Larned and David S. Carter in 1896 and was incorporated the following year. The company employs about three hundred people. Mr. Larned is the executive head of the concern, M. W. Sales is vice president, and Mr. Carter is secretary and treasurer.

The Carhartt Hamilton Cotton Mills, also engaged in the manufacture of overalls at Tenth and Michigan, was incorporated in 1905 with an authorized capitalization now of \$1,000,000. The number of employes averages over three hundred people.

The W. M. Finck & Company, with a plant at 3710 Gratiot Avenue, was incorporated in 1902, for the manufacture of overalls and similar garments. W. M. Finck is the president of the company.

The Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company, employing about seven hundred men at the Detroit factory, 6201 Second Boulevard, is part of a large company operating plants at Chicago, New York, Cleveland and Franklin, Pennsylvania.

The Detroit branch includes machine shop and annex, special shipping department, testing room, special tool room, heat treating department, and polishing and plating department. The general offices of the company are in New York.

The Clayton & Lambert Manufacturing Company, makers of auto parts, etc., at Knodell Avenue and Detroit terminal railway, employing now about four hundred people, was started at Ypsilanti in 1888, and removed to Detroit in 1899. Nelson J. Clayton, Joshua Lambert, and the latter's three sons, John E., Charles R. and Bert were the principal ones interested in the company at the beginning. The company has an authorized capitalization of \$1,000,000 and manufactures, in addition to sheet metal for the auto trade, kerosene and gasoline fire pots. Charles R. Lambert is president of the company at the present time.

The Detroit Brass & Malleable Works is a title of a manufacturing business known before July 23, 1920, as the Detroit Valve & Fittings & Detroit Brass Works, incorporated in February, 1917, as a consolidation of the two named. The plant of the Detroit Valve & Fittings Company is at Wyandotte; this company was organized and incorporated in 1908 for manufacturing malleable and gray iron fittings for steam, water and gas and special malleable iron castings. The Detroit Brass Works was organized in 1892 and incorporated in 1903. The company is engaged in the making of brass valves and cocks for steam, water and gas, for gasoline motors and gas stove trimmings. E. B. Whitcomb is the president. The authorized capital stock of the Detroit Brass & Malleable Company is \$1,500,000.

The Detroit Copper & Brass Rolling Mills was first incorporated April 15, 1880, and reincorporated April 15, 1910, for the manufacture of sheet copper, brass, copper and brass wire, rivets, burrs, copper bottoms, etc. C. H. Buhl was the first president of the company. The first works were located on the corner of Larned and Fourth streets. In 1888 removal was made to buildings constructed for the purpose on the west side of McKinstry Avenue, near the Wabash Railroad. The capital stock of this company is authorized at \$5,000,000 and at the plant, now on Clark Avenue, over one thousand people are employed during time of normal production. The officers of the company are: Lewis H. Jones, president; Richard Joy, vice president; Arthur H. Buhl, vice president; John R. Searles, Frank H. Hoffman, assistant general managers; Andrew J. Peoples, secretary and treasurer.

The Continental Motors Corporation, 2935 Jefferson Avenue, is the largest concern in the United States manufacturing gasoline engines exclusively and supplies, among other large consumers, the Jordan Motor Car Company, Paige-Detroit Motor Car Company, Velie Motor Corporation, Federal Motor Truck Company and Acme Motor Truck Company. The plants at Detroit and Muskegon cover a total of 26½ acres, the largest area being at Muskegon. This organization started in Chicago in 1902 as a partnership and was incorporated in 1903 as the Autocar Equipment Company. It was reincorporated in 1904 as the Continental Motor Manufacturing Company. The name was changed to the present style in February, 1916. The last incorporation, under the laws of Virginia, is dated January 23, 1917. Over four thousand men are employed by this corporation during periods of normal production, the authorized capitalization is \$18,500,000, and the officers at the present time are: R. W. Judson, president; W. R. Angell, secretary; G. W. Yeoman, treasurer.

The Detroit Lubricator Company was established in 1879, when Charles C.

and Henry C. Hodges purchased the business of John R. Grout, manufacturer of lubricator devices, and thereupon organized and incorporated the Detroit Lubricator Company, of which Henry C. Hodges became president. The plant of this company is located at 5938 Trumbull Avenue and the payroll of the concern, in normal times, numbers over one thousand one hundred people. The company was incorporated in December, 1906, has an authorized capitalization of \$1,000,000, and is officered by: C. H. Hodges, president; C. B. Hodges, H. I. Lord and F. C. Blanchard, vice presidents; F. W. Hodges, secretary and treasurer.

The Detroit Pressed Steel Company, 6656 Mt. Elliott Avenue, was incorporated under the laws of Delaware, September 12, 1919, as the successor to the company of the same name which was incorporated in Michigan in October, 1909. The company, which employs over nine hundred in the two Detroit plants, manufactures automobile, truck and passenger car frames, medium and heavy steel stampings, also a single-disc, steel wheel, known as the "Disteel" wheel. The company has an authorized capitalization of \$700,000 and is officered by: H. B. Hoyt, president; C. H. L. Flintermann, vice president; Howard A. Coffin, secretary; Rudolph F. Flintermann, treasurer.

The Detroit Seamless Steel Tubes Company, employing over three hundred men at the plant located at West Warren and Wyoming avenues, was incorporated May 7, 1900, in Michigan, for the manufacture of seamless steel tubes used in rear axle parts, differential parts, torque tubes, drive shaft housings, steering gears, oil feeds, brake shafts, also boiler tubes, both marine and locomotive. The capital stock of this company is \$2,000,000 and the officers are: A. A. Templeton, president; James R. Coulter, vice president; R. H. Phillips, secretary and treasurer.

The Detroit Steel Products Company, 2250 East Grand Boulevard, was incorporated September 3, 1904, in Michigan for the manufacture of steel products. The company makes automobile springs, "Fenestra" steel sash, and "Harvey" friction gears. The authorized capitalization is \$5,000,000, the number of employes, when operating fully, is over one thousand two hundred and eleven, and the present officers are: John G. Rumney, president; Victor F. Dewey, vice president; H. F. Wardwell, secretary; and E. R. Ailes, treasurer.

The Edmunds & Jones Corporation, incorporated March 30, 1916, ranks as one of the largest manufacturers of automobile lamps, connectors, sockets and gauge lamps for speedometers in the United States and Canada. This company, whose plant is located at 4440 Lawton Avenue, has an authorized capitalization of \$1,000,000 and employs about eight hundred men. The officers are at the present time: George E. Edmunds, president; W. T. Jones, vice president; V. E. Jones, secretary; L. H. Bedford, treasurer.

The General Aluminum & Brass Manufacturing Company, at East Grand Boulevard and St. Aubin, was incorporated May 31, 1912. This company manufactures aluminum, brass and bronze castings, also bronze bearings for automobile, marine and electric motors. The authorized capitalization is \$4,500,000 and the employes number on the average over one thousand. This company manufactures eighty per cent of all the bronze babbitt lined bearings of the type used in ninety percent of all gasoline motors. The officers of the company now are: Frank C. Root, president; E. H. Brown, vice president and treasurer; L. G. Hooker, secretary.

The Kelsey Wheel Company, 1230-40 Military Avenue, was established in

January, 1909, when the Detroit Bent Wood Company and the Kelsey Hickory Company consolidated to manufacture complete automobile wheels. John Kelsey became president of the new company. The company was reincorporated August 23, 1916, having taken over the assets of the old company, also the Herbert Manufacturing Company, the Kelsey Wheel Company of Canada, Ltd., and the Kelsey Wheel Company of Tennessee. The authorized capitalization is now \$13,000,000 and when operating on full time and capacity about two thousand seven hundred men are employed. The company manufactures, in addition to wheels, hubs, brake drums, rims, bodies. Sawmills and wood-working plants are located at Memphis, Tennessee, the main plant is at Detroit and another factory at Windsor. The officers are: John Kelsey, president; Charles W. Fox, vice president; Louis C. Brooks, secretary; and William H. Ducharme, treasurer.

The McCord Manufacturing Company, 2587-2637 East Grand Boulevard, was incorporated December 8, 1916, to supersede a company of the same name. Late in the year 1919 the company expanded by acquiring the business of McCord & Company, steel founders, of Chicago, the Russell Motor Axle Company of Detroit, and the Racine Manufacturing Company. This gives the company a wide range of automobile and truck parts products, including radiators, axles, bodies, cylinders, lubricators for steam and gas engines, and journal boxes for railroad freight and passenger equipment, also fixtures for railway passenger cars. The company controls seven plants, employs over one thousand men, and has an authorized capitalization of \$1,325,000. A. C. McCord is the executive head of the business.

The Michigan Copper & Brass Company was organized in the year 1906, its chief promoter having been George H. Barbour. The company was incorporated the same year and on July 24, 1907, the machinery started in the new plant built for the company on River Street just east of Fort Wayne. There are employed at the company's plant on West Jefferson Avenue, in normal times, about six hundred and fifty people. The authorized capitalization is \$1,000,000. The principal products of the company are sheet brass, wire rods, tubing, sheet and rolled copper.

The Michigan Lubricator Company was first incorporated in 1884 and again in 1914. This company, with plant located 3643 Beaubien, has an authorized capitalization of \$200,000, and manufactures all classes of brass goods. The officers of the company are: J. B. Corliss, president; Robert Lindsey, treasurer; and Frederick N. Stocking, secretary. Over six hundred people are employed by the Michigan Lubricator during normal periods of production.

The Michigan Malleable Iron Company melted its first iron on March 1, 1882, having been established and incorporated the previous year. The company was reincorporated in 1911, capitalized for \$800,000. The plant of the company is located at Gould, Anderson and Crossley avenues, and the executive head of the business is T. H. Simpson. Other officers are: William E. Burns, vice president and manager; H. S. Slyfield, secretary. The normal working force of this plant is three hundred and fifty men.

The Michigan Stamping Company was established as a business in 1901 and is now engaged in manufacturing various lines of metal stampings largely for the automotive trade. The company was incorporated in October, 1911, and has an authorized capital stock of \$3,300,000. The plant is located on Mack Avenue, east of St. Jean, and the usual number of employes is in the neighbor-

hood of six hundred and fifty. John H. French is president of the company, Henry P. Cope is vice president, and Walter F. Tant, secretary and treasurer.

The large rubber manufactory of Morgan & Wright, employing over four thousand people in the making of rubber goods, including automobile tires, was incorporated in 1905 with a capitalization authorized at \$5,500,000. The plant is located on Jefferson Avenue. Charles J. Butler is president of this large concern.

The Motor Products Corporation, located at Mack and Hart avenues, was incorporated June 5, 1916, and took over the business of the Rands Manufacturing Company of Detroit, the Diamond Manufacturing Company of Detroit and Walkerville, the Superior Manufacturing Company of Ann Arbor, the Vanguard Manufacturing Company of Detroit and the Universal Metal Company of Detroit. These companies were engaged in the making of miscellaneous products from steel, brass and copper, and of automobile accessories. In 1916 the company acquired their present plant, which were the buildings of the old Lozier plant. Branch plants are operated at Walkerville and Ann Arbor. The number of employes is nearly one thousand two hundred. D. B. Lee is president and general manager of the company; C. F. Jensen is first vice president; H. H. Seeley is second vice president; R. R. Seeley, treasurer; and M. L. Brown, secretary.

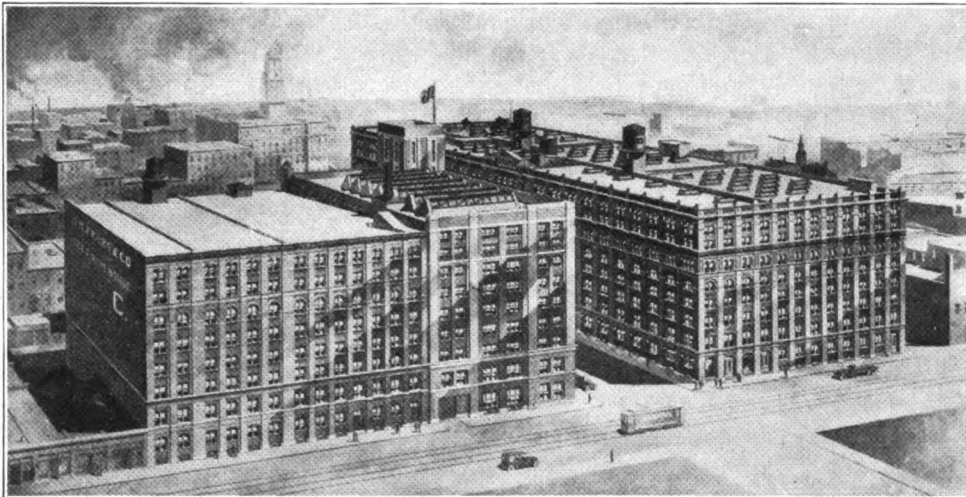
The J. W. Murray Manufacturing Company, located at Clay and St. Aubin, was incorporated April 14, 1913, under the laws of Michigan, for the manufacture of auto hoods, fenders, tanks, pans and other sheet metal parts for automobiles. The first officers were: J. W. Murray, president, and J. R. Murray, secretary and treasurer. J. W. Murray gave up the executive control of the company July 1, 1920, but remains chairman of the board of directors, his place as president now being filled by his son, J. R. Murray. In 1920, the company purchased the plant of the General Spring & Wire Company and the American Motor Castings Company. In December, 1919, a Cleveland plant was also opened. The authorized capitalization of this concern is \$3,000,000.

The National Twist Drill & Tool Company, 6522 Brush Street, was incorporated November 3, 1903, its establishment having been accomplished chiefly through the work of P. J. Hoenscheid. All types of twist drills and fine tools are made by this company which has a normal payroll of about seven hundred and fifty people. The capital stock is authorized at \$300,000. The officers of the company at the present time are: William H. McGregor, president; John A. Mercier, vice president; William T. McGaw, secretary; Otto Reinhardt, treasurer.

The Penberthy Injector Company was incorporated in 1886 with a capital stock of \$100,000 and an original executive corps as follows: Homer Pennock president; William Penberthy, vice president; S. Olin Johnson, secretary and treasurer. The organization was effected for the purpose of manufacturing the improved steam injector invented by Mr. Penberthy. The original plant was in a small room in the building occupied by the Detroit Knitting & Corset Works, of which Mr. Johnson was manager. Gradually the company developed and the business increased until November 21, 1901, when the Abbott Street plant was wrecked by the explosion of defective boilers. Immediately afterward the company bought 5½ acres on Greenwood, Holden and the Grand Trunk Railway, and erected a modern factory, which has been greatly enlarged from time to time to meet the increasing business. The company was reincor-



THE J. W. MURRAY MANUFACTURING COMPANY



D. M. FERRY AND COMPANY

porated July 8, 1919, under the laws of Delaware. The product at the present time consists of injectors of different types for boilers, ejectors for elevating liquids, valves, lubricating devices, gasoline and oil gauges, carburetors, re-atomizers, flometers, etc. During the World war, the Penberthy Injector Company manufactured carburetors for tanks and ordnance materials of various kinds, and for this work received a citation from the United States Government. A second plant of the company has been opened on Goldsmith Avenue, Detroit, for the manufacture of steel parts, and this is under the managership of C. B. Johnson. The officials of the Penberthy Injector Company are: S. Olin Johnson, president; Homer S. Johnson, vice president; Clarence L. Lamson, secretary; and Charles B. Johnson, treasurer. The authorized capital stock is \$550,000.

The Timken-Detroit Axle Company, Clark Avenue, southwest corner Oak and Waterloo and the Detroit Terminal Railway, is one of the largest axle manufactories in the country, employing, when operating at full capacity over four thousand five hundred people. The company was incorporated in Ohio, June 11, 1909, and took over the automobile axle business of the Timken Roller Bearing Company of Canton, Ohio. The company entered into a contract with the Canton company for the exclusive rights to use the Timken roller bearings for automobile axles. The company also owns the rights of the worm gear machinery of David Brown & Sons, Huddersfield, England. Five plants are operated, four of them in Detroit and one in Canton, Ohio, the latter being the steel foundry for making malleable iron and steel castings. The company is capitalized under authorization for \$45,200,000, and the officers are: H. H. Timken, chairman of the board; A. R. Demory, president; H. W. Alden, vice president; E. W. Dickerson, vice president and secretary; C. G. Rowlette, treasurer.

The Wadsworth Manufacturing Company, at Kercheval and Connors Creek, is engaged in the manufacture of automobile bodies. This company, during seasons of normal production, employs over two thousand people. The authorized capitalization of the company is \$1,000,000 and the officers are: Frederick E. Wadsworth, president; H. E. Bodman, vice president; H. E. Cronenweth, secretary and treasurer.

The J. C. Widman Company, at Fourteenth and Kirby avenues, had its inception in 1899, when John C. Widman established the business, which was incorporated in 1905 under the original title. At the time of incorporation Mr. Widman became president and general manager and the product of the company consisted of art mirrors, dining room and hall furniture. The concern now makes automobile bodies a specialty. The company now employs close to five hundred people in its Detroit plant. The authorized capitalization is \$250,000, and the officers are: J. C. Widman, president and treasurer; C. H. Widman, vice president; C. David Widman, assistant treasurer; F. E. Widman, secretary.

L. A. Young Industries, Inc., was incorporated in May, 1918, with an authorized capitalization of \$2,500,000. Leonard A. Young started the Durable Top Specialties Company in 1909, incorporating the same in August, 1911. Mr. Young also was a heavy stockholder in the Detroit Wire Spring Company and was the inventor of a spring construction which caused the last-named company to grow into one of the leading factories of the industries allied to the automotive trade. The L. A. Young Industries is the outgrowth of these

enterprises and is located at 9200 Russell. Cushion springs are now the principal product and during the normal production season fully one thousand men are employed. L. A. Young is president and treasurer of the company; Thomas Mahoney is vice president; and A. D. Coffin is secretary.

The Briggs Manufacturing Company, makers of automobile bodies, with a plant in Hamtramck, was established in 1905, when Walter O. Briggs became identified with B. F. Everitt in painting and trimming automobile bodies, becoming a partner in the concern after three years. In 1909, he acquired controlling interest, which was then reincorporated under the present title. The number of employees in 1919 was 1,279.

The Michigan Smelting & Refining Company was established in the year 1895. At this time John Schroeder and Jacob Schaefer formed a partnership for the purpose of trading in old metals. Joseph Sillman entered the group in the year 1900. The business was incorporated in 1903. Mr. Schroeder was the first president; Mr. Schaefer, secretary; and Mr. Sillman, vice president and treasurer. In the year 1912 the plant was moved to larger quarters at the present site on Joseph Campau Avenue, in Hamtramck. Nine acres were acquired here. At the death of Mr. Schroeder in 1914, Mr. Sillman became president of the company. During the World war material of rigid specification was furnished by the company in enormous quantities to the Navy, Aircraft, Ordnance Department, Emergency Fleet Corporation, Shipping Board, etc. In addition, the company furnished personnel for the consulting staffs at Aircraft Headquarters, Norfolk, Washington and League Island Navy Yards. The company, in co-operation with the Bureau of Mines, was largely responsible for the development of electric furnaces for non-ferrous melting, and has, at the moment, one of the largest installations of this kind in the world. There are 252,000 square feet of floor space under roof. The plant is equipped with many types of melting equipment, handling machinery, cranes, etc., and inside its own yards has 2,400 feet of track. The capacity of the plant approximates seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds daily. Among the products are brass and bronze ingots, brass billets, brass slabs, solder, babbitt, lead and tin pipe, brazing spelter and die castings. Joseph Sillman died in February, 1919, and a year later John R. Searles was made president of the company, with Norman Sillman vice president and Henry Levitt secretary and treasurer.

The Flower Valve Manufacturing Company, at Clayton and Parkinson avenues, was incorporated in 1919 and has an authorized capitalization of \$600,000. This company is the outgrowth of the James Flower & Company, makers of water works supplies and hydrants, which was established and organized as early as 1852. The present officers of the company are: John W. Flower, president; Thomas Flower, vice president; Charles C. Flower, secretary and treasurer. The number of employees in 1919 was 260.

The Sewel Cushion Wheel Company, 6468-70 Gratiot Avenue, manufactures the cushion wheel invented by William H. Sewell, who came to the United States in 1907 and died in 1909. The business was incorporated in 1920 and has an authorized capitalization of \$1,000,000. The officers of the company now are: Herbert J. Sewell, president; John H. Hammes, vice president; Walter T. Sewell, treasurer; Ralph S. Moore, secretary.

The Sherwood Brass Works, 6331 Jefferson Avenue, was incorporated in March, 1907, for the manufacture of brass goods. The authorized capitalization is \$30,000 and the officers of the company are: William Sherwood, presi-

dent; W. C. Sherwood, vice president; A. L. Waltensperger, secretary and treasurer. There were 413 men employed in 1919.

The Stroh Castings Company, 216 Chene Street, was incorporated in 1918 and in the next year had 350 people on the payroll. The authorized capitalization is \$500,000 and the officers are: Bernard Stroh, Jr., president and treasurer; Edwin R. Stroh, vice president; Ernest H. Mercil, secretary. An outgrowth of this company, a separate business, is the Stroluminum Company, organized in 1922 to produce improved types of molded aluminum cooking utensils. This company is under the control and ownership of Bernard Stroh, Jr., and Edwin R. Stroh, president and vice president respectively. The product will be made at the castings plant on Chene Street.

The Russel Wheel & Foundry Company had its beginning in 1876, when the works were started by George H. and Walter S. Russel, who incorporated the company in January, 1883. Car wheels and castings were the first product and the plant was located at the foot of Walker Street. In 1892 the business was removed to Chene Street. About four hundred people are employed by the company. Dr. George B. Russel, the father of the founders of this company, made the first gas and water pipe ever manufactured in Michigan and was the founder of the Hamtramck Iron Works. In this manufactory was turned out the first car wheels made in the West. The plant of the company, the Russel Wheel & Foundry, is now located at 8102 Joseph Campau and the officers of the company are: Walter S. Russel, president; Albert W. Russel, treasurer; C. W. Russel, vice president and general manager; Sydney R. Russel, secretary.

The Sterling & Skinner Manufacturing Company of Detroit, makers of brass goods for steam, water, gas and automobiles, was organized in 1902 by Ruluff R. Sterling, Frederick G. Skinner and Edward J. Roney, the latter now deceased. The plant of the company is located as it always has been at 2672 East Grand Boulevard, the authorized capitalization is \$35,000, and the officers now are: Mr. Sterling, president; J. C. Danziger, vice president; Mr. Skinner, secretary and treasurer. About 125 men are employed during the height of production.

The Detroit Motor Casting Company, at 1067 Beaufait, was organized in 1906 for the manufacture of automobile parts. The officers are: Frederick G. Skinner, president; R. R. Sterling, vice president; J. C. Danziger, secretary and treasurer. This company had 117 employees in 1919.

The Detroit Gear & Machine Company, 674 Woodbridge, was incorporated April 13, 1910 for the manufacture of automobile transmissions, clutches, gears, etc. In 1919 there were 507 employees of this company. The authorized capitalization is \$2,000,000 and A. W. Copeland is president of the company.

The Detroit Steel Casting Company, 4069 Michigan Avenue, was organized in March, 1902, and succeeded to the business of the Detroit Steel & Spring Company. The original enterprise was founded by John S. Newberry, father of J. S. Newberry, the present executive head of the concern.

The Detroit Sulphite Pulp & Paper Company, 9131 West Jefferson Avenue, was incorporated in 1905 and has an authorized capitalization now of \$2,500,000. The state labor bureau reports for 1920 gives the number of employees in 1919 as 428.

The Detroit Twist Drill Company, employing at the height of production about seven hundred men, and with plant located at 2056-2108 Fort west, was incorporated in 1904. Muir B. Snow is president of the company.

The Foundry & Machine Products Company, 1-17 Fordyce Avenue, manufacturers of automobile parts and castings of various kinds, was incorporated in 1915 and now has a capitalization authorized at \$50,000. Frank L. Bromley is president of the company.

The Gemmer Manufacturing Company, 741-47 Merrick Avenue, manufacturing automobile steering gears, etc. and employing in good seasons close to six hundred men, was incorporated in 1907 and is capitalized for \$2,000,000 authorized to be issued. E. P. Hammond is president of the company.

The Hayes Manufacturing Company, makers of sheet metal automobile parts, with plant located at Maybury, Grand Avenue and the Grand Trunk Railway, was incorporated in 1904. \$2,300,000 is the authorized capitalization of this concern, which is under the presidency of Hal H. Smith. In 1919 there were 1015 employees.

The C. M. Hall Lamp Company, 1035 Hancock Avenue, east, was incorporated March 20, 1909 for the manufacture of motor, motorcycle and bicycle lamps and accessories for electric and acetylene equipment. In January, 1917, the plant of the Badger Brass Manufacturing Company at Kenosha, Wisconsin, was purchased. The authorized capitalization is \$1,000,000 and the president of the organization is J. F. Hartz. There were 303 employees in 1919 according to state official reports.

Ireland & Matthews Manufacturing Company, steel metal stampings, Beard and Chatfield Avenues, was first incorporated in 1889. The officers of the company now are: George H. Barbour, president; Charles H. Matthews, vice president; Edward Bland, secretary; F. T. Ducharme, treasurer; and D. M. Ireland, general manager. There were 640 people employed by this company in 1919.

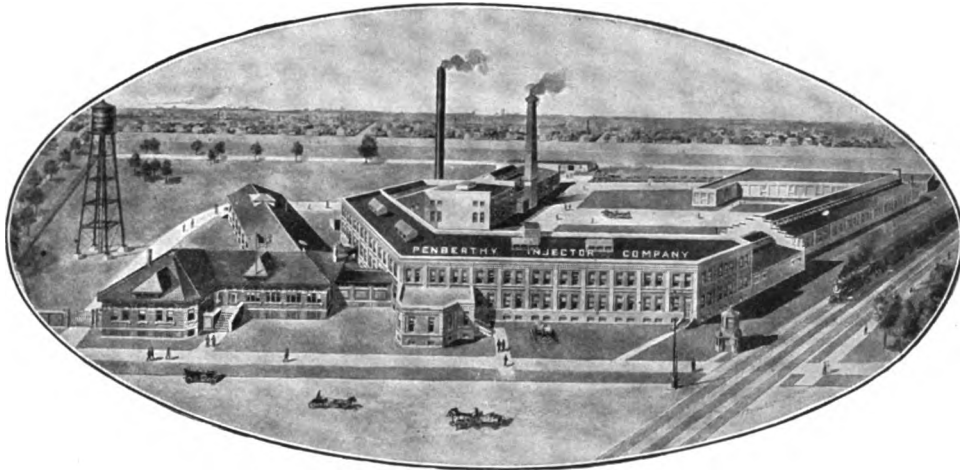
The Jenks & Muir Manufacturing Company, 6441 Hastings Street, was incorporated May 24, 1894. The officers of this company now are: Charles C. Jenks, president; W. Howie Muir, vice president and treasurer; Albert A. Aikens, secretary. Approximately four hundred people are employed by this company during normal period of production.

The Long Manufacturing Company, 2776 East Grand Boulevard, manufacturers of automobile radiators, etc. was incorporated in 1912 with an authorized capitalization now amounting to \$400,000. In 1919 about five hundred people were employed. Frederick H. Rike is president of the company.

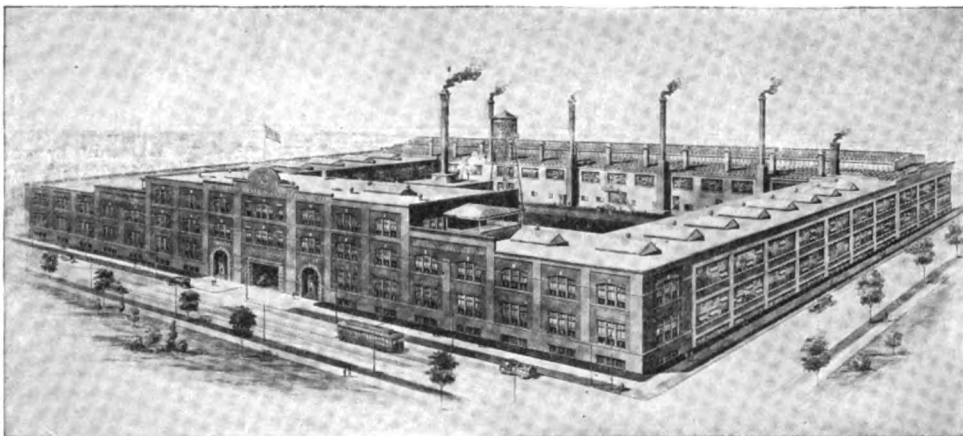
McRae & Roberts Company, manufacturers of brass goods and located at Campbell Avenue and the Wabash Railroad, had 243 employees in 1919. The officers of this company are: Milton A. McRae, president; W. S. Killam, vice president; Lindsay S. McRae, secretary; William S. Chiman, treasurer.

One of the important manufacturing interests of Detroit, but which has been moved to Kentucky, was the Murphy Chair Company, established in the middle '80s and incorporated in 1889. In 1919 there were 658 people employed. M. J. Murphy is president of the company.

In compiling this information concerning the manufacturing establishments of Detroit, it is regrettable that a more detailed history of each of the 2,226, more or less, companies cannot be presented, but lack of space forbids. Of the establishments employing more than 100 people, the important facts follow. The number of employees given for each is based upon the 1920 report of the state department of labor. The capitalization is that authorized.



PENBERTHY INJECTOR COMPANY



ROBERTS BRASS WORKS

Name of Company	Incor- porated	Product	Authorized Capitalization	No. of Employees
American Lady Corset Co.	1905		\$350,000	650
John J. Bagley & Co.	1879-1909	Tobacco	500,000	183
Banner Cigar Mfg. Co.		Cigars		127
Banner Garment Mfg. Co.				120
Bower Roller Bearing Co.	1910	Bearings	600,000	285
John Brennan & Co.	1882	Boilers, tanks.	200,000	216
Brown-McLaren Mfg. Co.		Automatic machinery	250,000	141
Brown-Morris Co.	1914	Tools	10,000	107
Capitol Brass Works.	1908	Brass goods.	500,000	208
Central Specialty Co.	1915	Castings	50,000	151
Arthur Colton Co.	1906	Special machinery	100,000	292
Commonwealth Brass Corp.	1906	Brass goods	350,000	229
Crown Hat Company.	1911	Ladies' Hats	150,000	203
Detroit Accessories Corp.	1915	Auto parts	200,000	184
Detroit Auto Specialty Co.		Sheet metal	250,000	250
Detroit Automobile & Machine Works.		Machinery		286
Detroit Electric Car Co.	1919		600,000	250
Detroit Forging Co.				400
Detroit Foundry Co.	1901	Castings	125,000	220
Detroit Gray Iron Foundry Co.	1916		35,000	146
Detroit Insulated Wire Co.	1906		2,000,000	130
Detroit Piston Ring Co.	1917		100,000	101
Detroit-Princess Mfg. Co.	1913	Dresses	200,000	239
Detroit Range Boiler & Steel Barrel Co.	1919		1,000,000	201
Delphie Specialty Co.	1912	Auto hardware	20,000	153
Douglas & Lomason.	1902	Metal specialties	50,000	209
Eastern Production Co.		Tools, dies	160,000	291
Enterprise Foundry Co.	1897		30,000	149
Federal Bearing & Bushing Corp.	1919	Brass goods	350,000	160
Griswold Motor & Body Co.	1909	Auto bodies	20,000	154
C. H. Haberkorn & Co.		Furniture	200,000	150
J. S. Haggerty.		Brick		100
Hemmeter Cigar Co.	1913	Cigars	1,000,000	205
Holley Carburetor Co.	1917		250,000	136
Hoskins Mfg. Co.	1908	Heating appliances	500,000	155
Howie Co. Inc.		Metal Roofing	150,000	108
International Metal Stamping Co.	1916		300,000	253
Johnson Co.	1914	Carburetors	30,000	143
Lalley Light Corporation.		Lighting plants		162
Lewis-Hall Iron Works.	1914	Structural steel	175,000	161
Locke Pattern Works.	1917			119
Mail-O-Meter Co.	1906		200,000	137
Mansfield Steel Corp.			500,000	129
Mazer Cigar Mfg. Co.	1906		75,000	401
Metalwood Mfg. Co.	1909		155,000	100
Michigan Bolt & Nut Works 1880-1910			300,000	276

Name of Company	Incor- porated	Product	Authorized Capitalization	No. of Employees
Michigan Gray Iron Castings Co.	1907		10,000	134
Michigan Steel Castings Co.	1907		400,000	291
Michigan Tool Co.	1917	Tools	75,000	129
Modern Pattern & Machine Co.	1919		100,000	148
Monarch Foundry Co.	1907		100,000	146
Monarch Steel Castings Co.	1905		200,000	129
Murphy Iron Works.	1904		350,000	380
Mutual Electric & Machine Co.	1902	Switchboards, etc	1,000,000	143
Northern Engineering Works.	1899	Cranes, etc	500,000	183
Palmer-Bee Co.	1905	Mach. & Tools	100,000	136
Parsons Mfg. Co.	1914	Auto hardware	300,000	114
Peninsular Milled Screw Co.	1902	Screw machines	34,000	193
Premier Cushion Spring Co.	1915		250,000	216
Roberts Brass Mfg. Co.	1906	Brass goods	300,000	373
Joseph T. Ryerson & Son.		Steel and iron		176
San Telmo Cigar Co.	1898		500,000	367
Schlieder Mfg. Co.	1911	Auto parts	250,000	245
Scott Valve Co.	1919		500,000	119
Scotten-Dillon Co.	1901		3,000,000	558
Shepard Art Metal Co.	1919	Auto hardware	250,000	163
Jos. N. Smith & Co.	1899	Auto parts	1,000,000	419
Standard Brass Works.	1899		75,000	117
Standard Computing Scale Co.	1899		180,000	162
Standard Motor Truck Co.	1912		500,000	173
Standard Screw Products Co.	1913		1,050,000	319
Steel Products. (Mich. Plant)	1909		250,000	207
Wm. Tegge & Co.	1913	Cigars	100,000	133
Ternstedt Mfg. Co.		Closed body hardware		154
Hugh Wallace Co.	1904	Robes, coats	400,000	119
Welded Steel Barrel Corp.	1905		150,000	146
Wood Hydraulic Hoist & Body Co.		Steel dump bodies, hoists, etc.		263
Zenith Carburetor Co.	1911		320,000	426
D. J. Ryan Foundry Co. (Ecorse)				689
American Radiator Co. (Hamtramck)				515
Briggs Mfg. Co. (Hamtramck)		Auto bodies		1279
Jeffery-Dewitt Co. (Hamtramck)		Spark plug enameling		531
Michigan Steel Tube Products Co. (Hamtramck)				309
Russell Gear Works (Hamtramck)				112
Swedish Crucible Steel Co. (Hamtramck)				186
Truscon Laboratories (Hamtramck)				177

CHAPTER XXIV

BANKS—COUNTY AND CITY FINANCES

CLARENCE M. BURTON AND WILLIAM STOCKING, CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

WAYNE COUNTY AND DETROIT FINANCES (BY WILLIAM STOCKING)—PRIMITIVE CURRENCY ISSUES—THE FIRST BANKING VENTURE—THE FIRST TERRITORIAL BANK (C. M. BURTON)—OTHER EARLY BANKS—FIRST GENERAL BANKING LAW (WILLIAM STOCKING)—THE WILD CAT BANKS—THE OLDEST BANK IN MICHIGAN—FIRST NATIONAL BANK IN DETROIT—WAYNE COUNTY AND HOME SAVINGS BANK—PEOPLES STATE BANK—NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE—MERCHANTS NATIONAL BANK—DIME SAVINGS BANK—OTHER BANKS OF DETROIT—THE TRUST COMPANIES—HOUSING COMPANIES—WAYNE COUNTY BANKS.

WAYNE COUNTY AND DETROIT FINANCES

BY WILLIAM STOCKING

There have been a few changes of methods in conducting the finances of Wayne County. In the early days its financial affairs were in charge of three county commissioners appointed by the court of quarter sessions. In 1818 the appointment of the commissioners was given to the governor, and in 1825 they became elective. In the absence of sufficient funds to meet expenses the commissioners began, as early as 1818, to issue due bills in amounts of \$1.00, \$1.25, \$1.37½, \$1.62½ and so on up to \$10.00. These bills had considerable use as currency. In 1830 they were held at 25 per cent discount, but the commissioners and their successors kept on issuing them until 1840. In 1827 the office of county commissioner was abolished. It was revived in 1838, but finally discontinued in 1842, its duties then having been turned over to the board of supervisors.

The latter body was created by act of March 20, 1827. Its members were elective, one from each township. As first constituted, Detroit was rated as a township and had only one member of the board. In 1842 the six ward assessors were made members, in 1842 the senior alderman from each ward, and in 1857 all the aldermen became members. Under the apportionment existing in 1919-20 the city had thirty-four members, and the rest of the county twenty-five. Under the act creating the Board, the members were authorized "to examine, allow and settle all accounts", estimate the expenses of the county and make the tax levy. They were also authorized to repair the county buildings, and, illustrative of the condition of the young community, they were authorized to offer bounties for the killing of wolves and panthers. Their sessions were limited to one of eight days annually and their pay was \$1.00 a day for the time they were actually in session. In 1832, the pay was raised to \$2.00, later on to \$3.00 and finally to \$4.00. From 1832 to 1846, the board was required to hold two sessions a year, but the revision of that date fixed upon an annual session commencing on the second Monday of October. During most of the time since then this has been the only regular session, though special sessions are frequently

called in the spring. The board has quite a wide range of legislative duties, inasmuch as it is sometimes termed "The County Legislature", but its financial functions are limited. It equalizes the valuations of property for assessment purposes, and apportions to each city and township its share of the annual tax levy. Its approval is also necessary for the submission of bond issues to popular vote.

THE COUNTY AUDITORS

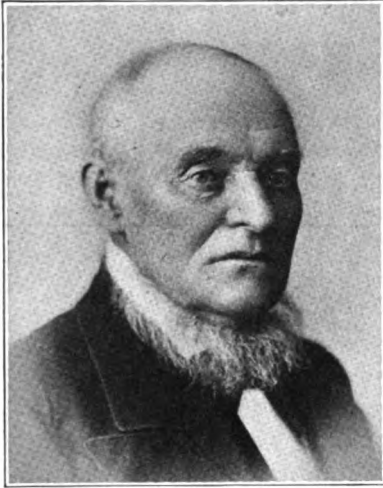
The board of county auditors has, during a large part of its existence, been supreme in financial affairs. It was created by act of March 11, 1844, and consists of three elective members, with three year terms. The original act provided that no city or village should have more than one member of the board. In actual practice Detroit frequently had none at all, although paying two-thirds or more of the taxes. An act of 1883 remedied this by providing that two members of the board should be residents of Detroit.

The powers of the board are great. As originally constituted, it was their business to estimate the amount needed for county expenses, to audit all bills, to make all disbursements, to appoint three superintendents of the poor and two county physicians. By the constitution of 1850 they were given "exclusive power to prescribe and fix the compensation for all services rendered for, and to adjust all claims against, the county and the sum so fixed and adjusted shall be subject to no appeal." This remained in force until the constitution of 1908 was adopted, giving the right of appeal to the circuit court in such manner as may be prescribed by law. By act of May 24, 1879, the auditors were further empowered to determine the number of clerks in all county offices, and the wages to be paid them, and to fix the compensation of the coroners and the salaries of all county officers. They also keep a record of all receipts and expenditures of the county treasurer, countersigning all tax receipts made by him. Under these enlarged powers, and with usually one or two men of dominant personality on the board, the auditors came to be known as "The Kings of Wayne County."

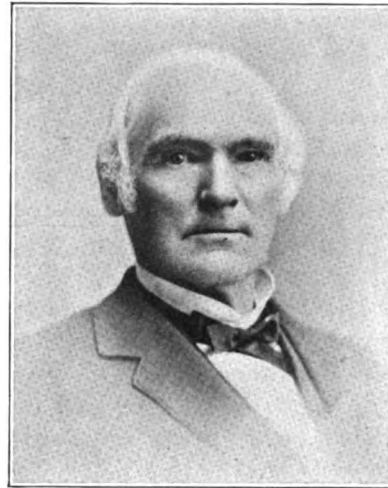
This system of concentrated authority has had the merit of efficiency and generally of prudent counsel. The affairs of the county have been well managed and the debt is small. The county tax for 1919-20, including \$800,270 for good roads, was \$3,367,602, of which \$2,638,978, or over seventy-eight per cent, was apportioned to Detroit.

THE CITY FINANCIAL SYSTEM

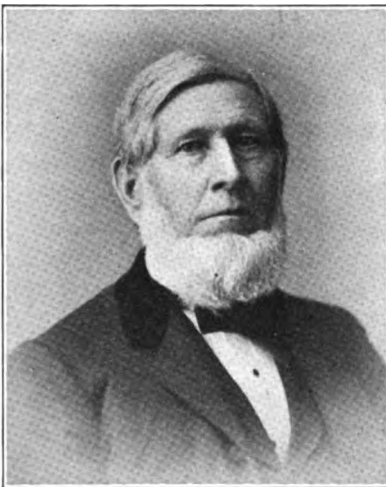
In the various stages of its growth the city has had diverse methods of assessing property, levying and collecting taxes, of making appropriations and of safeguarding expenditures. A recital of them all would be tedious. A statement of the methods reached after a wide experience is sufficient. The assessments of property for purposes of taxation are made by a board of three assessors appointed by the mayor. Each assessor has a personal assistant, and there is an ample clerical force. The constitution requires that all assessable property shall be rated at its full cash value, and assessments in recent years have approximated that basis. The field work on real estate occupies nearly all the fall and winter and the assessment rolls are completed in May. The common council, sitting as a board of review, holds sessions to listen to complaints from interested property holders, and the rolls are then turned over to the City Treasurer for making out the tax bills.



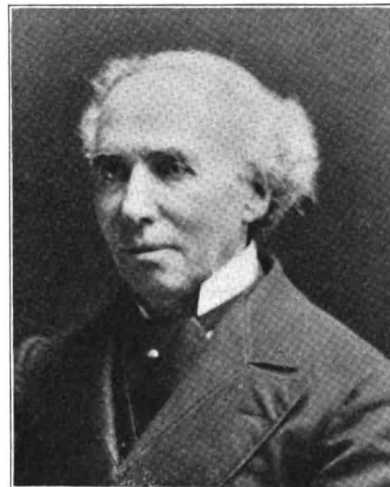
George H. Hammond, Sr.



Simon J. Murphy



Alexander McGraw



Francis Palms

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN

From 1802 till 1873, the tax levy was passed upon by a "citizens' meeting", an inheritance from the old New England town meeting system. The citizens were called together in the council chamber and the proposed tax levy was submitted to them, item by item, and passed upon by viva voce vote. The attendance at the meetings was generally not large, and the budget was practically decided by a few of the leading citizens. This answered very well at times when there was not much interest in the budget, but it broke down completely in 1873, over a hotly contested issue. The question was upon the voting of \$200,000 in bonds for the purchase of land for a park. The subject had been discussed for months and feeling ran high. The council chamber was too small to hold a tenth part of the citizens who gathered, and the meeting was held at the west entrance of the city hall. The crowd that gathered filled a whole block of Griswold Street and overflowed into Fort. In the end it became a mob. There were numerous fist fights and one irate citizen produced a halter, with which he proposed to hang the mayor. It was impossible to hear the speakers, and the viva voce vote was inconclusive. An attempt at a division was equally futile. This was the last attempt at a citizens' meeting. Legislative enactment provided for a board of estimates to take its place. This board served a very useful purpose for nearly forty years. It was composed of two members from each ward, elected upon ward tickets and five members at large elected on a general ticket. The president pro tem of the common council, the chairman of the ways and means committee and the heads of departments were ex officio members of the board, with the right to speak, but not to vote. The heads of departments were required to submit to the controller, on or before the first Tuesday of February in each year, their estimates of the amount of money required for their respective departments for the ensuing fiscal year. The controller was required, by the first Tuesday in March, to transmit them to the common council, together with such other funds as were mandatory under the charter. The common council had until the 28th day of March for their consideration, when they were transmitted to the board of estimates. That body had about a month for their consideration. It might reduce or eliminate items but could not increase any item nor add new ones. Its members had no patronage, nor any other official duties that could influence their action on the estimates. The membership generally included many substantial tax payers and its influence was generally conservative and prudent. The city justly boasted of a low tax rate and a small public debt.

Under the present charter, adopted in 1914, the estimates go to the common council which has a month for their consideration. They then go to the mayor, who may decrease or disallow any items, and his action on such items is final unless subsequently overruled by a two-thirds vote of the council. The budget must go to the city treasurer by the fourth Tuesday of April, and taxes are payable, without percentage added from the 15th of July till the 15th of August. The assessment list upon which city taxes are based is also used for the state and county taxes in December.

With the recent growth of the city, and especially with the increasing cost of service during and since the war, the cost of the municipal government has enormously increased. In 1910 the assessed valuation was \$377,335,980, and the gross city appropriations were \$10,091,665; in 1915 assessed valuation \$736,552,960; gross city appropriations \$17,344,859; in 1920, assessed valuation \$1,699,149,580; appropriations, \$69,628,223.

The net city debt stood for a number of years around \$18,000,000 or \$20,000,000. January 1, 1920 it was \$26,837,317, but there were bonds authorized but not sold to the amount of \$33,111,350. At the April election an issue of \$15,000,000 for street railway purposes was authorized, and at the primaries, August 31, 1920, the following additional issues were submitted to the voters: for sewers, \$20,000,000; waterworks, \$12,000,000; both were adopted by large majorities.

The enlargement of the city's area and the great increase in its population and business have introduced large figures into all departments of the municipal finances. The assessed valuation as completed in May, and the net city debt at the beginning of the fiscal year in July, have been from 1916 to 1921 inclusive as follows:

	Assessed Valuation	Net City Debt
1916.....	\$ 736,552,960	\$16,217,863
1917.....	1,176,517,900	18,127,310
1918.....	1,237,238,500	18,280,820
1919.....	1,372,713,110	25,176,987
1920.....	1,699,149,580	26,901,334
1921.....	1,854,053,560	68,395,828

The increased assessment in 1917 was due in great part to the annexation of 21 square miles of adjoining territory into which the population and business had already overflowed. The increase in the next three years was due partly to annexations, partly to enhanced actual values and partly to a raising of assessments so as to bring them more nearly up to cash value. The property exempt from taxation, including schools, churches, city, county and United States property exceeds \$150,000,000.

The recent great increase in the public debt is due to very unusual conditions. During the war needed improvements were held up by a scarcity of labor and by government restrictions. Meantime the city annexed 40 miles of new territory, creating a demand for sewer and water extensions. The population increased from 726,000 in 1916 to 993,739 in 1920, this creating an imperative demand for new schools and other improvements. The people voted liberal amounts in bonds, not only for the objects named, but for parks and playgrounds, hospitals and a new House of Correction. The bonds outstanding October 1, 1921, amounted to \$77,789,248, and there was \$9,393,519 in the sinking fund, leaving the net debt something over \$68,000,000, as stated above. Of the bonds outstanding \$21,782,000 was for sewers. The city has nearly completed a system of trunk lines, including two of the largest in the country, and adequate to the needs of the large area for many years to come. Over \$18,000,000 raised by bond issue was used for school buildings and \$4,800,000 more of school bonds were ready for sale. The water debt was \$11,567,114, expended for pumping works, extensions of the mains and a complete filtration system. The people voted \$10,000,000 in bonds for parks and playgrounds, of which \$3,500,000 was issued up to October 1 and \$1,500,000 more was advertised for sale. Public Library bonds to the amount of \$2,475,000 were outstanding, as were \$8,750,000 of street railway bonds. Receipts from fares are expected to care for the interest and sinking fund requirements of the latter. In October, 1921, additional bonds for various purposes were sold at good prices. In November a referendum

vote gave approval of an issue of \$5,500,000 in bonds for the construction of a suitable building as a soldiers' memorial.

The gross appropriations and the tax levy for the fiscal year commencing on the first of July in each of the years named was as follows:

	Gross Appropriations	Tax Levy
1916.....	\$18,821,364	\$13,585,069
1917.....	31,381,058	16,218,778
1918.....	36,658,876	22,010,134
1919.....	41,119,482	25,501,273
1920.....	69,628,223	35,086,358
1921.....	65,339,634	40,163,706

The difference between the two amounts is made up by bond issues, receipts from the primary school interest fund, licenses, interest on daily balances and miscellaneous sources.

There were three conditions which account for much of the recent large increase in appropriations. The increase in salaries and the cost of construction work occasioned by war prices, the great increase in population and the annexation of 40 miles of new territory. Some of the increased costs were met by the bond issues to which reference is made above, but these were in addition to the expenditures for engine houses, police stations, for the maintenance of those two departments, for the support of the schools, for garbage collection and for all street and alley service. The distribution of some of the largest items in the appropriations for the fiscal year 1921-2 was as follows: public school fund, \$20,689,174; interest and sinking fund on the public debt, \$6,981,603; general road fund, including paving and cleaning streets and alleys, \$6,960,298; police department, \$5,877,622; fire department, \$4,604,582; health department, \$3,302,355; public lighting, \$2,198,900; water board, \$1,967,692; parks and boulevards, \$1,620,210; and welfare fund, \$1,567,802. The tax levy for the current year is \$21.67 on the thousand dollars of assessed valuation.

PRIMITIVE CURRENCY ISSUES

The settlement at Detroit had a varied experience with currency before any experiment with banking was ever tried. In the earliest trade with the Indians wampum had its use, and fire water cut an important part. Furs and peltries had a fairly well defined value in trading for other products, beaver skins establishing the best accepted standard. Tobacco also had some use as a medium of exchange. None of these, however, furnished a very convenient or flexible currency and, during the Revolution, Detroit merchants issued their own due bills which passed for currency in the community. In 1779 the governor officially recognized such issues, the amount allotted to each merchant being regulated by the estimated value of his stock on hand. The amount of coin in circulation was not large, and the practice arose of cutting Spanish dollars into halves, quarters and eights as a substitute for small coin.

THE FIRST BANKING VENTURE

It was under these conditions that the first proposition for a bank of issue was made. When the territory was organized the legislative powers which Congress conferred upon the governor and judges were construed by that body to include the granting of charters. At their meeting March 27, 1806, a petition was presented by six Boston gentlemen for authority to establish a bank with a

capital of \$400,000. The future historian of early Michigan banking, Gov. Alpheus Felch, with full knowledge of the business requirements and facilities of the time had this to say in his retrospect of the situation:

"This was at a time when the local business could scarcely have demanded a banking institution, or have afforded much promise of its success. The small town of Detroit had just been laid in ashes. The population of the entire territory was inconsiderable. The country was possessed mainly by the Indians, and the small French settlements were neither enterprising nor prosperous. No roads pierced the forests to the interior; no manufactures existed; agriculture yielded nothing for market, and navigation had scarcely begun to vex the waters of the rivers and the lakes. The multifarious transactions of commercial and civilized communities, which require bank and banking facilities, were almost unknown in the frontier settlement."

The only exception to this general statement was the fur trade, and that was financed mostly from the East. It was from Boston men, therefore, headed by Russel Sturgis, that the petition for a bank came. It was possible that the long distance of the locality from the centers of business may have been a consideration in seeking this charter. If the promoters could issue bills and give them circulation in the Atlantic states they would be slow in finding their way back to Detroit for redemption.

THE FIRST TERRITORIAL BANK

BY C. M. BURTON

An act of the governor and judges of Michigan territory was passed September 19, 1806, entitled "An Act Concerning the Bank of Detroit." It provided "That a bank shall be established at the city of Detroit, the capital stock whereof shall not exceed one million of dollars, to be divided into ten thousand shares." Subscription books should be opened the next day and be closed in four days thereafter. The official name of the corporation was the "President, Directors and Company of the Detroit Bank." The corporate life was fixed one hundred and one years. The officers were to consist of a president and four directors. Bills of the bank payable on demand "shall be receivable in all payments to the territory." The governor was authorized to make a subscription to the bank in behalf of the territory.

These were the prominent features of the act. There was no limit to the emission of bills, unless fixing the capital at one million of dollars can be construed as a limit. No security was required by the act for the redemption of the bills. This act was signed by William Hull, governor, Augustus B. Woodward, chief judge, and Frederick Bates, senior associate judge. It was attested by Peter Audrain, secretary of the governor and judges in their legislative department.

The petitioners for the incorporation of this bank were citizens of the eastern states, being Russel Sturgis, Henry Bass, Jr., Benjamin Wheeler, Samuel Coverly and Nathaniel Parker, all of Boston. Associated with them were Andrew Dexter, Andrew Dexter, Jr., and Samuel Dexter, personal friends of Judge Woodward. Some of these men had been engaged in the Michigan fur trade for years and experienced the necessity of a bank at Detroit. They asked for a bank with a capital of \$80,000 and not more than \$400,000.

The petition for the establishment of the bank is dated March 31, 1806,



SOUTHEAST CORNER GRISWOLD AND CONGRESS
ABOUT 1881, THEN THE LOCATION OF THE PEOPLES
SAVINGS BANK



SITE OF UNION TRUST BUILDING IN EARLY '90s
The Hammond Building at the left

showing that the matter was under discussion by the local authorities some time before the act of incorporation was passed.

William Flanagan, of Boston, was sent on here to take charge of the bank, to superintend its organization and to act as cashier. He gave a bond to the "bank which is contemplated to be organized," in the sum of fifteen thousand dollars and his bondsmen, in addition to the names above enumerated, were David S. Eaton, Eliphalet Williams, Dudley S. Bradstreet, George Odurne and Barzillia Holmes, also of Boston.

The stock was subscribed within the time limited by the law and many of the best informed citizens of Detroit became stockholders. Among others we find the names of:

James May.....	46 shares
John Griffin.....	10 shares
Solomon Sibley.....	100 shares
James Henry.....	100 shares
Samuel T. Dyson.....	10 shares
William Hull.....	5 shares
William Brown.....	50 shares
Elijah Brush.....	100 shares
Richard Pattinson.....	5 shares
Robert and James Abbott.....	10 shares
Territory of Michigan.....	10 shares
Henry B. Brevoort.....	10 shares
Willam McDowell Scott.....	1 share
Augustus B. Woodward.....	1 share

Woodward became the first president. The bank purchased two lots on the north side of Jefferson Avenue west of Randolph Street. That street was opened eleven feet further east than it is now, at first, and the vacated portion was added to lot twelve which now stands on the corner. The first deed recorded in the city registry is one from the governor and judges to the Detroit Bank of the lots eleven and twelve above described, November 10, 1806. The vacated street on the corner was conveyed to William Flanagan March 18, 1809. On these lots the corporation erected a small brick building (the first brick structure in the territory) and opened a bank. Immediately after the charter was granted bills to the amount of from \$80,000 to \$100,000 were issued and sent to Boston for disposal, the officers hoping that only a part of them would ever return to Detroit for redemption.

Some opposition to the formation of the bank, originating probably in Boston, reached Congress and on the 8th of February, 1807, a committee was appointed to present a bill disapproving of the bank act. Josiah Quincy was chairman of this committee. The disapproving bill was reported to the lower house on February 24, 1807. A few days later it passed the House and on the third of the following month it passed the Senate without noticeable opposition. This was the only Michigan act ever disapproved by Congress.

In December, 1808, the subject of the bank's title to its banking house and lot in the city was presented to the governor and judges in Detroit and the attorney general of the territory was requested to give an opinion as to the ownership of the land. His answer was as follows: "The Governor and Judges of Michigan on the 19th day of September, 1806, adopted a law incorporating a bank at Detroit under the name of The President, Directors and Company of

the Detroit Bank, to whom, as commissioners under the act of the Congress of the United States of the 21st of April, 1806, they did deed in fee simple absolute, two certain lots of ground in the city of Detroit. Subsequent to this and on the third day of March, 1807, the aforesaid law incorporating the Bank of Detroit aforesaid was negatived by Congress by reason whereof the said incorporation became dissolved; the question then is, in whom is the fee of these lots vested that were thus deeded as aforesaid to the corporation, they having never made any disposition of the same. Answer:—There are in general two kinds of incorporations, aggregate and sole; created either by the common law, by legislative authority, as by the acts of parliament, by prescription or by charter. To a corporation created by one of the foregoing means they have incident to them certain things, and that, too, without any express words in their charter to authorize them, as for example to purchase and alien lands, to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded; so likewise are they liable to lose their corporate franchise and be destroyed in a variety of different ways and means, as for example in a corporate sole by a reunion with itself, and antecedent corporate right granted out. So likewise in aggregate corporations by surrender, by forfeiture and last by the dissolution of its corporate franchise by legislative authority, which Mr. Blackstone considers as boundless in its operation.

“The question, then what is to become of the lands that a corporation thus dissolved were seized and possessed of at the time of its dissolution, these agreeable to the common law of England must revert to the grantor, donor or their heirs, for the law, saith the same learned authority, doth always annex a condition to every such grant, that if the corporation be dissolved the grantor shall have the lands again, because the cause of the grant faileth, which, in contemplation of the law, is only supposed to be made during the life of the corporation and this is said to be the only instance where a reversion can be expected on a grant in fee simple absolute.

“With very great respect

“I have the honor to be the Legislature’s most obedient and very humble servant,

“E. Brush.”

“To the Legislature of
the Michigan Territory.

Andrew Dexter, Jr., one of the original corporators, began buying up the stock which had been issued and had completed the purchase, with the exception of one share held by Judge Woodward, when on the 12th of April, 1809, a deed of the same property was made to him by the governor and judges. Subsequently a judgment was obtained against Dexter and a levy made upon the property. Dexter had conveyed the lots to Elijah Brush, who died in 1814, still holding the title. The creditors under the judgment assigned their claims to the Bank of Michigan and that institution began suit against Brush’s heirs to obtain the title alleging that Brush held it in trust only. Many years passed before the matter was finally determined and then, in 1833, under a decree of the supreme court the title passed to the Bank of Michigan.

After the charter of the Detroit Bank was annulled by Congress the bank officials continued to carry on the concern as a private bank. James Henry became president and a new issue of bills was made which were payable out of the assets of the bank, but for which the stockholders became personally liable. In the first issue the assets only of the bank were holden for the bills. An

attempt was made in the legislature, to pass a bill that would put an end to the bank, but the action failed because Judges Woodward and Griffin would not consent to it. Hull and Witherell, however, bided their time and on December 9, 1808, they passed "An Act for the punishment of Crimes and Misdemeanors." Section 28 of this act prohibits the issuance of bills by private banks under a penalty of twice the amount of the bills issued. A day or two afterward, James Henry; the president, William Brown, one of the directors and William Flanagan, the cashier of the bank, sent a petition to the Legislature asking that the act passed December 9th, be repealed. The act was not repealed and the bank necessarily went out of existence.

No attempt was made for some years to found another bank. The War of 1812 occupied every thought and attention and the destruction of property, and poverty of the citizens prevented, for years, the return of business or of prosperity. It was not until 1817 that the pressure of local business drove the people to take up again the organization of a bank.

OTHER EARLY BANKS

BY C. M. BURTON

An act to incorporate the Bank of Michigan was passed by the Legislature, then consisting of Lewis Cass, governor, and judges Augustus B. Woodward, John Griffin and James Witherell, December 19, 1817. The act provided that the capital stock should be one hundred thousand dollars, in shares of one hundred dollars. The first directors were Solomon Sibley, Stephen Mack, Henry J. Hunt, Abraham Edwards, John R. Williams, Philip Lecuyer and William Brown. The official name of the bank was "The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of Michigan." There is a detailed history of the bank in volume thirty of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society publication and it would be needless here to repeat it. Much has already been written concerning the defalcation of the cashier, James McCloskey. The bank was quite small as we reckon banks of today, and the stealing of \$10,300 nearly ruined it, or would have done so if the shortage had not at once been made good. The following notice on the subject was printed in the Michigan Herald:

"Bank of Michigan

"Detroit, May 19, 1825

"Messrs. Chipman and Seymour:—In answer to your request to be made acquainted with the later occurrences at this bank which has led to the removal of the cashier, James McCloskey, with a view to its publication, I am authorized by the board of directors to state that on the 17th inst. a defalcation was ascertained to exist and from subsequent investigation it was satisfactorily proved that the stigma arising from that fact alone, rests with the late cashier. And I will state for your satisfaction, and that of the public, that no injury will arise ultimately to this institution, nor any present inconvenience result from it.

"Respectfully your ob't servt.

"E. P. Hastings

"Pres."

John R. Williams was the first president and he retained the office for many years. During the time of his presidency, David Stone became a small stockholder and in 1823 began urging the increase of the capital stock. In a letter

of July 23, 1823, he calls attention to the fact that only \$15,000 has been paid in, in money, and that the expenses of carrying on the bank would be \$2100 per annum, making a loss that would entirely wipe out the principal in ten years. He understands that some one has offered the bank \$5,000 for its charter. This offer should be accepted, he thought, and the money divided among the stockholders, paying them about thirty-three cents on the dollar.

Williams was greatly incensed at this letter and told Mr. Stone that his premises were wrong and that the bank was making money, not losing. But, he said, "There can be no doubt that if the active capital could be increased it would be greatly to the advantage of the stockholders."

Mr. Stone's efforts to increase the size of the bank were successful. Henry Dwight of Geneva, was solicited to purchase two hundred shares of the stock and thus become a large, perhaps the largest, stockholder. The stock was purchased in the name of James Abbott, but this was only for the purpose of concealing the name of the real owner. Williams went to Geneva, in July, 1824 and from there writes: "Mr. Dwight informs me that the stock subscribed by Mr. James Abbott is for himself and his connections, but he does not wish to give publicity to the fact for the present." The arrangement for issuing and disposing of the bills of the bank were that \$1,000 in bills should be left at Geneva with Mr. Dwight and \$5,000 dollars of par money. The balance of the bills should be taken down to New York as soon as convenient.

When the time came to increase the capital stock, Williams resisted because he thought it would be putting the control of the bank in the hands of a monopolist and taking the management of affairs out of the hands of Detroit citizens. He resigned his office. His letter of resignation recites the reasons for it as follows:

"Detroit Nov. 7, 1824

"Gentlemen:

"It is now more than six years since I was first elected president of the Bank of Michigan and during that period I have been annually reelected. The operations of the institution commenced at an epoch remarkable in the history of the United States for its peculiar difficulties in a pecuniary point of view. Never, perhaps, since the period of the Revolution did the inhabitants of the United States, and particularly of her commercial cities, experience a more general or universal state of distress and bankruptcy. Our territory then inundated with depreciated currency, the stamp of uncertainty and loss was fixed upon every commercial transaction until some time after the establishment of the Bank of Michigan, when the introduction of a currency founded on a solid basis caused all the miserable and depreciated trash soon to disappear. The manner in which the affairs of the institution have hitherto been conducted, has secured public confidence and restored to our territory a fixed and respectable circulating medium. The widespread prejudice and distrust created by the mismanagement of a former banking system, have been done away with and the character of this community retrieved from unmerited obloquy and stigma.

"For several years past I have felt the responsibility of the trust confided in me—and as I have no personal interest to advance distinct from the general advantage of this community, I looked forward with solicitude to the moment when I might divest myself of a charge without incurring responsibility or reproach. That moment seems now to have arrived. The institution is in a



WAYNE COUNTY SAVINGS BANK AND MASONIC HALL IN '90s



MICHIGAN EXCHANGE, CORNER JEFFERSON AND SHELBY

flourishing condition and its credit established on the most flattering basis, the undivided confidence of community.

"I, however, feel myself bound to declare to you that I do not approve of any measure calculated to subject the institution to the disposition or control of any individual or company however high their standing or character may be. Monopolies are at all time injurious to the general interests of community and in the transfer of stock the monopolizing attempts of individuals should be guarded against.

"As it now appears to me that I can no longer be useful to the institution, I therefore feel free to retire. I therefore do gladly avail myself of the opportunity now offered to me to relinquish a charge which has been a great tax upon my time and frequently interfered with my private interest and domestic comfort. I cannot, however, take this step without expressing, however imperfectly, the feeling which, at this moment influences me and the recollection of the harmony and friendship which have for so many years attended our public and united labors will never be obliterated and will always claim a place among my happiest recollections. I leave you then, my fellow laborers, with best wishes for your future success in the management of the Bank of Michigan and prayers to the divine Disposer of all things for your individual happiness and prosperity.

"John R. Williams.

"P. S. At the same time I wish it to be distinctly understood that I entertain no other feelings than those of friendship, towards Mr. Dwight and that the course which I have taken is purely in obedience to what I conscientiously believe to be the only correct and proper view of the subject predicated on a fair construction of the charter.

"I also wish the Board of Directors to appoint a person to receive the papers in my possession belonging to the institution. After that is done I shall still have left the consolation of having served the institution and worn out my health and eyes upward of six years without the least compensation."

A meeting of the directors was held November 20th and presided over by Stephen Mack as president pro tem. The other directors present were Thomas Palmer, Philip Lecuyer, Peter J. Desnoyers and De Garmo Jones. Peter J. Desnoyers was elected president. James McCloskey was the cashier at that time, his defalcation being discovered a few days later. John R. Williams presented a bill for his services from the first Tuesday in June, 1818. Part of the first year he acted as both president and cashier. For the first year he charged \$1,000 and for each subsequent year \$500, making a total of \$4,000.

If the bank was prosperous before 1824, it was doubly so after its capital was increased. It was the only bank in the north west and its services were greatly needed. Even its large issue of bills was not sufficient to supply the needs of business and many dealers issued shin plasters to be used as fractional currency. The bank had, at various times, associated with it some of the very best men in the city and territory. We find Eurotus P. Hastings, Charles C. Trowbridge, Oliver Newberry and many others who were foremost in the city's business interests. The bank officials varied somewhat, although Trowbridge and Hastings were connected with it for some years and the following names appear as directors at different times: James Abbott, Peter J. Desnoyers, Henry J. Hunt, De Garmo Jones, Stephen Mack, Henry Stanton, Ralph Wadhams, Darius Lamson and William Brewster.

The following is the report of the finances of the bank, made at the request of the Legislative Council in 1827.

Bills at par and funds in deposit in New York.....	\$21,617.74
Bills in Specie paying banks.....	1,266.00
Specie on hand.....	18,356.85
Total.....	\$41,240.59
Debts due the Bank in sending drafts in transit.....	68,008.46
Bills discounted.....	55,043.02
Forfeited stock.....	2,520.00
Banking house and furniture.....	3,180.41
Capital stock actually paid in.....	69,900.00
Bills in circulation.....	66,880.00
Amount of deposits.....	28,951.64

In the original act of incorporation the charter was granted to expire in June, 1839, and the capital was limited to \$500,000. In 1831 the Council extended the charter to twenty-five years beyond the date fixed in the original act, and in 1834 the authorized capital was increased three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. In this act of 1834, a branch bank was authorized to be established at Bronson (now Kalamazoo) in the County of Kalamazoo. On June 23, 1837, the bank suspended specie payment.

The report of the Bank Commissioner in December, 1837, gives the total assets of the bank as \$1,719,722 and the principal items of the liabilities as follows:

Capital stock paid in.....	\$500,000.00
Circulation.....	410,330.00
Deposits.....	169,439.41
Due the United States Treasury and public officers.....	539,536.73

In 1836 Trowbridge had resigned as cashier and Henry K. Sanger supplied his place. Both men were honest, capable and diligent. The directors of the bank were men of ability and experience and yet, with every effort that they could make, the bank was forced to close its doors. It would be unprofitable here to enter into a long discussion of the causes that led to the downfall of this bank and of the ruin and desolation that spread over the entire country following the panic in 1836 and the following years. It was not alone this bank, but all the other banks and commercial houses of the country that suffered and failed or were barely able to weather the great financial tornado.

Governor Mason in his message in 1839 says:

"The unparalleled agitation which has existed throughout the country for the past two years makes it my imperative duty to call your attention to the subject of the currency. It certainly is one of the highest duties of the legislature to guard the public against the evils of a spurious and vitiated currency. Ours has hitherto chiefly consisted of the paper issues of the State banks. These institutions, if properly conducted, are not only highly useful, but may be considered as essential to the prosperity of the country. The object of legislation should therefore be, not to destroy, but to correct the abuses incident to the present system of banking.

"In reviewing the history of the embarrassments that have so recently

convulsed the American continent, the distant observer must be struck with little wonder when seeing a nation at the very height of its prosperity, and almost without any apparent cause, suddenly plunged into bankruptcy and ruin. To him, however, who watched the progress of events at home, the approaching catastrophe was inevitable.

"But a short time previous to the revulsion throughout the country, our commercial affairs and trade in general, were greatly extended and chiefly conducted on credit. The means for sustaining this state of things were furnished by the immense amount of paper currency issued by the innumerable banks established by the different states. This increase of currency, if it can be called a currency, occasioned increase of prices, fluctuations in the circulating medium and finally a total derangement of the laws of trade and as the profits of the banks were in proportion to their discounts, the approaching demand for specie, by a return of their issues, was overlooked. The period arrived, however, when the demand for specie to pay foreign debts, must be made and the inability in the banks to meet it, produced the general suspension of specie payments which has been so destructive to the country.

"No state, perhaps, has suffered more from the evils of a deranged currency than our own."

One of the many things that led to the financial embarrassment of the times was the continued quarrel between President Andrew Jackson and the Bank of the United States. The bank charter expired in 1836 and a renewal of it, though passed by both houses of Congress by a good majority, was vetoed by the President. The President ordered the deposits of the United States that were in that bank removed and distributed among certain state banks. The Secretary of the Treasury refused to obey the order of the President and resigned his office. His successor, Roger B. Taney, was more compliant and the moneys were removed. The immediate result was widespread commercial embarrassment and distress.

In Detroit the public was called to meet at the Capitol, April 4th, 1834, "to remonstrate against the acts of the President in removing the deposits."

This was the largest meeting that had ever been held in the city up to that time. Levi Cook presided, Shubael Conant was first vice president and John Palmer was second vice president. The secretaries were Henry V. Disbrow and Horace Hallock.

Twenty-four men were appointed to prepare a memorial and resolutions. These men were Oliver Newberry, Theodore Williams, Jacob M. Howard, William S. Abbott, Alexander D. Fraser, Tunis S. Wendell, Jerry Dean, John Watson, Phineas Davis, Jr., Job F. Howland, Lewis Godard, Nathaniel T. Ludden, Alanson Sheley, Edward Bancroft, Horace Hallock, Thomas S. Knapp, Benjamin Woodworth, George L. Whitney, Enoch Jones, Abram C. Conniff, Henry Howard, Frederick H. Steevens, John Farrar and J. T. Penny.

The memorial to Congress drafted by this committee, deprecated the avowed hostility of the President to the Bank of the United States and maintained that the action of hostility had unsettled business and caused distress and bankruptcy to overspread the nation. It charges President Jackson with attempting to usurp all the powers of government. Nor was this opinion confined to the citizens of Detroit. It was the freely received and expressed opinion of many of the best people of the country that Jackson was establishing a "one man power"; that he was attempting to manage the affairs of government without consulting

either house of Congress and was relying upon his popularity and the interest he took in the "common people" to maintain himself in office. The government deposits were divided among the various state banks and the Bank of Michigan, as we see by the report of 1837, obtained over \$539,000 of these funds. The bank paid interest on this amount to the general government and used the money in its ordinary business. This distribution had spread the surplus of the United States Treasury far and wide over the country and a period of speculation of the wildest sort immediately followed. The government debt was completely extinguished and the surplus began to pile higher and higher.

Much of the wild speculation was in western lands and any one curious to ascertain the facts regarding this species of speculation can find sufficient proof by examining the land records of Wayne County for the years 1835-6 and 7. "Every one knew that the public lands had hitherto been the great source of the surplus and expected that it would continue to be so in the future." (Von Holst Vol. 2, p. 187).

Speculation was the order of the day. How to make debts, not how to pay them, was the effort of every one. Jackson undertook to remedy this evil in a manner than only tended to increase the trouble. "Bank notes had been issued in enormous quantities and it was necessary to check the evil." On the eleventh day of July, 1836 the President had a circular issued to the various land offices, directing the receivers of public moneys to accept nothing but specie for lands they were selling. Immediately the persons who were to purchase these lands applied to the bank for specie in exchange for their bank bills. The drain on the banks was too severe to be withstood for any length of time and they were forced to suspend specie payment. The bank did not at once close its doors but obtained a large sum of money, \$300,000 or more, from the Dwights, its eastern stockholders, to bring it back to its normal condition. Its assets consisted largely of real estate and real estate securities, neither of which could be readily sold.

Eurotus P. Hastings, who had been president for some time, gave up his office to Charles C. Trowbridge. It was, however, useless to try to save the institution. In 1841 the bank made an assignment of its property to Charles C. Trowbridge, John Owen and Robert Stuart in trust for its many creditors. The trustees attempted to dispose of the real estate and mortgages and were fairly successful for a time, until Scott began a suit in the court of Chancery to declare the conveyance to the trustees void because of partiality in the payment of creditors. The court appointed Shubael Conant receiver and the trustees assigned all of the property to him. He settled the balance of the property that came into his hands and the bank ceased to exist.

The first banking office of the Bank of Michigan was on the northwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Randolph Street. In 1831 the bank erected a stone building on the south side of Jefferson Avenue.

In 1836 the bank purchased the lot on the southwest corner of Griswold Street and Jefferson Avenue and erected the building now located there. The history of this lot is to be found on another page of this work.

The third banking establishment organized in Detroit was The Farmers & Mechanics' Bank.

In the article on the Bank of Michigan it was stated that John R. Williams resigned the presidency of the bank upon the increase of stock and the turning over of the institution to the Eastern capitalists. He also presented a claim for

\$4,000 for his personal services, which was not paid and upon which he subsequently began a suit. At this time he was liable to the bank for a note or endorsement which we wanted to pay by offsetting his personal claim. In the early part of 1827, Mr. Williams was in New York, but hearing of illness in his family he hastened home and upon his arrival wrote a letter to Hermanns Bleecker, his attorney in Albany, which shows the state of ill feeling that existed between the Bank and himself. This letter is dated May 28, 1827 and in it he says: "You will perhaps be somewhat surprised to learn that a couple of days after my arrival in New York, I was again arrested at the suit of the President, Directors & Co., of the Bank of Michigan for the same note and matters for which I was arrested and gave bail at Albany. I waited on the attorney of Mr. Ward, the agent of the bank, in the same building opposite the Exchange on the left side of the second floor fronting Wall Street, who, after being informed of the facts in relation to the matter, observed to the sheriff that he would pay the costs, remarking that it was Mr. Ward's fault, who had urged that I should be arrested that very day. The attorney seemed to think it extraordinary that their attorney at Albany had neglected to apprize them of the state of the case. The sequel will show that the matter was not to rest there. I arrived at Buffalo on the night of the 22d inst. and on the 23d, being about to embark on board the Superior for Detroit, was again arrested on a writ at the suit of the same President, Directors & Co. for the same demand. As the suit was for \$4,500 the sheriff required bail to the amount of \$9,000, which I was compelled to find or remain in custody. So that I have been arrested three times at different places on the same demand and probably would have been arrested at every village and town through which I passed if they had been apprized when I passed by. Is not such conduct more than malicious and villainous?" With this display of viciousness on the part of the Bank it is hardly to be wondered at that Mr. Williams felt inclined to do whatever he could to injure the bank that he had founded and for which he had worked so long. Williams was a man of great energy, wealthy and of more than ordinary political ability, as is evident by the number of times he held the office of mayor in the City. The formation of a new and rival bank was then, to him, "a consummation devoutly to be wished."

An act of the Legislative Council was passed November 5, 1829 for the establishment of "The President, Directors and Company of the Farmers & Mechanics' Bank of Michigan." The charter was granted to John R. Williams, Levi Cook, Orville Cook, Henry V. Disbrow, John Hale, Elliot Gray, Tunis S. Wendell, Daniel Thurston and Henry Sanderson, who were the first directors.

The capital stock was \$100,000 and not to exceed \$500,000.

One tenth of the stock subscribed for was to be paid in specie.

Of the directors, a majority must be residents of Michigan.

All banks chartered before 1849 were banks of issue and in the case of the Farmers & Mechanics' Bank no bank note should be issued for less than one dollar. The total issue and all other outstanding debts should never be more than three times the amount of stock issued less the specie on hand.

The life of the bank was fixed at twenty years.

A copy of the charter was sent to Ebenezer Johnson at Buffalo and he soon wrote to John R. Williams on the subject of subscribing to the stock. He said he was sorry to see the name of Daniel Thurston as a director, as he thought they would not get along with him. Johnson said that he and his brother, Elisha Johnson, of Rochester would take one half of the stock.

In January, 1830, Ebenezer Johnson made another proposition to subscribe for three-fourths of the stock and pay the required money in order to open the bank. He asked that he name the president, John R. Williams and the cashier, Henry M. Sizer. Regarding Mr. Sizer he said that he was a young gentleman of good address, in whom he had great confidence.

Upon the receipt of this offer the board of directors was called in session and a resolution passed February 2, 1830, accepting the proposition and directing the necessary public notice to be given of the opening of the books for subscriptions. At this board meeting all of the directors were present except Gray, Thurston and Sanderson. Johnson was notified of this action of the directors and Williams thought he could divert from twenty to thirty thousand dollars in good loans from the old bank to this bank at once. He said he was willing to act as president but only upon condition that his services were paid for. In the following July, Elisha Johnson visited Detroit for the purpose of subscribing for three-fourths of the stock of the new bank for himself and his brother.

The bank paid fair dividends till the collapse of 1837, suspended payments in 1839, but kept its charter alive, renewed business in 1849 and wound up its affairs in 1869, with all debts paid and a moderate return to stockholders. It was the longest lived of any of the early banks.

The Michigan Insurance Company of Detroit was incorporated by an act of the Legislative Council March 7, 1834. The incorporators and first directors were: John R. Williams, Barnabe Campau, Levi Cook, Enoch Jones, Peter J. Desnoyers, James Abbott, John Palmer, Oliver Newberry, Henry Howard, Solomon E. Mason, Hart L. Stewart, Stilman Blanchard, Oliver Johnson, Anson Brown, Michael Dousman, Christian Clemens and William Draper.

John R. Williams was the first president.

It will be seen from the list of names that several of the incorporators were not residents of Detroit.

The object of the association, as stated in the preamble of the act, was "to enable them the better to carry on and to extend the business of insurance on land and water, and of insurance upon houses, goods and lives, which are the useful purposes of their institution."

It was to exist until the first day of June, 1860.

The stock, estate and property of the concern should never exceed \$500,000.

The general object of the association is stated in the preamble, but the company was also authorized to ransom persons in captivity.

The corporation could not begin business until \$20,000 dollars of the capital stock was paid in.

There was no provision in the act permitting the corporation to engage in banking.

MICHIGAN STATE BANK

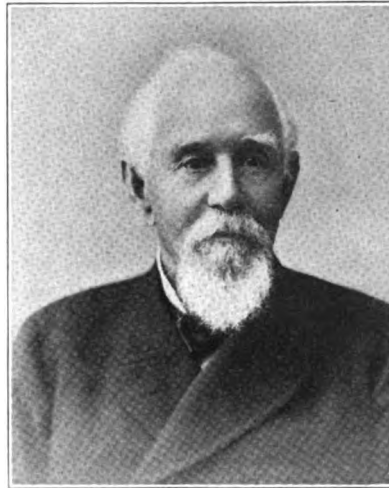
The first intimation we have of the organization of this bank is the somewhat imperfect record of a meeting at Woodworth's Hotel. This record is as follows:

"At a public meeting held at Woodworth's Steam Boat Hotel, pursuant to public notice, on Monday evening 16th March 1835, in relation to obtaining a charter to incorporate the stockholders to the Michigan State Bank.

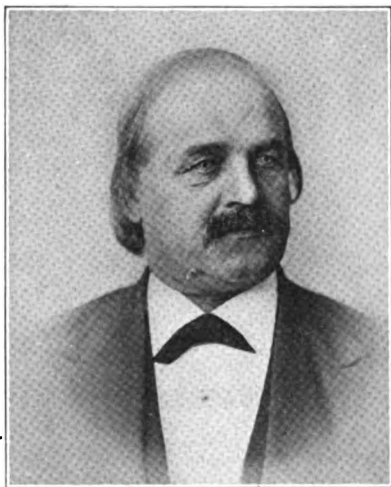
John R. Williams was called to the chair and John Truax appointed secretary. The object of the meeting having been stated by the chairman, on motion a committee was appointed to draft and report resolutions to this meeting. The



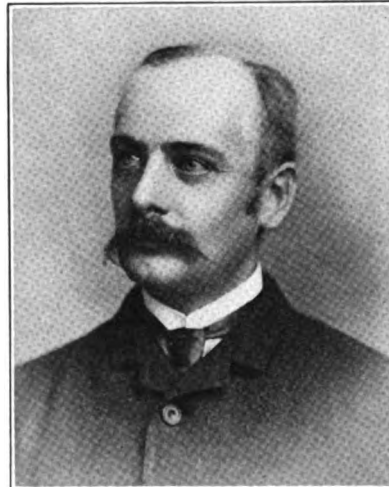
Hugh McMillan



Hiram Walker



John S. Newberry



Henry B. Ledyard

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN

memorial which was prepared on this occasion, and of which only the first draft appears to be in existence, reads as follows:

"To the Honorable, The Legislative Council of Michigan. The Memorial of the undersigned citizens of the United States inhabitants of Michigan.

"Respectfully sheweth

"That from the great and rapid increase of the population and improvements of the Territory; the expansion of commerce on our waters and the growing importance of the City of Detroit as a point of concentration to emigrants from the States of the Union and from Europe; experience of the past and the prospects of the future importance that await our territory become every day more striking and less problematical. But it devolves upon the inhabitants that now occupy the busy stage of life to fulfill their part in order to satisfy the judgment of posterity and carry into effect the beneficent favors of Providence:

"Your Memorialists deem it unnecessary to expatiate on the natural or acquired advantages of the State which is about being formed and which will add another star to the bright constellation of independent sovereignties that constitute our Union. The transition about to take place is too important to fail in attracting our interest and vigilant attention. In view of the great developments, which are evidently near at hand, the present is therefore an epoch highly interesting to the people of Michigan. The prospects before us should stimulate every good citizen to exertion. And above all the Legislative authority should, we respectfully suggest, second the efforts of our enterprising citizens. The increasing exigencies of the country and City of Detroit for moneyed capital are universally acknowledged. Were it necessary to offer any argument to show that there is a great want of capital in this city, it would be sufficient, perhaps, to advert to the fact that for some time past considerable sums have been loaned by individuals in the city to safe borrowers at the enormous rate of sixty per cent per annum, notwithstanding the statutory provision fixing the legal rate of interest at seven per cent. The existence of such usurious practices in the face of the law affords the strongest grounds to show the absolute and indispensable necessity of an increase of the monied capital of the country.

"It is a well established fact that the demand for houses and tenements within the city has been such that capital vested in dwelling houses and other buildings yields from twelve to twenty per cent to the owner, and the demand for houses continues almost unabated notwithstanding that the navigation is being closed.

"The value of property, or the incentive to acquire it, is greatly diminished unless it can be represented by a fair proportion of monied capital wherever it may be situated. The assessed value of property in the city alone is nearly two million dollars. The amount of the capital stock paid in the two banks now in operation here is said to be three hundred thousand dollars and even allowing for the excess which they are permitted to issue by the provisions of their respective charters, it is evident that their capital must be entirely inadequate to the circumstances of the country or the wants of the community at large, inasmuch as a large proportion of their issues are loaned to inhabitants of Ohio and the whole interior of the Territory.

"For these and various other good reasons that may be adduced, your Memorialists beg leave to ask your Honorable Body to grant an act to incor-

porate a bank to be located in the City of Detroit, with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars—with privilege to increase the same under certain regulations to five hundred thousand dollars, to be styled the State Bank of Michigan.”

The charter for the bank was granted March 26, 1835. The original incorporators were John R. Williams, John Hale, Robert McMillen, Edward C. Mathews, Ellis Doty, Barnabas Campau, Abraham S. Schoolcraft, Cullen Brown and John Truax. The capital stock was fixed at one hundred thousand dollars, one-tenth to be paid in specie. The capital might be increased to five hundred thousand dollars. The official name of the company was changed somewhat from the memorial, and was “The President, Directors & Company of the Michigan State Bank.”

In one particular General Williams carried out a provision that he desired and that he found lacking in the charter of the Bank of Michigan, and that was that the majority of the directors should be residents of Michigan.

The existence of the bank was limited to twenty years from March 26, 1835.

The bank had great encouragement from New York capitalists at once. General Williams was so well and so favorably known that people of means were willing to go into almost any enterprise in which he was interested. He placed the matter of the organization of the bank before Thomas W. Olcott, one of the wealthy men of Albany and at that time cashier of the Farmers & Mechanics' Bank of Albany. Mr. Olcott's reply to Williams' proposal was as follows:

“Albany, May 16, 1835.

“John R. Williams, Esq.

“Dear Sir:

“Since the receipt of your letter, in which you intimated a desire to have some of your bank stock taken in this quarter, I have mentioned the matter to Erastus Corning, Esq., President of the City Bank at this place, John Delafield, Esq., Cashier of the Phenix Bank of New York and two other gentlemen, James Porter and Lot Clark, who have consented to take with me \$10,000 each, making \$50,000, or one-half of your capital stock. This alliance will embrace interests here the nature and importance of which to your Bank and to those concerned in it, you will know how to appreciate, and I would add that it will give us pleasure to furnish such reasonable and temporary facilities as you and your friends may require to enable you to take an interest equal to your wishes in the stock of the bank. We do not suppose that you will be pressed with applications for stock, but in case you are we should not particularly object to having our share reduced to \$7,000 or \$8,000 each though we should prefer each \$10,000. For the subscription money for us and for yourself and friends, should it be required, please draw at sight on Mr. Corning and myself. I presume you can, without inconvenience, obtain the specie at the Banks in your place.

“On receipt of this please write me what we have to expect and believe me, whether we obtain stock or not,

“With great regards,

“Yr. O. B. S.,

“Tho. W. Olcott.

“I do not wish our name mentioned or used unless there is a clear prospect of success. If you use the names, which you are authorized to do, I repeat they are Erastus Corning, Jno. Delafield, Lot Clark, James Porter and my own.”

The bank was most unfortunate in beginning business just before the general financial collapse that followed the year 1836. It was unable to stand the pressure of the hard times and in 1839 it was forced into the hands of an assignee. It was indebted to the State of Michigan in the sum of \$500,000. In February, 1840, the legislature authorized the auditor general, state treasurer and secretary of state to settle with the bank on the best available terms. The charter of the bank had been declared forfeited because of its failure to pay in specie as provided in the charter. The bank refused to settle with the state until its charter was renewed or its forfeiture annulled. A month later (March, 1840) another act was passed revoking the annulment of the bank charter on condition that it settle with the state and resume specie payment before April 1, 1841. It was subsequently decided by the supreme court that the state could not invalidate the bank's charter for the cause alleged. The bank resumed specie payment within the required time, but did not undertake to resume the banking business as the suit with the state, over the settlement of its accounts, was pending in the courts. During the years of waiting it redeemed its circulation. Its stock was sold at about fifteen per cent of its face value to a new set of stockholders and in 1845 the bank was again ready to open its doors with a ready capital of \$70,000 and a prospect of \$100,000 in a short time. The men who were now connected with the bank were Henry P. Baldwin, James F. Joy, Henry Ledyard, Frederick Buhl, George F. Porter, Zachariah Chandler and Christian H. Buhl. Charles C. Trowbridge was the president and Alexander H. Adams, cashier.

As soon as it was ascertained that the bank was preparing to begin anew, Gov. John S. Barry called the attention of the attorney-general, Henry N. Walker, to the matter by a letter dated October 6, 1845, in which he said: "I am decidedly of opinion that the revival of this institution will be attended with the most disastrous consequences to the public and that it is your duty at once to institute the necessary judicial proceedings to prevent such a result by procuring a forfeiture of its charter to be judicially declared, if on examination of the subject a reasonable probability of success shall be found to exist." The attorney-general began suit October 14, 1845, to test the right of the bank to continue in business. This bank continued until the charter expired in 1855.

FIRST GENERAL BANKING LAW BY WILLIAM STOCKING

When the territory of Michigan made ready for statehood, there were in existence fifteen incorporated banks, four or five of which had branches. The total amount of capital which they were authorized to employ was about \$7,000,000, which would seem to be ample for a population of less than one hundred thousand in sparsely settled territory. But the speculative spirit was rampant and there was a cry for more money. To meet the demand the Legislature of 1837 passed a general law, granting what was practically free banking but containing safeguards which were thought to be sufficient. It permitted any twelve or more freeholders residing within a county to organize, take subscriptions to the stock of a bank and to select directors and officers. The minimum capital allowed was \$50,000 and the maximum \$300,000. Before any bank could go into operation, the whole capital stock was required to be subscribed, and thirty per cent on each share paid in specie. Before an association commenced banking it was the duty of the bank commissioner to visit

the banking house, count the specie, and make such examinations into its affairs and condition as would satisfy him that the requirements of the act had been complied with in good faith; and, if he should be satisfied with regard to these facts, to make certificate of the same, and give public notice of it in the state paper, and in the county newspaper, and give a like certificate to the association.

The directors, before entering upon the duties of office, were required to make oath or affirmation that they would, once at least every three months, examine fully into the condition and operations of the bank, and write in a book kept for the purpose a true statement of its condition, and subscribe their names to the same; and that they would faithfully perform all the duties of their offices, and faithfully report to the bank commissioner whenever they should discover any violation or abuse of privilege granted the association by the act. When the preliminary requisitions of the act had been complied with by the president, directors and stockholders they were to file a certificate in the office of the secretary of state, stating the name, location, and amount of capital stock of the association, of which the secretary of state was required to give public notice. The amount of bills and notes issued or put in circulation as money, or the amount of loans and discounts at any time was never to exceed two and a half times the capital stock then paid in and actually possessed.

Provision was made for the appointment of three commissioners, whose duties were prescribed by law, and every association was prohibited from issuing any bill or note without the endorsement of a bank commissioner's name upon the back of the same, in his official capacity. Before he endorsed any bill or note he was required to examine the vault of the banking association and ascertain the amount of specie then on hand, and administer an oath to a majority of the directors to the effect that a certain amount named was on that day possessed in specie by the bank, and that it was the property of the bank, that it had been paid in by its stockholders toward the payment of their respective shares, or that the same had been received in legitimate business and not for any other purposes, and that it was intended to remain a part or whole of the capital of the association. The commissioners were further required to make an examination of every bank at least once in three months, and whenever required by the Governor.

The bill passed the Legislature with only four negative votes, one of which was cast by Alpheus Felch, who, as one of the first bank commissioners, was afterwards instrumental in exposing abuses and breaking up the system.

"THE WILD CAT BANKS"

The law remained in force only about a year, but in that time forty-nine banks were organized with aggregate capital of \$4,000,000. This, with the chartered banks, gave a total capital of \$11,000,000, at least three times as much as the legitimate business of the state called for.

Although the law seemed, on the face of it, to be well guarded, every one of its restraining provisions was recklessly disregarded. When the commissioners came to make their examinations a few weeks later they were led a merry chase. It was learned afterwards that when they started on their tour of examination they were trailed by spies, and their movements were anticipated so that accounts could be cooked up to await their inspection. A number of the devices to which resort was had were illustrated in the Bank of Brest.

This was located in a paper town at the mouth of Swan Creek, seven miles from Monroe, a town that was never on any authentic map of Michigan. The bank was organized with a nominal capital of \$100,000. On August 2, 1837, the commissioners examined the bank and found that its principal resources consisted of loans on bonds, \$16,000; bank stock, \$10,000; specie, \$12,900. It appears that of the specie \$10,500 belonged to Lewis Godard, and had been received by the bank the day before examination, and was drawn out the day after examination. The \$16,000 loan on bond and mortgage was a loan to secure the trustees of the town of Brest, to secure which the bank received an assignment of the bonds executed by Lewis Godard for the sum of \$35,400, and also of mortgages of 118 city lots in Brest. On the day after the examination the directors assigned the bond and mortgage back to the trustees of Brest, having received nothing for the same. Seven days later an unexpected investigation of the affairs of the bank showed that the amount of specie on hand amounted to \$138.89, while the whole amount of bills of the bank which were in circulation was \$84,241. The same \$10,900 in specie that was counted in the assets of this bank did similar service a few days later in the Bank of Clinton, where it reposed during the one day when the examiners were there, and was taken away the next day.

The bank of Sandstone at Jackson never had any specie, and although its liabilities exceeded \$38,000 it had no assets of any kind at the time when it was examined. The Exchange Bank of Shiawassee threw open its safe to disclose only seven coppers and a very small amount of paper, while it had bills in circulation to the amount of \$22,261. The Jackson County Bank placed before the commissioners a number of ponderous and well-filled boxes, but on opening them and examining their contents the top was found covered with silver dollars, but below was nothing but nails and glass. Another box containing silver was then brought from another room and sworn to by a director, but he afterward brought an action for it against the receiver of the bank, claiming it as his own individual property. This bank, with an indebtedness of some \$70,000, had not more than \$5,000 of available assets. The use of stock notes for capital and specie certificates and specie checks in lieu of coin was common. Perjury and fraud prevailed throughout the system, and in the windup not one of the forty-nine banks met all its obligations. The memory of these "wild cat" banks and currency remained for long a stain upon the financial reputation of the state.

One result of this orgy was that the constitution of 1850 contained a clause prohibiting the enactment of any general banking law without first submitting it to popular vote, as though a referendum could always insure wise legislation and vote integrity into the men who are to act under it. It was under that provision that the banking laws of 1858 and 1888 were adopted. The latter was modeled largely upon the National Bank Act of 1862, and under its provisions has grown up the system of solid state banks now existing.

The complete failure of the wild cat banks discredited the charter banks. At the end of 1839 only four of these and four organized under the general law survived, and of these eight, four failed within the next year. The banking system had to be built up anew. Of the ultimate result of this experience Judge Cooley said in his "History of Michigan": "But the lessons it taught needed to be learned at some time and were not likely to be learned except with experience as teacher. One of its lessons was that neither real estate nor

anything else not immediately convertible into money can support the credit of bank currency. But for the experience in several states in 1837-38 who shall say that the National Currency Act, when it came to be passed, might not have been as little guarded against dangerous schemes as some of its state predecessors?"

THE OLDEST BANK IN MICHIGAN

In a special souvenir booklet written for distribution at the time of the removal of the bank to its new quarters at State and Griswold, Mr. George B. Catlin wrote as follows concerning the Detroit Savings Bank:

"On March 5, 1849, the Detroit Savings Fund Institute was founded and articles of incorporation were filed. Governor Epaphroditus Ransom, who signed the authorizing act, appointed the following trustees to take charge of the affairs of the new institution: Elon Farnsworth, ex-chancellor of the state, Shubael Conant, Dr. Zina Pitcher, David Smart, Charles Moran, George M. Rich, John Palmer, Levi Cook, James A. Hicks, Benjamin B. Kercheval and Gurdon Williams. The Savings Fund Institute differed from the other banks in that it was a simple trust, without capital stock and modeled after the early banking systems in New England. There is still a survival of this system in New York and some other states where the state banks have no capitalization or stockholders, the latter being represented by depositors who share alike in the profits under a strictly cooperative plan.

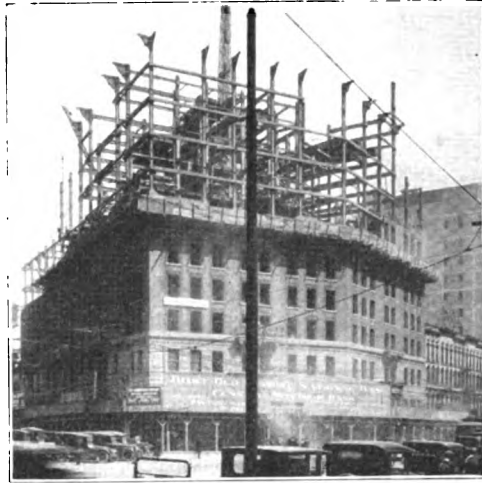
"The late Alpheus Felch, governor of Michigan in 1845-47, wrote as follows regarding Chancellor Farnsworth: 'When the court of chancery was established in 1836, public attention was at once directed to him as the man most eminently qualified for the duties of the presiding officer of a court of equity. Always calm, deliberate and cautious, counsel and litigants had perfect confidence in his ability and integrity. None but those who were in the wrong ever feared the result of his deliberations or the announcement of his decision. So satisfactorily did he discharge the duties of this office that although compelled to resign in 1843, he was urgently pressed to resume the position, and thenceforward he continued as chancellor until the court was abolished. Soon after this, when the Detroit Savings Fund Institute was incorporated by special act of the legislature, he was induced to accept the presidency and remained in office until his death in 1877, a period of twenty-eight years.

"The characteristics governing him as chancellor were carried into the administration of the bank during its formative period and have always influenced his successors. As a banker he was clear-headed, prudent, of sound judgment, inflexible in the discharge of his duties, straightforward and above reproach. He left a record most clean as a man of spotless honor and complete integrity.'

"Chancellor Farnsworth became president in March, 1849, and Alexander H. Adams cashier in April, 1855. Up to the year 1855 the bank had no cashier. Mr. Adams came to Detroit from Cincinnati in 1836. For a time he was connected with the Michigan Central Railway and later he became cashier of the old Michigan State Bank. He was junior warden and treasurer of Christ Church from the time of its organization up to the time of his death in 1883. He lived at 207 East Larned Street forty-five years, and he was widely known and universally respected. The other incorporators are men whose names have figured prominently and honorably in the upbuilding of the City of Detroit.



**OLD RUSSELL HOUSE (SITE OF FIRST
NATIONAL BANK BUILDING)**



**DEMOLITION OF PONTCHARTRAIN
HOTEL FOR THE NEW FIRST NATIONAL
BANK BUILDING, MAY 15, 1920**



RUSSELL HOUSE IN 1881



PONTCHARTRAIN HOTEL



**THE NEW FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING ERECTED
1921 ON SITE OF OLD RUSSELL HOUSE AND PONTCHAR-
TRAIN HOTEL**

"For a long time after its founding, the bank had no competition in its chosen field and it was the sole place of deposit for wage earners and small tradesmen, the purpose for which it was originally intended. The following men subsequently held office as trustees of the bank as the original members of the board passed away: Henry N. Walker, Governor Henry P. Baldwin, Henry Ledyard, Samuel Lewis, Henry P. Bridge, Edward Lyon, Willard Parker, Edmund Trowbridge, Alex Chapoton, Sr., Thomas Ferguson, George Jerome, W. K. Muir, Alex. Lewis and Sidney D. Miller. All these men have joined the great majority, leaving behind them honorable records as men and citizens.

"The affairs of the Detroit Savings Institute were always managed conservatively and it soon became one of the city's solid financial institutions. It was reorganized July 10, 1871, under a statute approved at the session of Legislature immediately preceding. A new charter was taken out under the title 'The Detroit Savings Bank,' with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars and with the double liability clause incorporated in the new law for the protection of depositors in savings institutions. On the death of Chancellor Farnsworth in 1877, Alex. H. Adams was elected president, and he also acted as cashier until 1882, when he resigned that office but continued to act as president until his death in 1883. During all these years Mr. Adams was practical manager of the bank with unlimited power and discretion. The trustees of the old institution and the directors of the bank which succeeded it having entire confidence in his ability and good judgment.

"Upon the death of Mr. Adams, the board of trustees elected Sidney D. Miller as his successor. Mr. Miller had been a trustee and attorney for the board since 1855. Mr. Miller was a native of Michigan, having been born at Monroe in 1830. His father, Dan Bramble Miller, known as "Honest Dan," had a bank, a flour mill and a general store at Monroe. Mr. Miller graduated from Michigan University in the literary class of 1848 and afterward studied law at Harvard. He was a practicing attorney when he became a member of the board of trustees of the Detroit Savings Fund Institute. Before that appointment he had been attorney for the Michigan State Bank and in 1861 he married Mrs. Katherine Rodgers, daughter of Charles C. Trowbridge, president of that bank. He had acted as counsellor and attorney for railway and other large corporations but his service with the Detroit Savings Fund Institute was his first banking connection. After he became president of the Detroit Savings Bank he gave up the practice of law.

"For more than thirty-five years Mr. Miller was a vestryman of Christ Episcopal Church and a member of the standing committee of the diocese. He was president of the Young Men's Society when it was the leading literary organization of Detroit and it was largely through his efforts, while a member of the board of education that the public library was founded. He was also a member of the police board from 1868 until 1891 and in that capacity he was instrumental in the establishment of the signal box system. Like his predecessor in office Mr. Miller had the entire confidence of the board of directors and the management of the bank was left largely to his discretion.

"The present directors of the Detroit Savings Bank are: Paul F. Bagley, George S. Baker, David S. Carter, D. C. Delamater, Charles A. Dean, Frederick T. Ducharme, John M. Dwyer, George T. Hendrie, Robert Henkel, Sidney T. Miller, James T. McMillan, Francis Palms, Jerome H. Remick, Ralph Stoepel and David M. Whitney. The officers are: D. C. Delamater, chairman of the

board; George S. Baker, president; Charles A. Dean, vice president; John M. Dwyer, chairman of executive committee; James H. Doherty, vice president and cashier; Thomas F. Hancock, John C. Dilworth, Wilson Fleming, William H. Watson and Kenneth Paton, assistant cashiers; Edward J. Dee, superintendent of branch banks; Fred C. Andrews, credit manager; H. N. Baxendale, auditor; and Clarence D. Atwood, auditor of branches."

This bank, which rightfully styles itself now as the "oldest bank in Michigan," moved, in the early part of 1921, from its old location in the Penobscot Building to the former Chamber of Commerce Building, which structure has been renamed the Detroit Savings Bank Building. The capital stock of the bank is now \$1,500,000.

FIRST NATIONAL BANK IN DETROIT

With the passage of the National Bank Act in 1862 commenced the history of modern banking. From that time on Detroit became more and more the banking and business center of the state and the remainder of this history will concern chiefly the institutions in this metropolis.

The Articles of Association of the First National Bank were signed June 21, 1863, the first meeting of the stockholders was held September 2d and the bank opened for business October 5th. The capital was \$100,000, Philo Parsons was president and Henry C. Kibbee, cashier. In December, 1864, the State Bank of Michigan acquired a majority of the stock of the First National, and the business of the two was combined with Samuel P. Brady as president, Loranzo E. Clark, vice president and Emory Wendell, cashier. In 1865 the capital was increased to \$200,000. Three years later the old and wealthy Insurance Bank was consolidated with the First National and the capital was further increased to half a million. The history of the First National continued as it had begun to be one of consolidation and absorption. It acquired successively the business of the Commercial National Bank and the Merchants' & Manufacturers' Bank, the former of which had already absorbed the Preston National. In 1913, previous to its merger with the Old Detroit, the First had capital and surplus of \$3,000,000, deposits \$24,960,000, and total resources of \$29,508,000.

The Second National Bank was organized on a liberal scale in 1863 with capital of \$500,000, which was increased two years later to \$1,000,000, making it one of the largest national banks in the West. Sen. Zachariah Chandler was interested in its organization, and its first board of directors contained other men of political, as well as business prominence. They included C. H. Buhl, Eber B. Ward, Henry P. Baldwin, James F. Joy, Allan Sheldon, John Stephens, Chauncey Hurlbut, Duncan Stewart and N. W. Brooks. Henry P. Baldwin was the first president and Clement M. Davison, cashier, both serving for many years. The bank was to an unusual degree conducted by the directors, who met daily. When its first twenty-year charter expired the bank was reorganized as the Detroit National and at the end of the next twenty years it became the Old Detroit National. The American Exchange National was taken over by the Old Detroit in 1912. Previous to its merger with the First the Old Detroit had capital of \$2,500,000, deposits of \$23,000,000 and resources \$26,396,000.

The merger of these two institutions under the name of the First & Old Detroit National Bank took place in 1914. It then became one of the strongest

national banks outside of the financial centers of New York and Chicago, and has increased its business steadily since then. When the June, 1920, statements were made, it had capital and surplus of \$7,500,000, deposits \$79,496,000. The bank until 1922 occupied a larger part of the first floor of the Ford Building. In 1919 it brought the Pontchartrain Hotel property, corner of Woodward Avenue and Cadillac Square and in February, 1922, completed on the site the tallest bank building in Michigan. This, one of the most costly blocks in the city, will be primarily for the use of the bank, the First National Association, a stock and bond organization established under the auspices of the bank, and the Central Savings, which will be combined with the First and Old Detroit. In January, 1922, the name of the institution, First and Old Detroit National, was officially changed to the First National Bank in Detroit. Emory W. Clark is president, with a long list of directors, vice presidents and a cashier.

WAYNE COUNTY AND HOME SAVINGS BANK

BY CLARENCE M. BURTON

The record of the Wayne County and Home Savings Bank is one of continued progress from its start. The present institution is a combination of several prosperous banks consolidated in order to give greater power for the transaction of business and to unite under one head all of the various activities that pertain to banking at the present time.

It came into existence just at a time when Detroit was awakening to the necessity of more banks, and of a kind of bank not known up to that time.

It, at first, was a savings bank exclusively. The violent antipathy against all banking institutions that started with the failure of the banks of 1836, and continued unabated for many years, began to subside in 1857. The state constitution of 1850, while acknowledging the necessity of banks, undertook to so hedge around their management, that the Legislature was nearly powerless to aid them. Only two banking institutions, for Detroit service, were chartered between 1837 and 1857. The views of the public were so far changed by 1857 that a general banking law was passed and adopted, as required by the constitution, by a general vote of the people.

Then began efforts to collect money for organization. Although the necessity was felt, confidence was lacking. No banks were organized. In 1861 came the War of the Rebellion and the organization of National Banks.

For a time it was thought that the Federal Banks would be sufficient, but there was no provision for taking care of the savings of the laboring people, nor was there any provision for loaning money for the building of homes. No money could be obtained for aiding a family in distress by loaning money on a mortgage on their real estate.

Private bankers and money lenders took advantage of the situation and the rate of interest rose far above the legal limit of ten per cent. Several unimportant amendments were made to the law of 1857 and all of them were submitted to be voted upon and were approved at the elections. It was found that it was too difficult to follow a bill through the Legislature and then submit it to a general vote in order to amend the law. Much time was taken and energy wasted. The constitutional provision did not work properly. In 1862 an amendment to the constitution was submitted to the people and adopted.

This simplified the bank law so that amendments could be made by a two-thirds vote of the Legislature.

In 1869 an act was passed by the Legislature permitting the establishment of Savings Institutions. This act did not pretend to permit the establishment of savings banks but the organizations were more in the nature of Building associations. Several institutions were organized under this law, but the act was so uncertain that none of the so-called "Banks" were willing to continue under the provision of the act.

The bill for the establishment of Savings Banks was introduced in the Legislature early in its session in 1871 and was carefully watched by those of Detroit who were interested in it. It was an amendment of the law of 1857. It was enacted March 31, 1871, and became operative July 16th, following. It provided that the capital stock of each bank should not be less than \$50,000.00, of which three-fifths should be paid in. It could receive money on deposit from mechanics, clerks, servants, married women, minor children and others. One peculiarity of the law was that married women and minor children were authorized to act independent of the husbands of the women or the guardians of minors. This was a very early emancipation of these classes of persons. The affairs of the bank were to be managed by "Trustees or Directors" and the early officers selected were deemed "trustees." All such banks were to be designated as Savings Banks. The Banking Department was under the State Treasurer.

Immediately upon the passage of this law a number of Detroit citizens got together and signed a call for a public meeting to organize a Savings Bank. The call was dated April 10th, 1871, and the meeting was to be held April 28th, 1871, in the office of T. W. Palmer in the Merrill Block.

The banking law did not become operative until ninety days after the final adjournment of the Legislature, so that there was ample time to perfect the articles for the organization of the institution before that date. The prominent feature of the bank, a plan that was then adopted and ever afterwards closely adhered to, was that it should be strictly a savings bank; that no commercial business should be transacted; that the loans of the bank should be on mortgages and collaterals and not on endorsed paper.

Its first president was William B. Wesson, who was one of the chief organizers and principal stockholders. He was an extensive land owner and dealer. He did more than any other single individual of his time in providing homes for people of small means. That Detroit for many years was known as the City of Homes is largely due to Mr. Wesson.

The secretary and treasurer at the first organization was Samuel Dow Elwood. He had been in the city and connected with it for many years. He was one of the Argonauts of '49 and for a short time carried on a bank at Petrolia in Canada. With these exceptions most of his business life was spent in Detroit, managing a book store until the formation of the Wayne County Savings Bank in 1871. Of the several men in the organization, he was the only one who had had any previous banking experience. It was largely through his efforts that Mr. Wesson became interested, and his ideas of the operation of such a bank entirely agreed with those of the president.

The capital stock of the new bank was fixed at \$50,000.00, the lowest amount allowed by the law. The articles of association were drawn up and dated September 18th, 1871, and the stock entirely subscribed for and the articles



WAYNE COUNTY AND HOME SAVINGS BANK



PEOPLES STATE BANK

filed with the State Treasurer. The list of incorporators differed but slightly from the list attached to the original call. The incorporators were:

William B. Wesson, S. Dow Elwood, Jacob S. Farrand, Stanley G. Wight, Paul Gies, David Knapp, Jerome Croul, William C. Duncan, Francis Adams, Martin S. Smith, David M. Richardson, Lemuel P. Knight, John B. Sutherland, John J. Bagley, George F. Bagley, William A. Moore, Dexter M. Ferry, Herman Kiefer, Traugott Schmidt, Jefferson Wiley, Thomas W. Palmer, Kirkland C. Barker.

Only thirty thousand dollars was paid in at the time of the opening of the bank.

The building on the northwest corner of Congress and Griswold Streets was erected about 1852 by the firm of Crane and Wesson (Albert Crane and William B. Wesson). This building was at first called the Crane and Wesson Building, but when Mr. Crane moved to Chicago, the partnership practically ended and the building then became the property of Mr. Wesson and was known by his name. When preparations were being made to organize the new bank and a location was needed, the Wesson Building was raised from its foundation and another story placed beneath it. It was the first effort in Detroit to raise or move a brick building. In the basement or first floor of this building the Wayne County Savings Bank was first opened for business on Monday, October 2nd, 1871.

The first board of trustees consisted of John J. Bagley, Jerome Croul, J. B. Sutherland, Jefferson Wiley, M. S. Smith, S. G. Wight, D. M. Ferry, Paul Gies, L. P. Knight, William B. Wesson, Traugott Schmidt, D. M. Richardson, William C. Duncan, T. W. Palmer, Herman Kiefer, Francis Adams, K. C. Barker, George F. Bagley, J. S. Farrand, David Knapp, William A. Moore, and S. D. Elwood. It would have been impossible to have searched the city through and have found a better or more representative list of directors.

These were all responsible and well known business men of the place. From among their number they elected William B. Wesson, President; Dr. Herman Kiefer, Vice President; S. Dow Elwood, Secretary and Treasurer; and William A. Moore, Attorney.

A savings bank was a new thing for Detroit, but the officials were so well known that great confidence was reposed in it from the very start and the savings deposits began to come in at once.

The business grew so rapidly that in a few years it became apparent that new and larger quarters for the bank would be needed. The land on Congress Street just west of the Wesson Building was occupied by Dr. Nehemiah Stebbins as a residence. The capital of the bank was increased to \$100,000.00 and with the additional money the Stebbins lot was purchased in September, 1875, and a new building begun for a banking house and offices. Into this new building the bank moved on the 15th of December, 1876.

The bank, by amended articles of association, changed its name to the Wayne County and Home Savings Bank, April 29th, 1913. It continued to occupy the Congress Street quarters until the new building was completed at the corner of Michigan Avenue and Griswold Street. The Congress Street lot was sold January 1st, 1916, but the bank retained the right to occupy the premises for some time.

The Wayne County Savings Bank had but three presidents during its separate existence. The first president, William B. Wesson, served from 1871 till

his death June 18th, 1890. S. Dow Elwood succeeded him and served until his death in 1898. His successor was Charles F. Collins, who remained president until the consolidation in 1913 and has since that time been chairman of the Board of Directors.

HOME SAVINGS BANK

The Home Savings Bank was organized in 1888. The first meeting of the stockholders of the proposed bank was held at the office of William C. Maybury, November 8th, 1888, and forty-one persons were present. Carlton H. Mills presided and J. S. Schmittiel was chosen secretary.

It was resolved to name the new bank the "Home Savings Bank of Detroit."

The following persons were then elected directors:

James McGregor, W. J. Gould, Charles C. Yemans, C. C. Blodgett, George W. Radford, William C. Maybury, Carlton H. Mills, E. Ferguson, C. V. Bryan, Augustus Rouff, Waring H. Ellis, John S. Schmittiel.

Two days later the directors met and elected James McGregor, President; William C. Maybury, Vice President; and John S. Schmittiel, Cashier. It was resolved to rent the banking office at the southerly Griswold Street entrance to the McGraw Building, for the bank. It was at first intended to fix the capital of the bank at \$100,000.00 but on December 11th, 1888, the capital was increased to \$200,000.00.

On the second day of January, 1889, the bank opened for business.

The property on the northeast corner of Michigan Avenue and Griswold Street was owned by Robert P. Toms. Mr. Toms at his death devised it to his wife, Sarah C. Toms, and from her it passed to her sister, Mrs. Julia F. Owen. A building was erected on this site, the inside portion being occupied by Mr. Waring H. Ellis, who was a tobacconist, the corner being occupied by the bank. The quarters were better and more commodious than the old location.

The building was completed and occupied by the bank May 30th, 1894. The ground floor only was used for banking purposes and the upper floors were rented for offices. The land was leased by Mrs. Owen to the Home Savings Bank, March 2nd, 1892, and the lease was assigned to the Home Savings Bank Building Co. in 1893 and again assigned to James McGregor in 1895. In 1911 the bank purchased the land and in 1913 became the owner of the leasehold interest as well.

James McGregor, who had served as president of the bank since its organization, died February 19th, 1909, and at the meeting of the directors on March 3rd following, Julius H. Haass was elected president to succeed him.

The prospects of the new bank encouraged the directors to begin the erection of a larger and more commodious building on the Michigan Avenue and Griswold Street corner and the Home Bank was moved to the Hammond Building, April 14th, 1914, and the old building was taken down and the present building erected. At that time the bank was divided into three sections: The Home Bank in the Hammond Building, the Michigan Bank in the Moffat Building and the Wayne County Bank in its old quarters on Congress Street.

The Michigan Bank soon surrendered its location to the Security Trust Company and moved across the street to the Hammond Building. On the 20th day of December, 1915, the three banks were united in the new building at the corner of Michigan Avenue and Griswold Street.

MICHIGAN SAVINGS BANK

The bank was organized February 17th, 1877, and opened its doors for business on the second day of April in that year. Its original capitalization was \$60,000, which was increased to \$150,000 May 1st, 1882.

The first board of trustees consisted of:

Thomas McGraw, Archibald G. Lindsay, Nicol Mitchell, Newell Avery, Julius Stoll, Joseph Kuhn, George Peck, H. Kirke White, George W. Balch, William Perkins, Jr., Horace M. Dean, Samuel R. Mumford.

The banking office was in the McGraw Building on the southwest corner of Lafayette Boulevard and Griswold Street. Thomas McGraw, then owner of the McGraw Building, was the first president of the bank, and Samuel R. Mumford was the first secretary and treasurer. Mr. McGraw resigned the presidency in 1880 and George Peck was elected president and retained the office by continued reelection until his death, and Mr. Charles C. Jenks was elected to the office and remained there until the consolidation with the Wayne County and Home Savings Bank, October 21st, 1914. The banking office was moved from the McGraw Building to the Moffat Building in 1908.

The establishment of branch banks in different parts of the city for the accommodation of districts remote from the principal bank in the down town district was a matter unheard of in Detroit or elsewhere up to the year 1889. On May 1st of that year the Home Savings Bank opened a branch at the intersection of Junction Avenue and the Michigan Central Railroad crossing. The idea was well liked and the branch soon became popular. This is probably the first branch bank opened by any bank in the country. The branch bank was later moved to Michigan Avenue at the Western Market and is now known as the Michigan Avenue Branch.

MICHIGAN NATIONAL BANK

The Michigan National Bank was organized under the National Banking Law. The stock of the bank was purchased in the interest of the stockholders of the Wayne County and Home Savings Bank, December 22nd, 1916. The banking office was located at the corner of Mack and St. Jean Avenues and was converted into a branch bank December 30th, 1919.

WAYNE COUNTY AND HOME BANK OF HIGHLAND PARK

Another bank, the stock of which is owned in connection with the Wayne County and Home Savings Bank, is the Wayne County and Home Bank of Highland Park. It was opened for business in its own building on the corner of Glendale Avenue and Hamilton Boulevard, November 3rd, 1920.

The capital is \$100,000.

The directors are: Julius H. Haass, George Wiley, John A. Mercier, John M. Donaldson and Clarence M. Burton.

The officers are Julius H. Haass, President; George Wiley, Vice President; Hugh R. Burns, Vice President and Cashier; and Raymond W. Ladendorf, Assistant Cashier.

TRUST COMPANY

There was another law passed by the Legislature in 1871 for the organization of Trust Companies. Under this act there was incorporated January, 1872, the Trust, Security and Safe Deposit Company of Detroit. Vaults were fitted up in the rear of the Wayne County Savings Bank on the corner of Griswold and Congress Street and four hundred boxes were prepared for leasing. The

law under which the company was organized permitted it to carry on a general trust business. In the words of the act of the company "shall have power to accept and execute any trust which may be created by instruments in writing, appointing such corporation trustee, and to act as such trustee in all matters embraced in such trust; to take and receive from any individual or corporation, on deposit for safe keeping or storage, gold and silver plate, jewelry, money, stocks, securities and other valuable property, and may have power to collect coupons, interest and dividends on said securities and to rent out the use of safes and other receptacles on their premises upon such terms and for such compensation as may be agreed upon; to become security for administrators, guardians or other trustees or persons, in cases where, by law or otherwise, one or more securities are required, for a rate of compensation, and upon such terms and conditions as shall be established by the directors of such corporation."

This is the first Trust Law of the State of Michigan and the Trust, Security and Safe Deposit Company of Detroit was the first trust company in the State. Trust companies, as operated at the present time, were unknown in Michigan in 1871 and for many years thereafter and this Trust Company confined its operation to owning and managing and renting the vaults and boxes mentioned. The capital was \$250,000, of which \$30,000 was paid in. The stockholders were nearly the same as those of the Wayne County Savings Bank.

The directors, with the consent of the stockholders, sold all of the property of the corporation, including its franchise, to the Wayne County Savings Bank, July 7th, 1900, and filed a dissolution of the company January 5th, 1901.

SAFETY DEPOSIT VAULTS

As this bank was the first in Detroit to establish safety deposit vaults to be leased to customers for the protection of their valuables, so it has kept pace with all the modern improvements in that line. These vaults are in the Main bank building at the corner of Michigan Avenue and Griswold Street beneath the bank. Rooms for the accommodation of patrons are well apportioned and abundant. The vaults are marvels of fine and artistic work and are guarded and protected by everything that is necessary to make them secure. There are at present 7,602 boxes. There are also safety deposit vaults in Boulevard and Woodward office.

The Wayne County and Home Savings Bank, on April 29th, 1913, had a capital of \$2,000,000.00 and surplus of \$2,000,000.00.

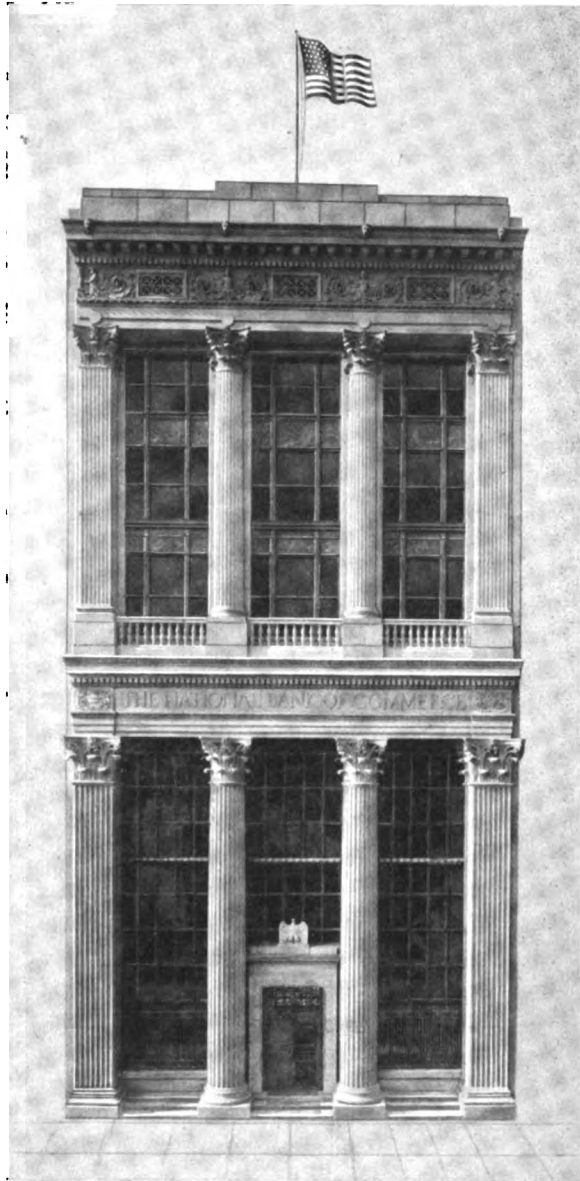
The capital was increased October 7, 1914, to \$2,500,000.00; again April 6, 1916, to \$3,000,000.00 and on May 26, 1920 was raised to \$4,000,000.00.

The present officers of the bank and directors are as follows:

Charles F. Collins, Chairman; Julius H. Haass, President; George Wiley, Vice President; W. V. Moore, Vice President; Wm. S. Green, Vice President; Edwin J. Eckert, Vice President; Arthur E. Loch, Vice President; Rupert Pletsch, Vice President; George H. Johnstone, Cashier.

PEOPLES STATE BANK

The largest of the state banks have also been the result of consolidations. The general banking law of 1858 did not make adequate provision for savings banks, but in 1871 the law was amended by the addition of twelve sections, which remained in force until the general law of 1888 was enacted. The first bank organized under the amendments was the Peoples Savings Bank.



THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

The Peoples State Bank had its beginning in 1871, when a company of ten men, including Francis Palms, Anton Pulte, John Schulte, William Foxen, Aaron Karrer, John Heffron, C. J. O'Flynn and M. W. O'Brien, subscribed \$3,000 each, or a total of \$30,000, and associated themselves as a banking company. These men had a vision of a popular "people's bank," standing for frugality and cooperation, and chose a bee-hive for the bank emblem. Mr. Francis Palms was chosen president, and Mr. M. W. O'Brien, who had been induced to close out his lumbering business in Saginaw, and come to Detroit to join in the new enterprise, was made cashier. The building at 55 Woodward Avenue, near Jefferson, was occupied by the new bank, where it opened for business January 2, 1871.

Articles of amendment to the state banking law were passed by the legislature during that year, and the Peoples Savings Bank was organized under the new laws January 2, 1872. This was a most important year to the bank, as it not only incorporated under the new State Savings Bank Law, but doubled its capital to \$60,000, and moved to the Telegraph Block, corner of Griswold and Congress streets, in the very heart of the "financial district." There it remained for nearly twenty years.

During the "panic of 1873," which threw many enterprises into bankruptcy, the Peoples Savings Bank not only stood the strain, but seemed to thrive in spite of discouraging financial conditions. In January, 1874, the capital stock was increased to \$120,000, and in 1876 the bank again found it necessary to increase its capital—this time to \$250,000, and five years later, in 1881, the capital stock was doubled, bringing it to \$500,000. In November, 1886, Mr. Palms died, having served continuously as president for over fifteen years. In May, 1887, Mr. O'Brien was advanced to the presidency, being succeeded as cashier by Mr. S. B. Coleman.

In January, 1890, the bank moved to the Moffat Block, and the same year Mr. George E. Lawson was elected cashier, succeeding Mr. Coleman, resigned. In January, 1907, the bank amalgamated with the State Savings Bank, changing the name to the Peoples State Bank. The State Savings Bank had been organized in 1883 by two Kentucky capitalists, Messrs. David Hamilton and T. S. Anderson. Having ample means, they found it unnecessary to seek local stockholders, but realizing their need of a cashier who was thoroughly acquainted with local banking, they tendered this position to Mr. R. S. Mason, who was then a paying teller in the First National Bank. Mr. Mason accepted the position, and later became one of the vice presidents of the consolidated banks. This bank opened for business at 88 Griswold Street, and later moved to the Buhl Block and in 1890 to the Hammond Building. In 1889 Mr. Anderson resigned as president, and sold out his interest. He was succeeded in the presidency by Mr. George H. Russel, under whose administration a new building was erected at the corner of Fort and Shelby Streets, which was completed in 1900, and which is the present home of the Peoples State Bank. The consolidated banks opened as a united institution on June 1, 1907, with Mr. Russel as president.

In November, 1909, the United States Savings Bank was acquired by purchase. This bank had its beginning in 1877, when Andrew McLellan and George Anderson started in the banking business in the basement of 92 Griswold Street, under the name of "McLellan & Anderson, Bankers," and continued under this name until 1908, when the name was changed to the United States Savings Bank.

Mr. Russel continued as president of the amalgamated banks until his death in 1915. During his administration the Peoples State Bank grew so rapidly that it was finally found necessary to enlarge the building by an addition extending through to Congress Street. This extension was planned in harmony with the original building, and gave the bank a floor area of 100x296 feet, making it one of the largest banking offices in the country. The site and building represent a value of more than \$2,000,000.

Mr. Russel was succeeded by Mr. George E. Lawson, who served as president but one year, passing away very suddenly in February, 1916. Mr. James T. Keena, who was then Vice President, was elected to the presidency in 1916, and remained in this office until January, 1919, when he was made chairman of the Board of Directors, and Mr. John W. Staley was advanced from the position of Vice President to that of President.

In the last few years the bank has made rapid strides in growth and financial strength, and now occupies the position of the largest bank in Michigan in point of resources, and is one of the six largest west of the Atlantic Seaboard, with a present capital stock of \$5,000,000 and Surplus and Undivided Profits exceeding \$9,000,000. It is a member of the Federal Reserve System, and cooperated with the Government to the fullest extent during the World War. Twenty-six branches, scattered throughout the city, render banking service to the community at large. In 1920 the safe deposit vaults in the main building were enlarged to meet the demands of customers, and the Peoples State Bank now contains the largest single bank vault space in the city, with 9,000 individual boxes, besides a safety room 32x16 feet for valuables of large bulk.

Representing as it does, the combined strength of three successful amalgamated banks, plus a steady growth in popularity, position and financial strength, the Peoples State Bank of Detroit today is not only one of the outstanding financial institutions of Michigan, but of the United States as well.

NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

The announcement of the merger of two big National Banks of Detroit in 1907, paved the way for the launching of the National Bank of Commerce of Detroit.

It fell to the lot of Henry H. Sanger then Assistant Cashier of the Commercial National Bank to interest capital in the new enterprise. The original contemplated capital was \$500,000.00 and surplus \$100,000.00, but the amount was so thoroughly over subscribed it was decided to increase the capital to \$750,000.00. The stock was sold at \$120.00 per share, thus giving the bank a surplus of \$150,000. The official staff was organized with Richard P. Joy, former city Comptroller as President; Wm. P. Hamilton, well known woolen manufacturer as Vice President, Henry H. Sanger, Cashier and Charles R. Talbot as Assistant Cashier. The bank was opened on June 1st, 1907, with deposits of \$837,504.41. For a year it occupied the first floor of the Union Trust Building. October 1st, 1907 marked a new era in the bank's growth. On this date it entered the new banking house at 144 West Fort Street.

The bank now has a capital of \$1,500,000 and surplus funds of a like amount with undivided profits of \$634,000.00. Its total resources are in excess of \$36,000,000 with deposited surplus in excess of \$29,000,000.

The present official staff is as follows: Richard P. Joy, president; Wm. P. Hamilton, vice president; Henry H. Sanger, vice president; Charles R. Talbot,

vice president; Sam'l R. Kingston, vice president and cashier; and R. M. McConnell, vice president.

DIME SAVINGS BANK

The Dime Savings Bank was organized in the year 1884 and opened for business on May 1 of the same year, with a capital stock of \$60,000. The personnel of the first board of directors was as follows: A. M. Henry, S. M. Cutcheon, J. E. Scripps, William Livingstone, Jr., J. L. Hudson, William Hull, R. J. F. Roehm, E. W. Voight and C. A. Warren, and the first officers of the institution were Sullivan M. Cutcheon, president; James E. Scripps, vice president; and Frederick Woolfenden, cashier. A. M. Henry served as temporary president from May 1st until the 24th. On Mr. Cutcheon's death, on April 18, 1900, William Livingstone was elected president and has served in that capacity ever since. The capital stock of the company has been increased at various times until, in 1920, it reached the sum of \$3,600,000, while the resources of the bank totaled \$42,000,000. The first location of the Dime Bank was in the Fisher Building, at the junction of Michigan and Lafayette. The bank was moved to the Hammond Building on June 10, 1900, where it remained until moved to its new banking and skyscraper office building in 1914.

MERCHANTS NATIONAL BANK

In the spring of 1914 the First National Bank and the Old Detroit National Bank consolidated and shortly afterward the announcement was made that a number of well known business men were assisting Mr. John Ballantyne to start a new national bank. It was finally decided to capitalize for \$1,000,000 with \$250,000 surplus, to call the bank the Merchants National Bank, and to occupy the quarters recently vacated by the Old Detroit National Bank in the Buhl Block, corner of Griswold and Congress streets. On August 25, 1914 the bank was opened for business with the following officers: John Ballantyne, President; David Gray, Vice President; John P. Hemmeter, Vice President; Benj. G. Vernor, Cashier. The bank met with instant success, the deposits being over \$1,000,000 the first day, and on December 31, 1914, were \$3,103,172.86. The bank has continued in the same quarters, grown steadily in totals and influence, having found for itself a very definite place in Detroit's business life. In April, 1920, so as to take care of its increased business, it was decided to sell 10,000 additional shares at \$140.00, increasing the capital \$1,000,000 and the surplus fund \$400,000. As the bank had already passed \$350,000 to its surplus fund from earnings, this made the capital \$2,000,000 and surplus \$1,000,000.

OTHER BANKS OF DETROIT

The Peninsular State Bank, located in its own building at 138 Fort Street, West, was organized August 27, 1887. J. H. Johnson is president of this institution, which, in 1920, has a capitalization of \$3,500,000 and assets of about \$45,000,000.

The American State Bank of Detroit, with main office at 637-47 Griswold Street, was organized in 1906 and now has a capital stock of \$1,400,000, including the surplus. Walter J. Hayes is the president of this bank.

The Bank of Detroit, organized in 1916, occupies its own building on Fort Street, West, and is under the presidency of James Couzens. This bank has a capital stock of \$1,000,000.

The Central Savings Bank, in the Majestic Building, was organized for business April 19, 1888. The founder of this bank was Joseph C. Hart, previously in the insurance business in Detroit. Gilbert Hart was the first president; the present incumbent is Harry J. Fox. The capital stock of this institution is \$1,000,000.

The Commercial State Savings Bank, in the Penobscot Building, opened its doors for business August 1, 1921, with a paid-in capital of \$1,000,000 and a surplus of \$200,000. Elbert H. Fowler is president.

The Commonwealth-Federal Savings Bank, in the Hammond Building, a combination of the Federal, organized 1909, and the Commonwealth, organized 1916, was established in the year 1916. J. W. McCausey is president of this institution; the capital and surplus in 1920 amounted to \$753,500.

The Continental Bank of Detroit was organized in 1921 with Walter G. Toepel as president. In 1920 the capital and surplus amounted to \$840,000. The bank is located at 1309 Broadway.

The First State Bank, located in the McGraw Building, is the outgrowth of the private banking business started by Edward Kanter in 1853, which became the German-American Bank in 1871. In 1920 the capital stock was \$1,000,000. George H. Kirchner is president.

The Industrial Morris Plan Bank of Detroit was incorporated in August, 1917, and is located in the Farwell Building. The capital stock in 1920 was \$500,000, and the president, James A. Hoyt.

The Michigan State Bank of Detroit, 4701 Chene, was incorporated April 24, 1916, with a capital of \$250,000. Frank Schmidt is president.

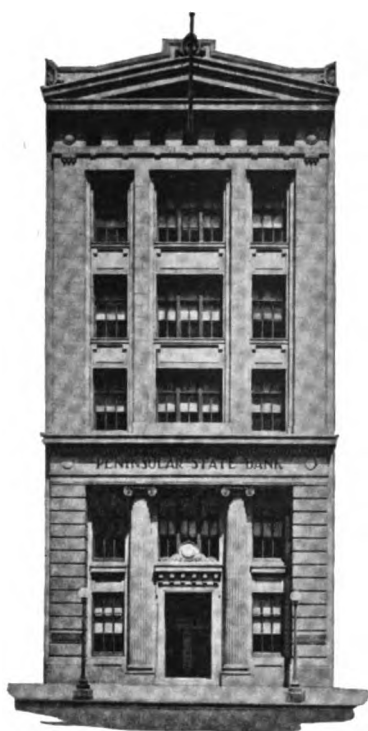
The Northwestern State Bank, at 9479 Grand River, was incorporated in 1915. Wales C. Martindale is president.

The United Savings Bank, which has just occupied its new building on the west side of Griswold near State, and which is the successor of the Detroit United Bank, was incorporated November 27, 1901. The capital of this bank in 1920 was \$500,000; the president is Frank B. Leland.

THE TRUST COMPANIES

Under the trust company sections of the general banking act of 1891 passed by the Legislature the Union Trust Company was organized and in October of that year was opened for business. This sort of company was new to Detroit people and for some time the officials had to carry on a campaign of education as to the functions of the new institution under the new state law. The original capital of the company was \$500,000, but by 1920 the capital and surplus had been increased to \$1,500,000 and the total resources were \$7,826,000. H. M. Campbell is chairman of the board of directors and Frank W. Blair is president. In addition to its business within the scope of a trust company, the Union Trust maintains a complete abstract department.

The second company under this classification was the Detroit Trust Company, articles of incorporation for which were approved by the state December 8, 1900. The directors first named were: Henry Stephens, Theodore D. Buhl, Henry P. Baldwin, James N. Wright, Henry L. Kanter, Chester G. White, Elisha H. Flinn, Sidney T. Miller, Ammi W. Wright, George Peck, James E. Davidson, Edwin C. Nichols, Henry B. Joy, Rasmus Hanson, Edward H. Butler, Eldridge M. Fowler, James McGregor, Frank W. Eddy, Charles A. Dean, James Edgar, Charles M. Heald, John H. Avery, Merton E. Farr, Fred E.



PENINSULAR STATE BANK



CITY HALL AND DIME BANK BUILDING

Driggs, Oren Scotten, Alexander McPherson, and Frank W. Gilchrist. The first president was Alexander McPherson. The company started business January 5, 1901, on the second floor of the building at 82-84 Griswold Street, but now occupy their own structure at Fort and Shelby, southwest corner. Ralph Stone, who came with the company May 6, 1901, as assistant secretary, is now president of the Detroit Trust Company. The company in 1920 had a capital and surplus of \$3,000,000.

The Security Trust Company was organized in July, 1906, with a paid-in capital of \$500,000 and a surplus of \$500,000, the first offices having been located in the Campau Building. Two years later the company moved to its present location at the corner of Griswold and Fort Streets, at that time occupying the space jointly with the Michigan Savings Bank. In 1915 it took the whole space. The first president of the company was M. J. Murphy, followed in 1910 by Charles C. Jenks, the present incumbent. In 1921 the capital of the company was raised to \$1,000,000 and the surplus to a like amount.

The American Loan & Trust Company, 439 Griswold Street, was incorporated May 11, 1906, and by 1920 had a capital and surplus amounting to \$400,000. R. G. Lambrecht is president of this institution.

The Guaranty Trust Company, at 432 Griswold, was established for business in 1916 by a group of prominent Detroit citizens. The president is F. H. Bessenger. The company is capitalized, according to figures of 1920, for the sum of \$300,000.

The Bankers Trust Company of Detroit was incorporated May 12, 1917, and is located at 156 Congress, West. The company has a capital stock of \$500,000 and the president is Arthur Webster.

HOUSING COMPANIES

One of the problems confronting the City of Detroit during its unprecedented industrial growth was the housing of the new citizens. With this problem in mind there grew up several companies the purpose of which was to build houses in quantity and sell them to those who wished to acquire a home quickly and in convenient manner. The Detroit Society for Savings was organized December 4, 1916, and the Detroit House Financing Corporation was started July 24, 1919, both under the auspices of the board of Commerce. Hundreds of houses, of varying size and quality, have been constructed along this plan in Detroit and have proved a decided benefit to the development of the city.

The Detroit Mutual Savings & Loan Association was organized September 29, 1921, as a savings and loan association for those who desired to build houses for a reasonable interest rate, without premiums or discount. The company has an authorized capitalization of \$500,000 and its president is Frank J. Tripensee.

Another company, the Provident Loan Society of Detroit, was organized in 1906 by D. M. Ferry, J. L. Hudson and Tracy W. McGregor, for the purpose of lending money to worthy people at a minimum cost. By the end of 1919 the society had loaned about \$3,000,000 in sums averaging \$60. The management of the company is in the hands of John D. Ryan.

WAYNE COUNTY BANKS

The corporate communities of Highland Park and Hamtramck, both within the Detroit city limits, are necessarily an essential part of the city's business. The banks here are as follows:

The Hamtramck State Bank was incorporated May 11, 1909, and the capital stock is now placed at \$25,000. F. A. Schulte is president; William Blanck, vice president; and J. C. Friedel, cashier.

The First State Bank of Hamtramck was established and incorporated in 1916. The capitalization is \$100,000 and the officers, according to the 1921 Bankers Directory, are: Edward Leszczynski, president; M. A. Wosinski and R. Sadowski, vice presidents; C. J. Wierzbicki, cashier.

The Liberty State Bank of Hamtramck was organized in the year of 1918. The capitalization is now \$100,000 and the officials are: Joseph Chronowski, president; Stanislaus Chronowski, vice president; and Basil J. Treppa, cashier.

The Peoples National Bank of Hamtramck was established in 1917, and is capitalized now for \$100,000. The officers are: Harry J. Fox, president; John C. Schultheis and George J. Haas, vice presidents; and C. G. Munn, cashier.

The Dime Savings Bank of Hamtramck was incorporated December 20, 1920, and has a capital stock of \$100,000. The officials of this institution are: W. L. Dunham, president; T. W. P. Livingstone and J. B. McKay, vice presidents; Frank Winiker, cashier.

The Citizens Bank of Hamtramck was established in 1921 and is officered by the following: John Beger, president; A. A. Stefanowski and W. J. Rachow, vice presidents; W. J. Rachow, cashier.

The Merchants & Mechanics' Bank of Hamtramck was started for business in 1919, officered by: George J. Kolowich, president; Adolph Kolowich, J. J. Kolowich, vice presidents; and J. J. Kucharski, cashier. The capital stock was placed at \$10,000.

The Highland Park State Bank was organized and incorporated in the year 1909. The capitalization is now \$1,000,000 and the deposits are in excess of \$15,000,000. The officers, as given in the 1921 Bankers Directory, are: J. T. Whitehead, president; George H. Van Buren, G. R. Andrews, A. L. Couzens and F. E. Quisenberry, vice presidents; F. E. Quisenberry, cashier.

The American State Bank of Highland Park was organized in 1910. The capitalization is \$200,000 and the officers are: W. J. Hayes, president; H. B. Wallace and F. W. Dalby, vice president; R. F. Wallace, cashier.

The Peninsular State Bank of Highland Park was established in 1917 and is now capitalized for \$100,000. The officials are: Henry A. Haigh, president; J. H. Johnson and E. O. Krentler, vice presidents; H. B. Ward, cashier.

The Peoples State Bank of Highland Park was organized in 1920 and is officered by the following: John W. Staley, president; A. H. Moody, J. R. Bodde, H. P. Borgman, vice presidents; and G. P. Fraser, cashier. The capital stock is \$100,000.

The Wayne County & Home Bank of Highland Bank had its inception in 1920. Julius H. Haass is president; George Wiley and H. R. Burns, vice presidents; H. R. Burns, cashier. The capital stock of this institution is placed at \$100,000.

The Peoples State Bank at Belleville was established in 1913. The officers of this bank, which is capitalized for \$20,000, are: J. R. Clark, president; F. L. Robbe, vice president; and F. H. Clark, cashier.

The Dearborn State Bank, established in 1910, is under the executive control of Henry Ford. The vice presidents are Herman Kalmbach and E. G. Leibold, and the cashier is C. R. McLaughlin. The capital stock of the bank is \$100,000.

The American State Bank of Dearborn was established in 1919 and is capitalized for \$100,000. W. J. Hayes is president; F. W. Dalby and S. B. Long, vice presidents; and A. R. Little, cashier.

The Ecorse State Bank was started for business in 1918. Capitalization, \$50,000; officers: J. H. Means, president; Joseph Salliotte and George H. Kirchner, vice presidents; O. C. Bauer, cashier.

State Savings Bank of Flat Rock: established 1912: capital stock, \$20,000; officers, J. F. Lindsay, president; F. S. Peters, Julius Neifert, vice presidents; M. S. Walker, cashier.

Grosse Pointe Savings Bank: established 1914. Officers are: F. W. Hubbard, president; L. S. Trowbridge, vice president; C. D. Ransom, cashier. Capital stock, \$30,000.

Peoples State Bank of New Boston: established 1916. Capitalization, \$20,000. Officers: G. T. Clark, president; F. J. Grandfield, vice president; F. H. Clark, cashier.

Lapham State Savings Bank of Northville: established 1907. Officers: F. S. Harmon, president; R. Christensen, F. S. Neal, vice presidents; E. H. Lapham, cashier. Capitalization, \$50,000.

Northville State Savings Bank: established 1892. Capitalized for \$25,000. Officers are: L. A. Babbitt, president; R. C. Yerkes, vice president; and C. W. Wilber, cashier.

Oakwood State Bank: established 1918. Officers: E. H. Fowler, president; Dean Lucking and Hugh McLean, vice presidents; A. C. Milne, cashier. Capital stock, \$75,000.

The Plymouth United Savings Bank: established 1890. C. A. Fisher is president; J. W. Henderson and F. A. Dibble, vice presidents; and E. K. Bennett, cashier. Capital stock, \$100,000.

The Peoples State Bank of Redford: established 1914. L. N. Tupper, president; C. G. Shear, chairman of the board; A. L. A. David, R. H. Burgess, Thomas Sherwood, vice presidents; C. H. Krugler, cashier. Capital stock, \$100,000.

Redford State Savings Bank: established 1909. C. A. Lahser is president; A. G. Houghton and A. M. Bosworth, vice presidents; A. A. Bruder, cashier. Capital stock, \$100,000.

River Rouge Savings Bank: organized, 1906. H. C. Burke, president; E. M. Lamb, vice president; D. J. Goniea, cashier. Capital stock, \$50,000.

River Rouge State Bank: established 1919. Howard C. Wade, president; John Cassidy and George H. Kirchner, vice presidents; Edward T. McLachlan, cashier. Capital stock, \$50,000.

Rockwood State Bank: organized 1911. Capital stock, \$20,000. Officers are: A. B. Chapman, president; David Valrance and William Milliman, vice presidents; H. A. Wager, cashier.

Romulus State Bank: organized 1913. J. R. Taylor, president; R. Holland, vice president; Delmer H. Rood, cashier. Capital stock, \$20,000.

Trenton State Bank: established 1912. A. Church is president; E. W. Yost, vice president; F. A. Lautenschlager, cashier. Capital stock, \$25,000.

Peoples State Bank of Wayne: established 1916. Capital stock, \$30,000. Officers: J. J. Marker, president; F. H. Fellrath and W. A. BeGole, vice presidents; W. A. BeGole, cashier.

The Wayne Savings Bank: established 1890. George M. Stellwagen is

president; Jacob J. Stellwagen, chairman of the board; Joseph Waltz, vice president; John Truesdell, cashier. The capital stock is \$50,000.

The First Commercial Savings Bank of Wyandotte was started in 1893. H. P. Borgman is president; S. T. Hendricks, vice president; and O. C. G. Lutz, cashier. Capital stock, \$50,000.

The Wyandotte Savings Bank was organized November 20, 1871, with John S. Van Alstyne as the first president and W. Van Miller the first cashier. The present capital stock is \$200,000 and the officers are: F. E. Van Alstyne, president; S. T. Miller and J. C. Cahalan, vice presidents; A. T. Burns, cashier. This is the oldest bank in the county outside of Detroit.

The Strathmoor State Bank, at Grand River and Westlawn, was organized in 1921 and is capitalized for \$25,000. G. H. Kirchner is president; F. W. Bristow, H. C. Wade, vice presidents; F. O. Tasche, cashier. Howard C. Wade, James H. Means, George H. Kirchner and John S. Haggerty were the organizers.

CHAPTER XXV

EARLY TRANSPORTATION

BY WILLIAM STOCKING

PRIMITIVE MODES OF TRAVEL ON LAND AND LAKE—THE INDIAN TRAIL THE FIRST CONNECTING LINK BETWEEN VILLAGES—BLAZED THE WAY FOR MODERN TRANSPORTATION LINES—THE BEGINNING OF HIGHWAY BUILDING—DIFFERENT MODES OF LAND TRAVEL—FAMOUS STAGE COACH ROUTES—THE PIONEER CRAFT FOR WATER TRAVEL—THE CANOE AND ITS SUCCESSORS—CONSTRUCTION AND FATE OF THE FIRST SAILING VESSEL—THE FIRST STEAMBOAT AND HER FIRST VOYAGES—THE PREDECESSOR OF A MIGHTY FLEET—NAVIGATION COMPANIES.

The first routes of land travel leading out of Detroit were the Indian trails, some of which were in use long before the white men settled in this vicinity. Indian villages dotted this part of the state, being located mostly along the streams, and the lines of communication between them followed the most natural routes of travel. As shown by one of the United States Government Ethnographic reports, they formed a network of trails, extending over a large part of southern Michigan. The one best known to the early settlers was that from the rapids of the Miami or Maumee through the present site to Toledo, Monroe and Brownstown to Detroit. Near the present location of Trenton was the Indian village of Monguaga which gave name to the present township of Monguagon. The longest continuous Indian trail in lower Michigan was that from Detroit to Fort Dearborn, on the present site of Chicago. This and the Miami trail were intercepted by another, passed near where is now the city of Adrian and following the Raisin River to the old village of the Wyandots.

There were two trails to the "Saginaw Country." One led from Detroit northwesterly through Howell, to an Indian village near the present site of Corunna, and thence to and down the Shiawassee River to the Saginaw Valley. The other went through Pontiac where Machainies village was located, and thence to the Falls of Flint River, known to the first settlers as Grand Traverse Village. Both trails reached Saginaw's village near the present city of Saginaw.

Still another of the old trails went through Seginswins village, now Mt. Clemens, and on to the outlet of the Lake of the Hurons, where Fort Gratiot was afterwards built. There were several minor trails and a number of other Indian villages with some degree of permanent occupation.

It is an interesting fact that the best known routes of modern travel followed the lines marked by these Indian trails. The first military road constructed in the territory was that from Urbana, Ohio, to Detroit, and that followed quite closely the Miami (or Maumee) trail. The military road to Fort Gratiot went over nearly the same route as the earlier trail in the same direction.

The territorial roads, construction of which was commenced in the early twenties, followed the same routes. The Fort Dearborn Trail became the Chicago Road, the most traveled highway in the whole territory, with Michigan Avenue, Detroit at one end of it, Michigan Avenue, Chicago, at the other, and a number of Michigan Avenues in the intermediate cities. Woodward Avenue, Detroit, and Saginaw Street, Pontiac, are parts of the old trail to Saginaw's village, while Gratiot Avenue follows in part the line of the trail to the Lake of the Hurons. The road to Mt. Clemens (the present Gratiot Avenue) was opened and cleared of timber by the Moravians in 1780-81.

The first steam railroads followed nearly the same routes, the main line of the Michigan Central, for instance, paralleling for many miles the line of the Chicago Road. The territorial roads, mostly dirt and corduroy, were changed in time to plank and gravel roads, then in a host of cases were taken in part of their width as right of way for electric railway lines. Finally hundreds of miles of them have been paved and are given over to the most modern travel. Along the same courses which first felt the moccasined foot-fall of the Indian and the tread of the Indian pony have gone in succession the emigrant wagon, the farmer's team, the passenger stage, the steam coach and Pullman, the interurban electric, the pleasure auto and the motor truck.

The trails themselves served the military and the early settlers a useful purpose in transportation. The ponies which abounded in the woods were very serviceable for traveling through the country on these narrow pathways. It is recorded that in March, 1818, shoes for the troops were sent by pack horses from Detroit to Green Bay, and winter carriage for the upper country was conducted by dog trains.

THE GENESIS OF ROAD BUILDING

The first roads were along the river and lake, made for the convenience of settlers whose narrow farms fronted on the water. The first inland road in this part of Michigan was started as early as 1782, to connect Detroit with the Moravian settlement on the Huron (now Clinton) river, a much shorter route than the roundabout shore line. But the first comprehensive plan of road building was inaugurated by Governor Cass in 1821. The territory had suffered much from the misrepresentations of government surveyors, who in 1815 were sent here with a view of locating bounty land for soldiers. They were instructed to survey the land from the southern boundary northward for a distance of fifty miles. Their report described the country as an unbroken series of tamarack swamps, bogs and sand barrens, "with not more than one acre in a hundred, and probably not more than one in a thousand, fit for cultivation." As a result of this and other similar reports, the bounty lands were located farther west and south, and the settlement of Michigan was greatly retarded.

Governor Cass, knew better than almost anyone else, the falsity of these reports, for he had traversed the country from the Ohio River to Saginaw Bay on the north, and from Detroit to Lake Michigan on the west. He had helped cut the army path through the wilderness from Urbana, Ohio, to Detroit. He had gone over one of the Indian trails from Detroit to Saginaw, and in an early day had traversed the Indian trail that led from Detroit to Fort Dearborn. James Abbott and his bride, Sarah Whistler, were married in Chicago in 1808 and returned overland to Detroit over this trail.

With a view to counteracting the effect of the damaging reports that had been

made, and of retaining in Michigan some of the migration that was then setting westward from New England and New York, he applied to the United States Government for an appropriation of lands for the opening of roads through the territory. His efforts were ably supported by William Woodbridge, territorial secretary, acting governor during the frequent absence of Cass from Detroit, and the first delegate in Congress from the territory. Woodbridge, like Cass, had come overland from Marietta, Ohio, by way of Urbana and the military path. It was through their joint efforts that the long lines of communication, radiating from Detroit were commenced.

The official history of these was briefly as follows: In 1824 Congress appropriated \$20,000 for the construction of the road from the foot of the Miami [Mau-mee] Rapids at Perrysburgh to Detroit. In 1827 a like sum was appropriated for the road from Detroit to Chicago. The same year appropriations were made for a road from Detroit to Saginaw Bay and one from Detroit to Fort Gratiot. In 1833 Congress made appropriations for the road from Detroit through Shiawassee County to the mouth of Grand River and one from La Plaisance Bay to the Chicago Road.

MODES OF TRAVEL

The modes of travel in the early days were almost as varied as the routes. There are numerous records of business or official journeys from Detroit to New York, Philadelphia and Washington on horseback. It was not always the case that "when two get to horse one must ride behind." For trips across the state the "ride and tie" method was sometimes used. In such cases the first traveler would ride a few miles, then tie the horse and go ahead on foot. The second traveler would start on foot, and when he reached the horse would mount, ride a few miles past the first, then tie again and walk on. This lap streak method of making a journey would obviously not answer in territory where there was danger from horse thieves or hostile Indians. For local travel through the French period, and even later, the two-wheeled cart for summer and the light sleigh for winter were about the only vehicles. As late as 1822 there was only one four-wheeled wagon in the city, and it was a dozen years later than that before the two seated carriage became a common sight. In 1815 Governor Cass brought his family from Ohio in a carriage, but as there was but little occasion for so elegant a turnout for pleasure riding it was sold and turned to more useful purpose as a hack.

THE STAGE COACH

The era of the stage coach about which much of the excitement and romance of travel in the middle of the Nineteenth Century centered, commenced in June, 1822, when a regular route was established between Detroit and Mt. Clemens. It left Detroit after the arrival of the steamboat from Buffalo, at whatever hour that chanced to be. A regular line to Ohio towns started five years later. In winter when the boats were not running the line across Canada was an important link in travel. Stages leaving Niagara Monday morning were due in Sandwich Saturday morning. The taverns along the line at which regular stops were made attained considerable fame among travelers. One of them was widely known as "The Goose Tavern," for the reason that the piece de resistance for the hot supper was always a roasted goose. Time for this trip was ultimately reduced to four days, fare five cents a mile, which was a very common rate for stage travel.

By 1832 the system was well established and was quite comprehensive, as is shown by the following announcement made by Benjamin Woodworth: "The Sandusky Line, passing through Monroe and Maumee, leaves the hotel every evening at six o'clock. The St. Joseph line passing through Ypsilanti, Saline, Clinton, Jonesville, White Pigeon, Mottville and Niles leaves the hotel every morning at seven o'clock during the summer season and three times a week during the winter season. A branch of this line leaves Ypsilanti immediately after its arrival for Ann Arbor, Jacksonburgh and Calhoun. The Ann Arbor line, passing through Pekin, Plymouth and Panama, leaves the hotel three times a week.

"The Pontiac line leaves daily, and a branch three times a week passes through Rochester, Stony Creek and Romeo; and also a line to Mt. Clemens three times a week. A daily extra will also leave for Ypsilanti at 12 o'clock. As almost all the above routes are regular mail routes, the traveling public may depend upon a safe and speedy conveyance. Extra carriages will be furnished at all times for any part of the country."

The hotel referred to was "Uncle Ben" Woodworth's Steamboat Hotel at the northeast corner of Woodbridge and Randolph Streets. It was headquarters for passengers by sail vessel and steamboat, the location of the offices of all the stage lines, and the scene of the most important social functions of the time. Woodworth built his first hotel here in 1812, replaced it by a larger one in 1818, and it continued in operation till 1848 when it was burned down.

The stage continued to be one of the principal means of travel till the railroads began to cover the same routes. It then fell off rapidly, and the last of the regular lines went out of existence in 1873. It was an eminently social mode of travel but not always comfortable. In winter the passengers suffered from cold, and in spring and fall they had sometimes to work their passage by helping to extricate the coach from the mire.

The first regular line of street omnibuses in Detroit was started in 1843. The first regular route was from the Michigan Exchange out Jefferson Avenue to Hamtramck, covering part of the same route as that subsequently taken by the first motor-bus line in July, 1920. The bus line established in 1843 and another in 1850 were both short lived. But in 1853 a line was established, predecessor of the Detroit Omnibus Company, which continued in the passenger business till a very recent date. In 1883 it took over the coupes and express business of the Detroit Carriage and Express Company. Its baggage express business is still in operation.

THE FIRST WATER CRAFT

To the Indian and the fur trader the birch bark canoe was one of the first essentials of existence. From the mouth of the Ottawa River, up that stream to its sources, through Georgian Bay, the Straits of Mackinac and the Sault, along the shores of all the Great Lakes, and up every stream that empties into them, this graceful craft made its way. It furnished the quickest method of travel, the most available means of transporting furs and trading stores. It was easy of propulsion and a light weight for the portages. In its smaller forms it was readily propelled by a single paddle and easily carried by two men. The longer craft were six feet wide and thirty-five or more feet in length. One of this type would carry fifty or sixty packs of furs of 100 pounds each, besides the

necessary provision for a crew of eight men. They were used not only by the Indians in their wanderings, but by the French missionaries and traders and later by the American explorers. It was in craft of this kind that Governor Cass and his party made their famous voyage of exploration to the Upper Lakes in 1820. In the party with the Governor were his distinguished fellow-townsmen Henry R. Schoolcraft, Charles C. Trowbridge, and six others, ten Canadian voyagers, seven United States soldiers, ten Indians, an interpreter and a guide. The flotilla consisted of four birch bark canoes and the long journey was made without a mishap. Through the writings of the governor and Mr. Schoolcraft it contributed a vast amount of useful information in reference to the Upper Lakes and country. The next year Governor Cass and Mr. Schoolcraft used the same kind of craft in a journey from Detroit to the head of Lake Michigan by way of Detroit river, Lake Erie, the Maumee, Wabash, Mississippi and Illinois Rivers. These were the most noted canoe voyages out of Detroit.

A variation from the birch bark canoe was the "dug out", made by hollowing out the trunk of a single large-sized tree. Another variation was the pirogue made from a single large cedar tree. A later device used by English and American traders was the "Mackinaw boat," built of oak or pine boards. It was flat bottomed, high at the sides, and with bow and stern shaped alike. It was a capacious and safe craft.

THE PIONEER SAIL VESSEL

The first sail vessel used on the lakes above Niagara Falls was the "Griffon." Of its inception Father Hennepin gives this account in his "New Discovery," according to a very early translation.

"The next day, which was the First of the Year 1679, after the ordinary Service, I preach'd in a little Chapel made of Barks of Trees and afterwards we had a Conference with 42 old Men, who make up their Council. One of our own Men, nam'd Anthony Brossard, told their Assembly, First, That we were come to pay them a Visit, and smoak with them in their Pipes.

"Secondly, We desir'd them, in the next place to give Notice to the five Cantons of their Nation, that we were about to build a Ship, or great wooden Canow above the great Fall of the River Niagara, to go and fetch European Commodities by a more convenient passage than the ordinary one, by the River St. Lawrence, whose rapid Currents make it dangerous and long; and that by these means we should afford them our Commodities cheaper than the English and Dutch of Boston and New York.

"On the 14th day of January we arrived at our Habitation of Niagara, very weary of Fatigues of our Voyage. On the 20th arrived M. de la Salle from Fort Frontenac, from whence he was sent with a great Barque to supply us with Provisions, Rigging, and Tackling for the Ship we design'd to build at the Mouth of Lake Erie; but that Barque was unfortunately cast away on the Southern Coast of Lake Ontario, by the fault of two Pilots, who could not agree about the Course they were to steer, tho' they were then only within two Leagues of Niagara. The Sea-Men have call'd this place the Mad-Cape. The Anchors and Cables were sav'd but several Canows made of Barks of Trees with Goods and Commodities were lost.

"On the 22nd of the said Month, we went two Leagues above the great Fall of Niagara, where we made a Dock for Building the Ship we wanted for our Voyage.

This was the most convenient place we could pitch upon, being upon a River which falls into the Streight between the Lake Erie and the great Fall of Niagara. The 26th the Keel of the Ship and some other Pieces being ready, M. de la Salle sent the Master-Carpenter to desire me to drive in the first Pin, but my Profession obliging me to decline that Honour, he did it himself, and promis'd Ten Louis d'Or's, to encourage the Carpenter and further the work."

The vessel thus commenced was speedily completed, to the great amazement of the savages who "could not apprehend how, in so short a time, we had been able to build so great a Ship." "It might have been called a moving fortress, for all the savages inhabiting the lakes and rivers for five hundred Leagues together were filled with Fear as well as Admiration when they saw it. She carry'd five small guns, two whereof were Brass, and three Harquebuze. The Beak head was adorned with a flying Griffon, and an Eagle above it." This device was taken from the coat of arms of Count Frontenac, the patron of the expedition. "M. la Salle used to say of this Ship, while yet upon the Stocks, that he would make this Griffon fly above the Ravens." The writer naively adds that after the vessel was completed "we fired three Guns, and sung Te Deum, which was attended with loud Acclamations of Joy; of which those of the Iroquese who were accidentally present were also Partakers for we gave them some Brandy to drink."

After several short trial trips the "Griffon" started on her long journey, having on board Robert Chevalier de La Salle, Father Louis Hennepin, Gabriel de la Ribourde and thirty-three others and arrived in Detroit August 10th. Her arrival was thus commemorated in verse by Judge James V. Campbell at a celebration two centuries later.

"Never had vessel along this shore
 "Cleft these quiet waves before.
 "No better craft was ever seen
 "Than brave LaSalle's stout brigantine.
 "Out from the prow a Griffin springs,
 "With scales of bronze and fiery wings,
 "And the ship that earned so wide a fame
 "Bore on the scroll a Griffin's name."

LaSalle left the vessel when he started from the Lake Michigan shore on his long journey of exploration to and down the Mississippi. The Griffon, with a valuable cargo of furs, started back from Washington Island in that lake September 20, 1679 and neither vessel nor any of the crew was ever seen again. As she was the first of the thousands of sail vessels that have vexed the waters of the Upper Lakes, so she was the first of hundreds that have gone beneath the waves.

No sail vessel again visited Detroit for eighty-four years. During the Pontiac siege in 1763 the small armed sloops "Charlotte" and "Gladwin" brought supplies to the beleagured garrison. After the siege was raised, they, together with the "Beaver," plied regularly between Detroit and the Niagara River. The last named vessel was wrecked in 1769, with the loss of seven lives and a valuable cargo. The first vessel built in Detroit was the "Enterprise," launched in 1769. Vessel building with craft of very moderate tonnage flourished from about that time on. In 1782 there were nine armed vessels in these waters, all built in Detroit. The largest was the brig "Gage" of 154 tons and carrying fourteen guns. The homemade craft of those days were small but they laid the foundation for the immense shipbuilding industry of later years.

THE FIRST STEAMERS

The initial venture in steam navigation on the Lakes was made in 1818 when the "Walk-in-the-Water," named after a Wyandot chieftain, made her first trip. The vessel was built at Black Rock, was towed through the strong current to Buffalo by sixteen yoke of oxen, a "horned breeze" as they were facetiously termed. She left Buffalo at 1:30 P. M., August 23rd, and arrived at Detroit at 10:30, August 27th, a run of three days and twenty-one hours. Her log was officially given by William Woodbridge, collector of the port, as follows: "She left Buffalo at half past one on the 23rd, and arrived at Dunkirk at thirty-five minutes past six the same day. On the following morning she arrived at Erie, Captain Fish having reduced her steam during the night, in order to pass that place where she took in a supply of wood. At half past seven she left Erie, and came to at Cleveland at eleven o'clock on Tuesday; at 20 minutes past six sailed and arrived off Sandusky Bay at one o'clock on Wednesday; lay at anchor during the night, and then proceeded to Venice for wood; left Venice at three P. M. and anchored in Detroit River during the night."

Half the population of Detroit were out to cheer her when she arrived at Wing's wharf at the foot of Bates Street. The afternoon of her arrival she took a distinguished party of Detroit ladies and gentlemen on an excursion to Lake St. Clair, thus setting an example which has been followed tens of thousands of times by her successors. In 1819 she made a trip to Mackinac and Green Bay. During the rest of her existence she made round trips between Buffalo and Detroit once in two weeks. Although the fare between those cities was high, \$18 a single trip, the boat was well patronized, carrying sometimes as many as a hundred passengers. She was wrecked in a storm near Buffalo in the fall of 1821.

The founders of Detroit made the first approach to the site of their settlement in batteaux and they and their successors have been engaged in constructing some sort of river and lake craft pretty much ever since. They have passed through all the successive steps from the canoe and the dugout to the largest of modern craft. Work at Detroit yards has included tugs, two, three and four masted schooners, coarse freight wooden steamers, package freight and passenger steamers with wooden hulls, steam barges, passenger ferry steamers, the largest car ferries, iron and steel freighters of every class, ice crushers, a floating dry dock, pleasure yachts, and the finest side-wheel passenger carriers that sail in any waters. The first merchant sail vessel was built here in 1769 and called the *Enterprise*. The *Angelica*, of forty-five tons, followed in 1771. In 1782 there were nine armed vessels afloat in these waters, all built in Detroit and all in good order, the largest being a brig with fourteen guns. In 1796 twelve merchant vessels were owned here, as well as numerous brigs, sloops, and schooners. In 1797 the U. S. schooner *Wilkinson* was built at Detroit under direction of Captain Curry. She later was renamed the *Amelia* and formed part of Commodore Perry's squadron. The *Argo* in 1827 was the first steamer built in Detroit, followed in 1833 by the *Michigan*, built by Oliver Newberry. In 1837 there were thirty-seven steamers on lake waters, of which seventeen were owned in this city. At the present time there are more passenger steamers owned in Detroit and with a larger passenger carrying capacity than in any other port in the country except New York. With joint tonnage of nearly 50,000 and licensed to carry 65,000 passengers, they visit every port

from Buffalo to Mackinac. The largest steamers take from 3,500 to 4,000 passengers each and leave their docks daily, taking in the aggregate a larger number of tourists and excursionists than any other port can show. These vessels were almost every one of Detroit build, engine and boiler as well as hull.

The season of 1911 brought a unique feature in lake shipbuilding. This was in the form of contracts for the construction of steamers and barges for the Atlantic trade. Two factors brought these contracts this way. The first was the ability to build vessels of the type wanted more quickly than the ocean shipyards are able to do it, and the other was the lower cost at which the work could be done here. The vessels are limited in size to the capacity of the Welland Canal. During 1917 and 1918 almost the entire construction work of both companies was in vessels built under Government direction, for ocean service.

The increase in tonnage of vessels built here has been almost as striking as the change in material and type of construction. In 1882 the record cargo of iron ore was 1,604 gross tons; in 1885, 2,254; in 1890, 2,744; in 1895, 3,843; in 1900, 7,045; in 1905, 10,629; in 1906, 13,294. That pretty nearly reached the limit of cargo possible with the present depth of channels, though in 1919 a maximum of 14,000 tons was reached. The record cargo of wheat from 1839 to 1845 was that of the "Osceola," Chicago to Buffalo, with 3,678 bushels. Recent cargoes have exceeded 420,000 bushels.

People in Detroit see more freight cargoes in the navigation season than do residents of any of the country's shipping ports except New York. The report of the Army engineers for the last fiscal year, 1920, published a few days ago, shows that 73,091,000 tons of freight were carried in boats in the Detroit river. New York, which tops the list, reported 87,930,000 tons, but the Detroit figures represent only part of the twelve months over all of which New York returns were spread.

In value of cargoes, Detroit drops to fourth place, New York, Norfolk and Philadelphia being ahead. The difference probably is due to the large proportion of iron ore among cargoes transported along the lake waterway.

Here is a table of the twelve first districts, classed according to tonnage of freight:

District	Short Tons	Value
New York.....	87,930,000	\$9,373,000,000
Detroit river.....	73,091,000	979,423,000
Philadelphia.....	31,563,000	2,674,744,000
Norfolk.....	24,579,000	3,254,339,000
Baltimore.....	14,056,000	873,891,000
New Orleans.....	9,202,000	936,343,000
Newport News.....	9,048,000	978,088,000
San Francisco.....	7,113,000	523,493,000
Portland, Ore.....	5,782,000	186,203,000
Seattle.....	5,497,000	750,000,000
Mobile.....	1,988,500	100,000,000
Key West.....	1,980,000	178,468,000

The last fiscal year was considerably below the recent average for Detroit river shipping, previous tonnage totals having been: 1918, 88,855,000; 1917, 95,243,000; 1916, 100,907,000.

NAVIGATION COMPANIES

The first passenger and freight service to be established between the cities of Detroit and Cleveland was initiated in the year 1850, when the steamers Southerner and Baltimore were placed in commission between these ports by Capt. Arthur Edwards. These steamers covered the route during the seasons of 1850-51, and were succeeded in 1852 by the Forest City, completed that year for John Owen and associates and run jointly with the steamers St. Louis and Sam Ward, owned by E. B. Ward & Company. In 1853 the steamers May Queen, built that year, and the City of Cleveland, built the year previous, succeeded the former vessels on the route. In 1855, the steamer Ocean was added with a view to operating both day and night lines. This arrangement continued during the season of 1855, and a portion of that of 1856, when the Queen was laid up, due to unremunerative business. The seasons of 1857-61, inclusive, saw the route covered by the May Queen and the Ocean. In 1862, the Morning Star was completed and displaced the Ocean, and then during the latter part of the season the City of Cleveland displaced the May Queen. The route was covered during the years 1863-66, inclusive, by the Morning Star, and the City of Cleveland. In 1867 the R. N. Rice was completed and displaced the City of Cleveland. The business at this time was operated as the Detroit & Cleveland Steamboat Line and was run in connection with the Michigan Central Railroad, affording the latter company a water route to Cleveland from Detroit, at that time its eastern terminus; and the service was known and advertised as the Michigan Central Railroad Line. The business was conducted under the management of John Owen, who was heavily interested, and its local affairs were taken care of by Keith & Carter, at Detroit, and by L. A. Pierce, at Cleveland, acting as agents. The business had, during the seventeen years of operation, grown to such volume that it was necessary to weld the various private interests which controlled its vessels more closely, and during the winter of 1867-68, John Owen and David Carter perfected an organization which resulted in the incorporation, in April, 1868, of the Detroit & Cleveland Steam Navigation Company, with the following incorporators: John Owen, David Carter, Capt. Ira Davis, Capt. E. R. Viger, W. B. Watson, James Moreton, W. McKay, Joseph Cook and S. Gardner, of Detroit, and L. A. Pierce and George B. Burton, of Cleveland. The company was incorporated with a capital of \$300,000 and granted a thirty-year charter by the state of Michigan. Its first election of officers occurred in May, 1868, when John Owen was elected president and treasurer, and David Carter, secretary. Its vessels were two in number, the steamers R. N. Rice and Morning Star. The latter steamer was lost in collision with the schooner Cortlandt on the 20th of June, 1868, with a loss of twenty-six lives, and her place on the route was filled by the steamer Northwest, which with the R. N. Rice was run continuously until the close of navigation in 1876. During the winter of 1876-7, the Northwest was rebuilt at a cost of \$80,000 and the following summer the R. N. Rice was practically destroyed by fire, while lying at her moorings in Detroit, the Saginaw taking her place on the route for the balance of the season. The first vessel to be built for this company was the City of Detroit, a composite hulled steamer, completed in 1878, at a cost of \$175,000. This steamer, with the Northwest, took care of the traffic on the Cleveland route until 1886. The second vessel constructed was the City of Cleveland, which was built in 1880,

and which was placed on a route between Detroit and Houghton, Michigan, remaining in this service during the seasons of 1880-81-82. In 1883 the third vessel, the City of Mackinac, an iron steamer, costing \$160,000, was completed, and in connection with the steamer City of Cleveland, whose name had been changed to the City of Alpena, the company inaugurated the service on the route between Detroit and St. Ignace, and known as the Lake Huron division. The fourth vessel to be built for the company marked a great advance in lake passenger steamers, being the first steel-hulled steamer constructed for passenger service on the Great Lakes and the first to be equipped with feathering wheels. This steamer was completed in 1886, at a cost of \$300,000, was named the City of Cleveland, and replaced the Northwest, which was sold to the White Star Line, and by them rebuilt and renamed the Greyhound. In 1889, the fifth vessel was completed for the company, a steel steamer costing \$350,000 and named the City of Detroit. This replaced the older vessel of that name on the Detroit-Cleveland route. The latter steamer was known as the City of Detroit No. 1, during the season of 1889, and was run on the route between Chicago and St. Joseph, Michigan.

On the expiration of the charter granted to the Detroit & Cleveland Steam Navigation Company in April, 1868, and running until April, 1898, the company was reincorporated as the Detroit & Cleveland Navigation Company, with a capital of \$1,500,000.

During its life the company had as executive chiefs the following: John Owen, who with David Carter was one of its most active organizers. Mr. Owen was its first president and treasurer and remained its executive head until he was succeeded by the late Senator James McMillan, who upon his death, in 1903, was in turn succeeded as president by his son, William C. McMillan; upon the death of the latter, in 1907, his brother, Philip H. McMillan, was elected to the office, and after his death was succeeded, in 1919, by A. A. Schantz, who had been connected with the company for almost forty years. With the history of the company the name of David Carter is indissolubly linked.

The White Star Line was organized in 1896, in which year it was incorporated under the laws of the state of Michigan, receiving charter in February of that year and basing its operations on a capital stock of \$85,000. In 1899 the capital was increased to \$200,000, and the progressive policy and attendant success of the company was further shown in 1907, when the capital stock was further increased to \$750,000. The representative citizens who effected the organization of the company were: Aaron A. Parker, Byron W. Parker, John Pridgeon, Jr., L. C. Waldo and Charles F. Bielman. The executive officers are to be designated as follows: A. A. Parker, president; L. C. Waldo, vice president; John Pridgeon, Jr., treasurer; C. F. Bielman, secretary and traffic manager; and B. W. Parker, general manager.

The first steamer put into commission by the company was the City of Toledo, and in 1899 the Greyhound, No. 1, was added to the line. In the following year the company built the steamer Tashmoo, at a cost of \$350,000, and in 1903 was built the Greyhound, No. 2, at a cost of \$300,000. In 1904 was built and placed in commission the Owana, which represents an expenditure of \$150,000.

The Ashley and Dustin organization had its inception in the '80s as the firm

of Ashley & Mitchell. Edward A. Dustin succeeded Mitchell in 1894 and Oliver S. Dustin took Ashley's place on the latter's death in 1897. The firm title, which had become Ashley & Dustin, was retained. The firm was incorporated in 1911 as the Ashley & Dustin Steamer Line Company. The boats Put-in-Bay and Frank E. Kirby are operated between Detroit and Put-in-Bay Island.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE RAILROAD ERA

By WILLIAM STOCKING

THE RAILROAD ERA—THE EARLY CHARTERS—PRIMITIVE METHODS OF CONSTRUCTION—THE DETROIT & PONTIAC RAILROAD AND ITS SUCCESSORS—THE CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN ROADS—PURCHASE BY THE STATE—RESALE AND COMPLETION OF THE MICHIGAN CENTRAL—ITS DEVELOPMENT INTO A GREAT SYSTEM—THE PERE MARQUETTE AND ITS LINES—THE BOARD OF TRADE AND THE WABASH—THE UNION DEPOT—ADVENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA.

The Detroit & Pontiac Railroad, with its successors and extensions, passed through pretty much every range of experience that has fallen to the lot of pioneer enterprises, including raw experimentation, bankruptcy, reorganization and endless litigation. It was planned first to connect Detroit with the rich agricultural region of Oakland County, and the flouring mills which were already operating in that section. Its charter bore date of July 31, 1830, and this was the first railroad incorporated within the limits of the Northwest Territory. It was also the first to actually lay rails and to use a locomotive for the operating power. The charter stipulated that the road should be completed to Pontiac within five years, but the incorporators failed in some of their plans. The charter was abrogated, and in 1834 another was granted to the Detroit & Pontiac Railroad Company, an entirely new corporation, which was subsequently authorized to establish the Bank of Pontiac. The principal promoters and stockholders of both institutions were Sherman Stevens and Alfred Williams, the latter commonly known also as "Salt" Williams on account of his once having broken a corner in that commodity. He and his associate seem to have had a genius for high finance. They not only succeeded in borrowing \$100,000 from the State of Michigan, but a like sum from the State of Indiana. That commonwealth happened to have idle money in the treasury, but it must have required an enticing persuasiveness to induce the officials to invest the funds in an unbuilt railroad backed only by a wildcat bank in another state.

Actual construction had to wait on finance, and even after work was commenced progress was slow. It was not until April, 1836, that the contract was let for grubbing the first fifteen miles, and then a swamp with a few deep sink holes near Royal Oak delayed progress. In 1837, while the internal improvement fever was on, the state was authorized to purchase what there was of the road, but no action was taken under this authority. Instead of that, the state loaned the company \$100,000 and in the end had neither the money nor the road. In July, 1838, the road was opened to Royal Oak, and August 16, 1839, to Birmingham. Up to this time the cars had been drawn by horses, but now a locomotive was purchased. It was built by Baldwin

of Philadelphia, founder of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, which to this day are the largest works of the kind in the country. The engine was first named the "Sherman Stevens" and afterwards the "Pontiac." It was evidently of superior workmanship, for it was in use as a switch engine nearly forty years later.

In 1840, parties in Syracuse having claims upon the road, procured its sale under an execution. It was bid in by the late Gurdon Williams, of this city, and Giles Williams and Dean Richmond, of Albany, New York, but soon after transferred to other parties in Syracuse. It was finally completed to Pontiac in 1843, and the event was duly celebrated on the 4th of July of that year, Governor Barry, Attorney-General Henry N. Walker and others participating. The road was soon after leased by the Syracuse owners for ten years to Gurdon Williams, who was to pay a graduated amount of rental, averaging about \$10,000 a year.

The track and equipment of this pioneer road were very primitive. The track was a strap rail spiked to wooden stringers. Nothing was easier than for the spike, after a little wear, to come out of the end of the rail, which would then stick up from three inches to six feet. In one instance one of these rails pierced the car and came up through a barrel of flour, the end protruding 12 inches above the head of the barrel, the car coming into Detroit in that plight. Instead of the conductor carrying a machine with which to punch tickets, he was only equipped with a hammer for nailing down "snakeheads."

One afternoon, when only three or four passengers were on board, the train on the way out encountered a "snakehead" at a point where excavations had been made for the embankment of the water works. One of these obstructions came up through the car, struck a lady passenger in the breast and carried her from the center compartment of the car into the rear one. She was brought back and taken to the hotel, and Doctor Pitcher was sent for, who took her portemonnaie out of the wound in her breast, where it had been actually driven out of sight by the iron. In view of the possibility of accidents of this kind, the company advertised in 1845 that it had "a new and elegant car, well warmed and sheathed with iron to guard against loose bars". The first passenger coaches were divided into three rooms, the passengers entered at the side and the seats were arranged lengthwise. The only brake was on the tender and was worked by the fireman. The maximum speed was fifteen miles an hour. The time between Detroit and Pontiac was indefinite. The train was very accommodating. It would stop anywhere to take on or drop a passenger. On one recorded occasion the engineer took his gun along, and after a good shot, stopped the train long enough to get off and pick up his game. "Salt" Williams himself, principal promoter of the road, usually, when on business, drove in from Pontiac, on the ground that he could make better time that way, and he "wouldn't ride on such a railroad as that, anyhow".

The legislature of the state in 1837, taking their cue from the British Parliament in reference to "the safety of passengers conveyed by steam on roads partly constructed of iron," summoned a number of gentlemen connected with the different projected roads of the state, before a special committee. The questions propounded were eighty in number. One of the witnesses being no other than "Salt" Williams, was asked question No. 79, "How many (if any) accidents endangering life have occurred during the past year?" The witness, after carefully considering the importance of the question, and satis-

ifying himself that he duly comprehended its nature, replied that "no accidents of any consequence had occurred except one, and that was to a middle-aged couple who left Detroit for Birmingham, and died of old age before they reached that delightful rural village!"

The first line of the road in Detroit was down Dequindre Street at grade to Larned Street, where the depot was established. The company proposed to cross Jefferson Avenue and so reach the river, but could not obtain consent. It therefore, in 1843, with permission from the common council, turned down Gratiot to Farmer Street. This new roadway was laid in the mud on wooden stringers. The construction of the track showed a disregard for the rights of owners of wagons and other vehicles, and after a moderate rainfall the street could not be traversed by anything on wheels. The people became exasperated and the storekeepers and property owners were furious. The common council was bombarded with petitions, demanding a change, but the company did nothing to allay the storm. After some delay the common council pronounced this part of the track a nuisance and ordered its removal. The company ignored the order and people along the line took the law into their own hands. On the evening of December 12, 1849, a party of citizens, reported to be "from sixty to one hundred in number", gathered on Gratiot Street near what was then the head of Beaubien Street, and proceeded to tear up the tracks. They pried off the strap rails with crowbars, sledge hammers and hand spikes, rooted out the stringers, and cast them on one side of the highway. In all about 400 feet of track was torn up. Arrests were made of a number of leading citizens for participation in this act, but no jury would convict them and they escaped penalty.

For several weeks the cars stopped at the corner of Gratiot and Dequindre; then the track was repaired, but it was again torn up. After some vicissitudes, permission was finally given the company to cross Jefferson Avenue, the Gratiot Street track was abandoned, and in 1852 cars commenced running into the Brush Street depot, and for the first time on T-rails.

EXTENSIONS AND TRANSFERS

While the Detroit & Pontiac was thus going on its tempestuous course, the Oakland & Ottawa Railroad Company was chartered, April 3, 1848, to continue the line from Pontiac to Lake Michigan. In 1855 the two companies were consolidated under the name of the Detroit & Milwaukee Railroad. Building then went on with reasonable expedition. The road was opened to Fentonville in 1855, to Owosso in 1856, to St. Johns and Ionia in 1857 and to Grand Rapids and Grand Haven in 1858. From the latter point regular steamer connections were made with Milwaukee, and the road became a favorite for travel to the Northwest. Though never profitable to the stockholders, the road was a very important factor in the development of the third tier of counties. Each of the constituent portions of the road was heavily mortgaged and additional encumbrances were taken after the consolidation. Under foreclosure of second mortgages the Great Western Railroad of Canada bought in the road in 1860, its ownership being subject, of course, to the first mortgage claims. After several years these were foreclosed and from 1875 to 1878 the road was in the hands of Charles C. Trowbridge as receiver. In 1878, under court decree, the Great Western became the purchaser and the road was reorganized under the name of The Detroit, Grand Haven & Milwaukee Railroad. It still retains

that name, though both it and the Great Western have been incorporated in the Grand Trunk System. No part of this system ever came under state ownership and it is the only one of the early roads of which this is true.

THE OTHER CHARTERED ROADS

Preliminary plans for a railroad from Detroit to Lake Michigan through the first and second tiers of counties were made in 1831 and took legal form the next year. The Detroit & St. Joseph Railroad was chartered June 29, 1832, but the work of taking subscriptions to the stock did not commence till 1835. The same year the incorporators were authorized to establish a bank at Ypsilanti. Citizens of Detroit subscribed for \$100,000 of the stock of the road and the city itself took \$50,000 worth. Residents of Ypsilanti who expected much from this improvement also subscribed quite liberally. The first contract for grubbing the roadway was let in May, 1836. Up to March, 1837, when the state was authorized to purchase the road, the stockholders had expended \$117,000, but had not completed any section of the track. With the purchase by the state, the name was changed to the Michigan Central. As such it became the most important link in the state's railroad properties. Subsequently under private ownership it developed into Michigan's greatest railroad system. It was always most intimately associated with the business interests of Detroit.

The next road chartered was the Erie & Kalamazoo. It was authorized to run from Toledo, through Adrian, to Marshall, or some other point on the Kalamazoo River. It was completed to Adrian in October, 1836. It now forms a section of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad.

The fourth railway to be chartered was the Detroit & Shelby railroad, extending to Utica in Macomb County. It was twenty miles in length, constructed with strap rail and operated by horses. It was completed in 1838. With the rotting out of the ties and stringers the road was abandoned, though its right of way is now occupied by the Bay City Division of the Michigan Central.

In 1836 the Allegan & Marshall Railroad was chartered, and \$100,000 loaned to the company by the state. Its route was identical with that of the present Michigan Central between Marshall and Kalamazoo, some portion of which was graded, but no part completed. In the same year the River Raisin and Lake Erie Road was chartered to run from La Plaisance Bay on Lake Erie through Monroe to Blissfield on the Erie & Kalamazoo Railroad. It was partly completed and now forms the Monroe branch of the Lake Shore. Also in 1836 was chartered the Palmyra & Jacksonburg Railroad, extending from Palmyra on the Erie & Kalamazoo, through Tecumseh, Clinton and Manchester, to Jackson. It was immediately built between Palmyra and Tecumseh. It now forms the Jackson Branch of the Lake Shore.

Charters were granted to several other roads between 1833 and 1838, none of which were built. In the latter year the state entered upon its grand scheme of internal improvements, and all of the above roads were merged into its system.

A TURN TO STATE OWNERSHIP

The people of Michigan along in the '30s of the last century had very exalted notions of the future of the state. On the face of it there was some reason for

this. They had seen the population increase from 8,896 in 1820 to 31,639 in 1830, about 85,000 in 1834 and 175,000 in 1837, and the rush, though somewhat abated, was still continuing in great volume, while the natural resources of the state were great and capable of indefinite expansion. The opinion very early began to prevail that the state should own the means of transportation and derive whatever benefits there were from their possession. The Constitution of 1835 echoed this sentiment in the following provision: "Internal improvements shall be encouraged by the government of this state; and it shall be the duty of the legislature, as soon as may be, to make provision by law for ascertaining the proper objects of improvement in relation to roads, canals and navigable waters; and it shall also be their duty to provide by law an equal, systematic, economical application of the funds which may be appropriated to these objects."

Governor Mason, who was an enthusiast, urged the subject of internal improvements upon the legislature in 1836 and 1837, and in the latter year urged that the state should take control of any railroads or canals that might be built. These avenues of transportation, he argued, would not only benefit the whole people, but the profits derived from them would probably pay the whole expense of the state government. At the session in 1837 a committee of the house made a report which surpassed all the governor's productions in its rhetorical flourishes and the optimism of its conclusions. The following is a part of the picture as it appeared in the House Journal of that year:

"Not many years since, the peninsula of Michigan was scarcely known. A few military and trading posts were the sole traces of civilization upon the broad expanse of her magnificent solitudes. Shut out, apparently, by a wide waste of waters from the East, and almost destitute of internal communication with the West and South, she seemed to the careless eye doomed to a perpetual desolation. Within the memory of some of her living inhabitants, such was her condition. The contrast which her present state exhibits can find no parallel but in the annals of our own country. The progress of centuries in other lands, is here realized in as many years. The sound of the falling forest is everywhere heard. Farms, villages and cities spring up on every side, under the magical hand of intelligent labor—the wide embracing arms of her surrounding seas bear to her indented shores a thousand keels, freighted with tribute to the enterprise and industry of her numerous and enlightened population. The romance of the past age is the reality of the present."

The committee advanced many arguments to show that the "high road to national prosperity" was internal improvements, and gave reasons why Michigan should take advantage at once of her position and resources. In the first place, they said internal improvement was no longer an experiment but had been tested all over the country; and a study of the improvements in each of the states showing extent, cost and results, "would have presented a safe guide to the judgment upon undertakings of this character." Again, internal improvement would bring the immigrant to the state, and increase in population would increase industry, the only source of wealth; the land would increase in value; railroads and canals would make it unnecessary to use horses for transportation of goods, and thus effect in the products of the soil a saving calculated at about one-third of that now consumed in the support of these animals. Michigan, it was claimed, was in a position to supply the "missing link" in the line of communication between the Mississippi and the Atlantic.

By building roads and canals, she gains the markets of the East and becomes the "middle ground" for the exchange of products of the Northwest. The principal argument, however, and the one which had most influence was, that the money so applied was not an expenditure but an investment, and an estimate of the income to be derived from this investment was given. This remarkable mathematical calculation figured out in the next twenty years a sufficient profit to pay the loan of \$5,000,000 required to construct the railroads and canals, and give a surplus of \$2,925,000 "besides the possession of the works which have yielded this immense profit."

It was with such rosy anticipations that the state entered upon its grand scheme of internal improvements.

In March, 1837, the Legislature created a "board of commissioners on internal improvement," with authority to construct three railways across the state to be known respectively as the Southern, the Central and the Northern; also three canals. The Southern Railway was to extend from Monroe through the southern tier of counties to New Buffalo on Lake Michigan; the Central was to run from Detroit through Ypsilanti, Jackson, Marshall and Kalamazoo to St. Joseph, and the Northern, starting from Port Huron, was to pass through Lapeer, Flint, Owosso and Grand Rapids, terminating at Grand Haven. The board was authorized to purchase any existing roads whose interests might be antagonized by the state lines. The three canals were the St. Mary's Ship Canal, around the falls at the Soo; the Clinton & Kalamazoo Canal, extending to Mount Clemens on the Clinton River across the state to the mouth of the Kalamazoo River, and the Saginaw Canal, connecting the Saginaw River with the Grand, thus establishing water communication between Saginaw and Grand Haven. The entire cost of this ambitious system of internal improvements was estimated at \$7,712,079.

The first commissioners were L. B. Mizner, of Wayne; Levi S. Humphrey, of Monroe; James B. Hunt, of Oakland; William A. Burt, of Macomb; Edwin H. Lothrop, of Kalamazoo; Hiram Alden, of Branch, and Rix Robinson, of Kent. The funds for the work were to be derived from any surplus of state revenue, five percent of the proceeds of sales of state lands, and a \$5,000,000 loan running twenty-five years at six percent. The profits of the public works were to constitute a sinking fund for the payment of the bonds.

Of the canals but little need be said here. The only one that was constructed, that at the Soo, came at a much later date and under different auspices. The Clinton & Kalamazoo was completed from Mt. Clemens to Utica at a cost of \$400,000, took in \$90.32 in tolls, and was then abandoned. Upon the Saginaw Canal \$42,098 was expended, but it never got far enough along to take any tolls.

The management of the \$5,000,000 loan was a series of mishaps. The negotiation of the bonds was entrusted to Governor Mason, who was not skilled in finance, and he was accompanied on his mission to New York by Theodore Romeyn of Detroit. They made an arrangement with the Morris Canal & Banking Company, which undertook the sale of the bonds at two and one-half percent commission, reserving the right to purchase on their own account. On this agreement the bonds were all delivered to the banking company, which afterwards failed, and the state realized only \$2,841,063 for its investment. Owing to this unfortunate outcome the state did not proceed far with any of its grand schemes except the Southern and Central railroads. The former

was located in 1837 under direction of the first board of commissioners. It was to commence at Monroe and passing through the southern tier of counties, terminate at New Buffalo. It was completed to Adrian in 1840, it was opened to Hillsdale in 1843 and stopped there. Up to the end of 1845 it had cost \$1,054,000, and the total receipts had footed up to \$170,446, hardly enough to pay running expenses. The state was glad to unload the burden, which it did in 1846 by selling the whole property to the Michigan Southern Railroad Company for \$500,000. It eventually became part of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad System. This system has been of great benefit to Detroit, and especially useful in developing the Southern tier of counties, but its headquarters have never been in this state.

THE MICHIGAN CENTRAL

When the state took possession of the Detroit & St. Joseph Railroad and named it the Michigan Central, it acquired a survey, a right of way, a very little completed road bed, and a lot of contracts. The line was established to a point two miles west of Ann Arbor, and work had been done in places between Detroit and Ypsilanti. Construction in this section of the road was especially difficult, as it was through a dense forest growth, with frequent stretches of deep swamp. The estimated cost of the road, in addition to the \$117,000 already expended was \$1,381,000. The state assumed all the contracts and followed the method of the company in construction. The road bed consisted of an embankment about fourteen feet wide, drained on either side by ditches. The superstructure consisted of longitudinal sills, not less than five by twelve inches, bedded in two parallel trenches with connecting planks under the ends. Cross ties were placed on the sills. White oak rails, 5 by 7 inches, were keyed into these and the whole surmounted by iron plate rails. Partly because of the time required for the settling of the embankments, but more because of the low marshy surface of the country, a new foundation was advised and used where the nature of the country made it more suitable. Holes were dug to the solid ground, eight feet apart lengthwise, and five feet apart crosswise of the road. Blocks two feet in diameter cut to suit the grade were placed endwise in these pits, and were settled by ramming. On these blocks were placed heavy timbers, which formed two parallel strings five feet apart, and formed the foundation of the road. The superstructure was the same as given above. The embankments were then finished and carried up to within three inches of the iron. Where the surface was marshy, the road was built on piles. The work of construction was slow. The funds were not always available as fast as needed, and in some cases the contractors had to be coaxed along on credit. The contractor for the entire section between Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti fell behind in his work, and an extra force was required under new contracts. The jealousy existing between partisans of the Central and Southern systems impeded legislation and sometimes occasioned more direct hindrances. One of the latter cases is thus described in the Joint Legislative Documents for 1841: "The Central road had been completed to within two and a half miles of Dexter. This portion was ready for the iron. The board, knowing that there was a quantity of iron at Monroe, which had not been appropriated, directed the superintendent at Monroe to forward it. After waiting for some time an agent was sent, but he returned without the iron. Finding that the feeling in Monroe was such that no assistance could be ob-



Burton Historical Society

MICHIGAN CENTRAL RAILROAD BUILDINGS IN 1861
Site of present City Hall



MICHIGAN CENTRAL TERMINAL

tained there, the commissioners gave David French authority to employ hands and remove the iron to the pier at La Plaisance Bay. He was defeated, as he reported, by such a demonstration of feeling on the part of the authorities and citizens of Monroe, as rendered it, in his judgment, impossible for him to carry into effect the orders of the board, without endangering the public peace, or putting in peril the safety of his party."

However, work progressed so that the road was opened to Dearborn in January, 1838, to Ypsilanti February 3d of the same year, to Ann Arbor October 17, 1839, to Dexter June 30, 1840, and to Jackson December 29, 1841. It reached Battle Creek in November, 1845, and Kalamazoo in February, 1846. Stages were run from the latter point to St. Joseph, where connection was made with the boats to Chicago.

Owing, doubtless, to different methods of bookkeeping, the statements of profits during the period of state ownership vary. In 1841 the net profits were reported at \$63,076, or about six percent of the cost of the road up to that time. In 1842 they were given at \$75,026, with the prediction that when the road was opened to Battle Creek they could be doubled. The report for 1845 was optimistic. The estimate for receipts was \$275,000 and the cost of keeping the road in repair at \$30,000. This was the last of the rosy views. The friends of the road were dismayed when they learned at the end of the year that the receipts had been overestimated by \$72,000, and that almost the whole had been absorbed by running expenses, repairs and new material. There were no net proceeds for the payment of interest, the redemption of state scrip or providing a sinking fund. It was stated, moreover, that the physical condition of the road was bad, that it ought to be rebuilt, laid with T-rails and supplied with new equipment; in short that it was bankrupt in finances and breaking down in service. The people, discouraged, were about ready to throw off the burden and the chance to sell came very opportunely.

Among the earliest proceedings of the Legislature of 1846 was the adoption of a resolution, presented by Judge Hand, the sole representative from Detroit, for the appointment of a committee of seven to consider the expediency of selling the public works. That committee had a bill ready to report, providing for the sale of the Central road, when J. W. Brooks, of Boston, made his appearance in Detroit as the representative of a number of eastern capitalists, and made a tender for its purchase. The committee entered at once into negotiations, the result of which was that a charter for the Michigan Central Railroad was drawn up by Judge Hand and reported for the approval of the Legislature, conditioned upon the payment of \$2,000,000 as purchase money, a sum sufficient to reimburse the state for all expenditures. After a prolonged struggle the required two-thirds of each house was obtained in support of the bill. Among the prominent participators in the discussion upon this important measure were Gen. Isaac E. Crary, George W. Peck, Austin Blair, Judge Edmunds, David Noble, James P. Sanborn, Augustus C. Baldwin, John P. Cook, and other well known and influential men. Previous to this time, so large a sum as \$100,000, it is said, had never been brought into the western country from the East for investment in any one enterprise. Yet this act of incorporation contemplated the expenditure of from \$6,000,000 to \$8,000,000, of which \$500,000 had to be paid before the state would relinquish possession. The bill passed in March, but it was not until the ensuing September that a company of sufficient strength could be organized to assume

the obligations of the charter, at which date the Michigan Central Railroad Company paid in the \$500,000 required, took possession of the road, and the charter took full effect.

While the charter had necessarily to be a favorable one for the corporators, in order to induce capitalists to venture their money in the West, the interests of the public were also well protected. The charter included provision by which all freight was required to be forwarded in the same order of precedence in which it was received at the stations, a provision which obviated a species of favoritism, about which great complaint had been made. By another provision the company were prohibited from making warehouse charges for shortage until they had given one day's notice in Detroit or four days' elsewhere in the state. Provision was also made limiting the charges for freight and passengers to the average rates of the Boston and Providence, Boston and Worcester, and Boston and Lowell roads. The company were required to complete the road to Lake Michigan with T-rail of not less than sixty pounds to the yard, and it was also stipulated that all the old road should be relaid with similar rail. The company were authorized to change the western terminus to any point in the state on Lake Michigan and they were subsequently allowed to extend the road to Chicago. There was a great strife between the Central and Lake Shore roads as to which should reach that city first, but the Central came out a day ahead, running its first train into that city May 20, 1852.

John M. Forbes was the first president of the road and John W. Brooks, who came from Rochester, New York, was the first superintendent. Mr. Brooks brought with him from the Auburn and Rochester Railroad C. H. Hurd and Henry Hopper, and from Massachusetts Reuben N. Rice and F. W. Warren. At the same time U. Tracy Howe came from Cincinnati and became a part of the new management; Mr. Hurd became freight agent, Mr. Warren cashier in freight department, Mr. Howe local treasurer and Mr. Rice secretary to Mr. Brooks. Among the new officials was John M. Berrien, constructing engineer, who had his office and corps of assistants at Kalamazoo, the then terminus of the road. Maj. George C. Hopper was roadmaster, and he afterwards gave interesting reminiscences of early railroading. He said: "The equipment consisted of six single-driver locomotives and one double-driver of very antiquated pattern. There were not more than eight or ten passenger and baggage cars, and the freight equipment consisted of four flats, four-wheel and eight-wheel box cars of very ancient type. A load for a single car, as the small ones were called, was thirty-four barrels of flour; for the larger ones, twice that amount. The flats were rigged with ridge poles lengthwise, over which a canvas was drawn when it was necessary to use them for freight. A load for the small engines was six eight-wheel or twelve four-wheel cars.

"The passenger train time was twelve hours to Kalamazoo, and they usually ran close to time; there were no time schedules for the freight trains; their business was to keep out of the way of passenger trains and not run into each other. The dispatcher would be in the yard at Detroit in the morning and give verbal instructions to the freight engineers as to where they were to go, and at what points to meet and pass each other. There were no freight conductors and but two passenger conductors, who were called captains. There was a station a mile and a half west of Chelsea called Davison's, at which trains

dined. When the road was completed to New Buffalo the dining rooms and shops were located at Marshall.

"When Mr. Brooks assumed control of the railroad, the passenger business was so mixed with the stage and steamboat traffic that the ticket seller at Detroit was empowered to sell tickets for the railroad and for the steamboats across Lake Michigan from St. Joseph to Chicago. The railroad tickets proper were colored cards sold to 'All Stations from Detroit.' They were taken by the conductor and returned to the agent to be resold. The second class tickets were similar in form and color to the first class tickets, but with one corner cut off. Conductors on taking up the tickets returned them to the ticket seller without any statement as to how many there were, but the agent made a statement to the local treasurer as to his sales from day to day. The conductors made written statements on their return trips from Kalamazoo of their collections out and return, and paid the cash to balance these reports.

The incorporators of the road were twenty-seven in number, all men of means, and almost all residents of New York, Albany or Boston. They had previously been interested in the operation of the pioneer railroads in the East. They were very fortunate in being able to associate with themselves at the very outset a young Detroit attorney, Mr. James F. Joy, who afterwards gave this account of the way it came about: "In the summer of 1845 Mr. John W. Brooks paid a visit to Detroit, bringing letters to me from friends in New England. He came to the office of Joy & Porter, and after several conversations upon the subject of the Michigan Central Railroad, I unfortunately took the step which led me away from the practice of the noble profession of the law to become a railroad man." This transfer of allegiance from law to transportation was a very fortunate thing for the railroad and for the City of Detroit, for in all his railroad building and terminal activities, extending over a period of fifty years, Mr. Joy always had the interests of Detroit in mind.

A detailed history of the Michigan Central would fill a volume. Its policy and general course of its development were fully determined by the men who were in at the start. J. M. Forbes was president from 1847 to 1856, J. W. Brooks from 1856 to 1867, and James F. Joy from 1867 to 1877. Throughout the thirty years of these successive administrations the importance of the road as a part of the through east and west trunk line system and the value of feeders within its own territory were both kept in view. Subsequent presidents were Samuel Sloan, 1877; William H. Vanderbilt of New York, 1878 to 1883; Henry B. Ledyard, successively president and chairman of the board from 1883 until his death on May 25, 1921. Mr. Ledyard, a native of Detroit, was always solicitous for the interests of the city as well as those of the road. When Mr. Ledyard became chairman of the board he was succeeded by Alfred H. Smith of New York as president.

The first of the Central's outside enterprises was the promotion of a line across the Ontario peninsula. Two rival Canadian companies, the Great Western and the Detroit & Niagara River Railroad had been making very slow progress toward construction when in 1846 the men at the head of the Michigan Central took hold of the Great Western project. They also enlisted New York Central interests, and funds were provided for pushing the work, so that the road was opened from Niagara Falls to Hamilton November 10, 1853, and to Detroit January 17, 1854. The arrival of the first train at Detroit was the occasion of an enthusiastic celebration ending with a great supper in the freight

house. Previous to this date the Buffalo connection with the Michigan Central was made by lake steamers. As soon, however, as connection was made with the Great Western, continuous night trains were put on. The first sleeping cars were operated by the Michigan Central in 1858. They were of the Woodworth pattern and were day coaches altered by the railroad company.

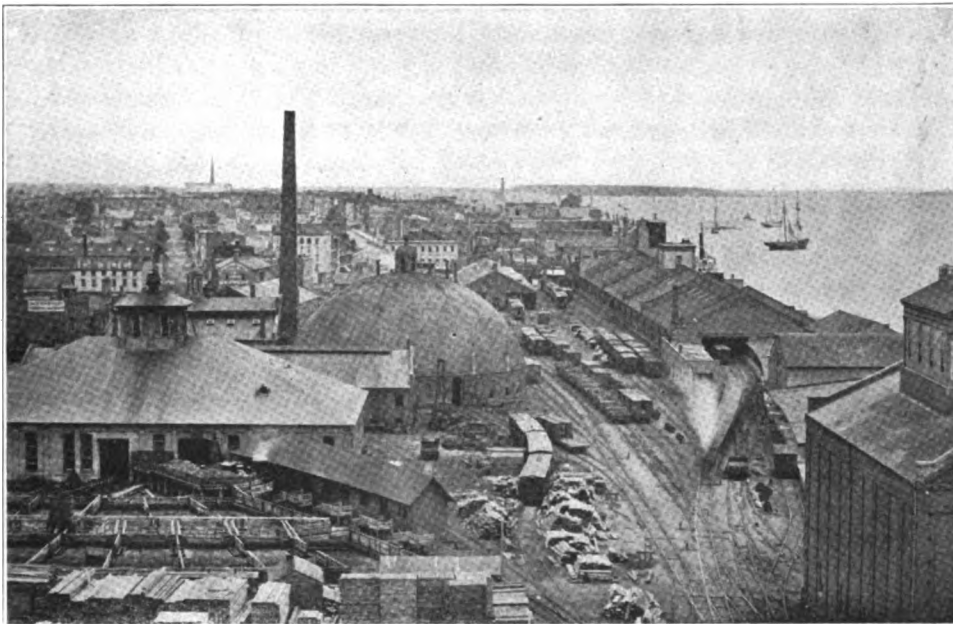
FEEDERS TO THE CENTRAL

One of the first railroads in central Michigan was that from Lansing to Owosso, called on account of its many curves the "ramshorn road," and one of the next was a road from Jackson to Lansing. The incorporators of the latter then acquired the Owosso line and extended it to Saginaw, under the title of the Jackson, Lansing & Saginaw. It was afterwards acquired by the Michigan Central and extended to Mackinac. This is the longest of the Michigan Central divisions within the state, being 297 miles from Jackson to Mackinac. As a feeder to the Central, the Detroit & Bay City was organized in 1871 and was speedily pushed to completion. About the same time the Canada Southern and the Chicago & Canada Southern companies were organized. A road was built from Buffalo to Amherstburg. Trains were taken across Detroit River by ferry to Stony Island, thence by bridge to Grosse Ile and by another bridge to Trenton. The track was carried a short distance into Indiana and another track was run from Trenton to Detroit. Both roads fell into a bad way financially and structurally, and were acquired by the Michigan Central. By building a new line from Essex Center to Windsor, the Canadian division became the Michigan Central's main line eastward, and the Trenton branch became part of its Toledo division. The Grand River Valley division from Jackson to Grand Rapids, the Air Line from Jackson to Niles, the Detroit, Hillsdale & Indiana, the Jackson & Fort Wayne and the Kalamazoo & South Haven are other lines that were built or promoted by the Michigan Central interests. In addition to its main divisions, that company controls about twenty short branches, all tapping territory which is valuable for the additions which it gives to both freight and passenger traffic. In 1920 its various lines had a total of 1,862 miles of track.

The additions which the Central has made to its terminal facilities in Detroit in the last few years are many and of vast importance. As part of the general scheme of improvement was the construction of the immense new passenger station and office building at Michigan Avenue and Fifteenth Street, with many miles of new track and sidings. This terminal station, costing over \$2,500,000, was opened in 1914. Preceding this by a few years was the tunnel under the Detroit River, completed in 1910. It consists of twin steel tubes each 262 feet long and 23 feet high. They were built at the shipyard in St. Clair, floated down the river, then sunk into position in trenches dug in the river bed and encased in cement. The length of the tunnel proper is 2,260 feet and of the approaches 5,340 feet, a total length of a mile and a half. It is well ventilated and lighted and cars are taken through it by electrically propelled locomotives. Its use not only expedites the transfer of cars in summer, but obviates the delays that ice formerly caused to the car ferries in winter. The cost of the tunnel and approaches was between nine and ten million dollars. The number of cars passing through the tubes in the first year of their operation was 243,027, and this hardly represents one-tenth of their capacity. They are now used only by the Michigan Central, but under the terms of the charter



MICHIGAN CENTRAL DEPOT, 1853-83



MICHIGAN CENTRAL DEPOT YARD ABOUT 1868

under which the work was done, the company must grant the use of the tunnel to other roads upon terms to be fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Canadian railroad commissioners.

THE PERE MARQUETTE SYSTEM

The second of the great railroad systems with headquarters in Detroit, the Pere Marquette, was of slow and piece-meal construction. Although it has vast interests in the western part of the state it is also one of the roads of peculiar value to this city. It gives Detroit communication with a large proportion of the interior cities and villages of the state. The first link in the system was a road from Flint to Saginaw, completed in 1864. Two years later a continuation of the road was made westward through the woods to the crossing of the Tittabawassee River. A line from Flint to Holly was then picked up. About this time Capt. Eber B. Ward became interested in the road. He sought to enlist the aid of Detroit capital. Failing of success he aided in organizing the Holly, Wayne & Monroe road and told Detroiters in effect that his road would side track their town, and if they wanted to ride on it, they could come out to Wayne to take the cars, which they were obliged to do for several years. The different bits of construction were put together under the name of the Flint & Pere Marquette, and the road was extended straight through the wilderness and across the state to Ludington. It passed through 150 miles of pine woods and was the pioneer in developing a whole tier of counties. In the hands of a receiver the road was once reorganized as the Pere Marquette. By absorption and construction it has acquired a larger mileage of track, 2,247 in all, than any other Michigan road. Its original line from Toledo to Ludington via Bay City covers 330 miles. From Pere Marquette, now Ludington, it runs car ferries to Milwaukee and Manitowoc. It has a line from Chicago along the Lake Michigan shore to Ludington; from Grand Rapids to Petoskey; from Detroit to Grand Rapids with a number of branches; from Saginaw to Muskegon and from Port Huron two lines through the Thumb district. In Canada it has one line from Sarnia to Rand Eau on Lake Erie, with ferry to Conneaut, Ohio, and another line from Detroit to Port Stanley with ferry to Conneaut.

One of the projects fostered by the Board of Trade and favored by Detroit people generally while it was in the making, was the road that connects the commercial metropolis with the capital of the state. Its first link was the Detroit & Howell and then the Detroit & Lansing Company was organized. The first attempts were based partly on aid voted by towns through which the road was to pass. After the Supreme Court declared the act authorizing such aid to be unconstitutional larger private subscriptions to stock were obtained. The road was completed to Lansing in 1876. It was then merged with the Lansing and Ionia, under the name of the Detroit, Lansing & Northern, and was pushed on to Howard City. It eventually became one of the most valuable portions of the Pere Marquette system.

THE BOARD OF TRADE AND THE WABASH

Through the whole period of railroad construction the Detroit Board of Trade was an earnest supporter of the new roads. It sympathized with the movement for city and county aid to new roads and advocated a considerable bonus from Detroit to the Lansing road. After the Supreme Court declared

the railroad aid act unconstitutional, the board promoted stock sales for both the Lansing road and the Detroit, Hillsdale & Indiana. Its pet project, however, was the bringing of the Wabash to Detroit. For this purpose it aided in the promotion of the Detroit, Butler & St. Louis Railroad, which was organized to build a road 113 miles in length from Detroit to Butler, Indiana, there to connect with the Wabash System. The board voted a bonus of \$13,000 out of its own treasury and individual members aided in bringing the total bonus from the city up to \$200,000. The survey for the road commenced April 12, 1880. Fourteen months from that time, June 12, 1881, Jay Gould, president of the Wabash, came into the city over the new line. The first through train arrived from St. Louis August 14 of that year. Passenger trains at first went around the city by the Grand Trunk tracks to the Brush Street depot. Tracks were afterwards laid along the river front, and a small passenger station was built at the foot of Twelfth Street. Freight and switching yards extended several blocks west of this, and a large elevator was built to accommodate the grain coming in over the line. The new road opened up a large amount of new territory to local trade and gave direct access to the central corn belt. The year before the road was built the receipts of corn at Detroit were only 428,000 bushels. They speedily ran up to a total of 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 annually. The Wabash is now one of Detroit's most valued lines. In 1920 the Wabash renewed for twenty-one years its lease from the Grand Trunk for the line from Windsor to Black Rock.

THE UNION DEPOT

Up to 1889 the Wabash and the Canadian Pacific occupied a small passenger station at the foot of Twelfth Street, while the Detroit, Lansing & Northern and the Flint & Pere Marquette came in over leased tracks to the Michigan Central. Mr. James F. Joy conceived the plan of providing a centrally located station for these and other roads and organized the Union Depot Company. Property at the corner of Fort and Third was acquired for the station, and after protracted efforts and much litigation, the right of way was secured. This involved the occupancy of part of River Street, the closing of part of Fourth and Fifth streets and the building of an elevated approach. It was a very expensive undertaking. Owners of property along the line were very exacting in the price demanded for the property acquired and in damages caused by building the approaches. The cost of right of way alone exceeded \$1,000,000. Opposition was also encountered from the Michigan Central and other interests, and hostility was encountered in the Legislature to granting the authority needed for carrying out the plans of the company. All obstacles were at length overcome, and the first train ran into the station January 21, 1893. Both the Wabash and the Pere Marquette built a large amount of new track through the western part of the city in order to make direct connection with the new station. The station was used in 1920 for trains of the Wabash, Pere Marquette, Canadian Pacific and Pennsylvania lines.

THE PENNSYLVANIA ROAD

The latest addition to Detroit's railroads, and it is a very important one, is an extension of the Pennsylvania System from Toledo to this city. The new line avoids the congested section of Toledo and connects with the Pere Marquette, over which it has trackage rights, to Carleton, Michigan. From

there to the River Rouge it comes over its own newly constructed road, and enters the Union Depot over the Pere Marquette tracks. It commenced running its own through trains from Detroit to Philadelphia, New York and Washington in May, 1920, the first train leaving Detroit on the 23d. While this addition to Detroit's passenger facilities is of high value, the effect upon the freight situation is of immensely greater importance. By sending its freight trains around the congested section of Toledo, it avoids the delays so common at that "neck of the bottle." For the handling of freight at this end of the line elaborate preparations have been made. One of the first pieces of new construction was a belt line from the Delray district to the Ford plant in Highland Park, thus giving connection with many existing factories, and opening up sites for new establishments. This belt line will eventually be extended to the Fairview manufacturing district.

To provide for the proper yard facilities to meet any abnormal development in the down-river section, a large tract of land was acquired on the Detroit River in River Rouge village. A further large tract of land was acquired for the main receiving, classification and storage yard west of the River Rouge. In the northern section of the city, near Livernois Avenue, on the belt line, a large tract of land was acquired for local yard purposes, which will be developed to a capacity of about one thousand cars. Another large tract has been acquired on the east side to have a capacity of one thousand cars. For central freight service, space has been acquired fronting on Third Street and extending back three blocks along Larned Street and Jefferson Avenue west. The improvements here involve an expenditure of between \$15,000,000 and \$20,000,000.

A COAL ROAD SALE

The year 1920 witnessed another railroad event of considerable importance to Detroit. This was the purchase by Henry and Edsel Ford of the Detroit, Toledo & Ironton Railroad. This road was made up of a number of consolidations, the Detroit end of it having come to the city as the Detroit & Lima Northern. The whole road has 454 miles of main track and 155 miles of sidings, and gives access to the Ohio and West Virginia coal fields. It has never been a paying road and has not been able to keep its equipment up to a high degree of efficiency. The Fords think that with the addition of the capital which they are able to furnish the road will be in position to insure to Detroit at all times an abundant supply of coal. It passes through no congested centers between Detroit and the coal fields. It avoids Toledo by striking south through Adrian; avoids Columbus by going through Springfield, fifty miles west, and avoids Cincinnati by taking a southwesterly course from Springfield to Ironton. Solid trains of coal may be run directly through to Detroit and other points in Michigan without being held up or diverted. The city has heretofore suffered much by having its coal held up, under the plea of necessity by cities through which it was passing.

THE EXISTING LINES

Detroit has quite close connection with nearly all the roads in Michigan, and is a terminal point for the following lines, eighteen in all: Michigan Central, five divisions; Pere Marquette, three divisions; Grand Trunk, three divisions; Wabash East and West Divisions; Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, Pennsylvania, Canadian Pacific; Detroit, Toledo & Ironton, Detroit & Toledo Short Line.

PART IV

EDUCATIONAL

CHAPTER XXVII

EARLY SCHOOLING IN DETROIT AND PRIMITIVE METHODS OF EDUCATION

BY CLARENCE M. BURTON

EDUCATION UNDER CADILLAC—ILLITERACY PREVALENT—CHANGE TO BRITISH
CONTROL—ROBERT NAVARRE—AN EARLY SCHOOL FEE—CHARACTER OF EARLY
SCHOOLS—PEDAGOGUES OF LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—MATTHEW DONOVAN
—PETER JOSEPH DILLON—DAVID BACON—EARLY PROGRESS AFTER 1800—
REV. GABRIEL RICHARD.

EDUCATION UNDER CADILLAC

We have very little authentic information regarding the schooling, or educational facilities, of the early French people of Detroit. At the time of the founding of the village in 1701, much more attention was paid to educating boys to be successful hunters and trappers, or farmers, and girls to become frugal housewives, than to teach them to read and write.

On Cadillac's first expedition in the spring of 1701, he brought with him two priests—a Recollet and a Jesuit—because no expedition was undertaken, or settlement made, without a priest. The church was of much more importance to these pioneers than was the school house. The erection of the church of Ste. Anne was begun on the day the French made their first landing.

The Jesuit priest did not remain with Cadillac, but started from the post on the day of its location and started on his way overland through the dense and trackless woods to Mackinac, where there was a Jesuit Mission. He changed his plans, however, and returned to Montreal. The Recollet spent the remainder of his life in Detroit and was murdered by the Indians in 1706.

The only child that came with the first expedition was Antoine, Cadillac's oldest son.

Cadillac's father was a judge at Montaubau, in Southern France, and the son was well educated for his time. It is possible that Cadillac gave some instruction to his son and to his younger children as they grew up in Detroit. His secretary, Etienne Veron de Grandmesnil, was also a man of some education and acted as the recorder of the village, and amanuensis of Cadillac. Some instruction may have been given by this man. Perhaps the village priest, Constantin de l'Halle, might have helped, as it was necessary that he should give instruction in religious matters.

In the year 1702 Madam Cadillac and Madam Tonty came to the settlement, bringing children and servants. Cadillac's children in Detroit at this time were his two sons, Antoine and James (Jacques) and a daughter, Magdelene. Another

daughter, Judith, was left in the Ursuline Convent at Quebec. Two other children, Peter Denis and Mary Ann, died before 1701.

Madam Tonty was Anne Picote, but we do not have the names of her children. Her husband, Alphonse Tonty, was an Italian. He was subsequently commandant at Detroit and died November 10, 1727. His body rests in Mt. Elliott Cemetery, but his grave is unmarked.

The records of the church of Ste. Anne were kept with considerable care and it is necessary that reference should be made to them for current statistics, for no other record was kept during this early period. From these records it is ascertained that between 1701 and 1710 there were ninety-four children baptized. There were three marriages and thirteen deaths during the same time. There must have been considerable more than one hundred children under ten years of age in the year 1710.

In one of his earliest official reports Cadillac recommended the institution of schools. His report was from Detroit and is dated August 31, 1703. He wrote:

"Permit me to continue to persist in representing to you how necessary it is to set up a seminary here for instructing the children of the savages with those of the French in piety, and for teaching them our language by the same means. The savages being naturally vain, seeing that their children were put amongst ours and that they were dressed in the same way, would esteem it a point of honor. It is true that it would be necessary at the beginning to leave them a little more liberty, and that it would be necessary for it to be reduced merely to the objects of civilizing them and making them capable of instruction, leaving the rest to the guidance of heaven and of Him who searches hearts.

"This expense would not be very great. I believe, if His Majesty grants the seminary of Quebec a thousand crowns, it will begin this holy and pious undertaking. They are gentlemen so full of zeal for the service of God, and of charity towards all that concerns the King's subjects in this Colony, that one cannot tire of admiring them, and all the country owes them inexpressible obligations for the good education they have given all the young people, for their good example, and their doctrine, and it is that which produced very good success in the service in the church in New France. I venture to tell you that you cannot begin this work too soon; if you fear its expense afterwards, I will supply you with devices for continuing this bounty to them by taking it on the spot, without its costing anything to the King."

This appeal for the establishment of a school for the Indians would hardly have been proposed if they were to be treated better than the white children.

When Madam Cadillac started from Quebec in 1701 to follow the pathway her husband pointed out leading to Detroit, she left her daughter, Judith, to be educated and domiciled by the Ursuline nuns in Quebec. It is very probable that she, as Therese Guyon, had been educated in the same institution before her marriage to Cadillac in 1687.

ILLITERACY PREVALENT

The early settlers at Detroit were soldiers, artisans, trappers, hunters, farmers and Indian traders. The trade of the post was originally in the hands of Cadillac and was subsequently claimed by the Company of Canada. Eventually it again came into Cadillac's possession. The general public never had the right to engage in any kind of trade without permission, either from Cadillac

or the Company. All of the citizens, excepting the officers and priests, were ignorant and very few of them could even write or print their names. The men were greater pleased to have the outdoor life of freedom from all restraint, to live as the savages did, than to build school houses or pay teachers. It was a difficult matter to get them to pay the small taxes they had, which were used to keep the fort in repair, the tithes to keep and maintain their church and pay the priest the small sum he needed. It would have been impossible to have collected much additional money to pay for maintaining a school. And yet a school of some kind was a necessity and it is very likely that some sort of education was supplied.

For some years the village grew rapidly. Within the first ten years of its existence nearly 600 Canadians had come to the place, and left their names permanently attached to it, either in the notarial records of Montreal or in the church and public records of Detroit. There is no record of the employment of a school teacher at this date. The only record we have of the existence of any books in the village is contained in the inventory of Cadillac's household goods. In this is an item of "three shelves for books, lined with boards for one-fourth of the height." We find also, that he, on several occasions, quotes from *Tele-machus*, which, in his day, was a new work.

There was a record of current events, land transactions, military court martials, inventory of estates and like matters, kept by Cadillac. The original of this is in the archives at Quebec, and a copy is in the public library of Detroit. The church records, containing marriage, birth and death records, were frequently signed by people of the village, showing that many of them had learned to sign their names. Quite as frequently it appears that the witnesses on these occasions were unable to show even that slight evidence of schooling. For nearly one hundred years, the majority of conveyances are signed by the notary alone, or by but few of the contracting parties. In such cases, a note is appended to the document explaining that the persons who did not sign were unable to write.

The growth of the village is shown by the vital statistics taken from the records of the church of Ste. Anne. The records between 1701 and 1760 show the following:

1701 to 1710— 94 baptisms, 3 marriages, 13 deaths.

1711 to 1720— 89 baptisms, 7 marriages, 15 deaths.

1721 to 1730—106 baptisms, 16 marriages, 44 deaths.

1731 to 1740—156 baptisms, 27 marriages, 73 deaths.

1741 to 1750—235 baptisms, 24 marriages, 114 deaths.

1751 to 1760—363 baptisms, 70 marriages, 216 deaths.

Among these names there are to be found a few Indians, but nearly all are French-Canadians. In the first decade there were fifty-five Indians baptized and in the second decade 123; many of them were of mature ages, while the French baptisms were all of children.

In the year 1747 another church was established on the south side of the Detroit River, which cared for the various Indian tribes and also for such of the Canadians as lived in that section.

CHANGE TO BRITISH CONTROL

In 1760 the British troops took possession of Detroit and the adjacent country. The English were mostly Protestants, or non-attendants of church,

and their names seldom appear in the church records. Many of the French people left the settlement at this time and the number of births decreased somewhat in consequence. There were from

1761 to 1770—351 baptisms, 80 marriages, 217 deaths.

1771 to 1780—476 baptisms, 60 marriages, 182 deaths.

1781 to 1790—551 baptisms, 80 marriages, 219 deaths.

1791 to 1800—914 baptisms, 167 marriages, 367 deaths.

Marriages between Catholics and Protestants sometimes took place without the assistance of the priest, the ceremony being performed by the commandant or by some civil officer. There is no record of these marriages to be found.

ROBERT NAVARRE

About the year 1730 there came to Detroit a man named Robert Navarre. Many of his descendants are living in Detroit and Michigan today. Navarre was a man of much more than ordinary education for his time, at least for Detroit. He was born in France and had received his education in that country. Shortly after coming to Detroit he was appointed sub-delegate and royal notary. These offices implied almost everything. Of course, the man in actual charge of the post was the military commandant, and it is nowhere intimated that there ever was a question of authority between the commandant and Navarre, but, subject to the commandant, the notary was the authority on all occasions. He was the record keeper, the lawyer, the general scrivener, the surveyor, tithe gatherer, tax collector, treasurer of the king's revenue, and perhaps the school teacher of the settlement. He also was trustee of and kept the financial and business records of Ste. Anne's Church. During his thirty years of public life, he made nearly all of the public records, save only the church records which were kept by the priests. His receipts for tithes and quit rents are to be found among the family papers of every Canadian of the period, and his name, peculiarly written "Navarre," for he had long since dropped his first name, is to be found on every public document between 1734 and 1760. No marriage was consummated during this time, without the making of a marriage contract, drawn up and signed by Navarre, and it has been stated that he was the author of that entertaining document known as the "Pontiac Journal."

Navarre was born at Villeroy, France, in 1709 and married Marie Lootman dit Barrois at Villeroy, February 10, 1734. He died at Detroit, November 24, 1791 and was buried here. He was the father of nine children. He did not impart his own education to his children to any great extent, for some of them could not even write their names, and those who did only learned the accomplishment in later years. The names of his children were as follows:

1. Marie Françoise Navarre, born January 9, 1735, married Capt. George McDougall. He died in 1780, leaving two sons, George and John Robert McDougall. She married, secondly, Jacques Campau, in 1784. She was unable to sign her name in 1752, but had learned how by 1784.

2. Marie Anne Navarre, born October 14, 1737, married Jacques Baudry dit Desbutte dit St. Martin. Her husband died June 18, 1768 and in 1770 she married Dr. George Christian Anthon. Doctor Anthon died in New York in 1815. He had three sons (not of this marriage) who became very prominent. Marie Anne Navarre could not write her name in 1752, but learned to write before 1757.

3. Robert Navarre, born November 25, 1739, married Marie Louise Marsac.

He was buried at Detroit, December 19, 1813. The two Roberts, father and son, were popular with the Indian tribes about Detroit and to distinguish them from each other the father was called Tonton, the writer, and the son was termed Robiche, the speaker. The son could not write in 1752, but we have his writing in 1775.

4. Joseph Navarre, born August 3, 1748, died in infancy.
5. Marie Catherine Navarre, born July 6, 1749, died young.
6. Bonaventure Pierre Navarre, born October 5, 1753 and died September 29, 1764.
7. Marie Catherine Navarre, born August 12, 1757, married Alexander Macomb May 4, 1773. She died in 1789. Their son, Alexander, became a major-general in the United States Army. In 1771 Marie Catherine Navarre was unable to sign her name.
8. François Marie Navarre, dit Utreau, born November 19, 1759, married Marie Louise Godet dit Marantette. He could not write in 1776 and we have no evidence that he could ever write.
9. Jean Marie Alexis Navarre, born September 21, 1763, married Archange Godet dit Marantette in 1787. He died in 1836.

Jean Baptiste Roucoux maintained a school during a portion of the American Revolution and for some years later. In an old account book we find "Rocourt, clerk of the Mess," connecting him with the soldiers in some manner. Roucoux was born in France and, after coming to Detroit, he married Marie Joseph Deshetres in 1765. He lived on St. Jacques Street in the old town and kept school either in his own house or in a building belonging to Ste. Anne's Church. In addition to his duties as school teacher he was the leader in the choir of that church. His name appears as a teacher as late as 1783. He died May 2, 1801.

Ste. Anne's Church was located on Ste. Anne Street, near the eastern gate of the village; that would be a short distance west of the present intersection of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street. The church lot extended northerly nearly to Larned Street and at the north end was a building, termed a "factor," owned by the church. This building might have been used, if required, for school purposes, though its proper use was in connection with the church for storage, work shop and possibly a priest's dwelling. There was quite a large burial lot around the church building. Burials were so numerous that the portion of the lot which fell within the lines of the present Jefferson Avenue was filled with graves. In 1817 interments ceased in this cemetery, but human remains have been unearthed there as late as 1921.

The English came in 1760, not because they wanted to take possession of the country as permanent traders and tillers of the soil, but because a military duty forced them to take whatever property of the enemy they could find. They came as soldiers, not civilians. After the war closed in 1763, and even before that date, there were a great many pack traders, peddlers we might call them, who wended their way through Canada, and along the south shore of Lake Erie, to visit the far-western post of Detroit, to trade with the Indians and French and with the few English people who were here. There were, at first, only a few English families in the settlement, and consequently not many English children to be looked after by the new commandant.

The old notary, Navarre, continued to do his work for the French people and there were two English notaries appointed by the English authorities, Gabriel Le Grand and Philippe Dejean. Neither of these two men was suffi-

ciently educated in the English language to act as a teacher in English. Dejean was appointed to keep the official records and his work was done either in French or English, as requested. We have many wills, deeds, marriage contracts and other writing of both of these men, some of them in one language and others in another.

It is probable that there was a chaplain in the garrison part of the time, but there is only slight evidence that there were religious services held under English rule. Marriages and baptisms were attended to by the commandant, though there is some evidence of a chaplain occasionally.

AN EARLY SCHOOL FEE

James Sterling, of Scotch ancestry, was here as early as 1763, for it is related that Angelique Cuillerier, who became his wife shortly afterward, told him of Pontiac's attempt to capture Detroit in 1763. The story is told in Miss Crowley's "Heroine of the Straits." Sterling was afterwards appointed tax collector, or collector of the king's revenue, quit rents, etc. He kept an account book which contains some interesting entries on our subject. James Sterling, son of James and Angelique, was born in 1765. In 1778, when this boy was thirteen years old, we find this entry in his father's accounts:

"1778. John Peck. Cr.

"Sept. 8. By teaching Jas.

5 mos. at 20/

£5. "

Two other entries of about this time are as follows:

"1777. Jean B. Rocour.

Cr.

"Apr. 2. By nursing Francis.

200 # (livres). "

and

"1778. Jean Baptiste Rocourt.

Cr.

"Sept. 8. By his a/c for

Mrs. S. and children.

£8:14:4. "

The last entry, if for schooling, would indicate that Mrs. Sterling, as well as her children, was taking lessons. Roucoux is also sometimes termed the French schoolmaster.

In 1775 Sterling sold some goods to "Drouin, schoolmaster at Chapoton's." In the same year he sold to Lieut. Jehu Hay (afterwards lieutenant-governor of Detroit) "one spelling book 2/6." He also sold Lieutenant Hay various other items, boys' hats and shoes, two rings and some fiddle-strings.

Daniel Garrit, "cook to Commodore Grant," is mentioned as "school teacher to the children of the Regiment" in 1781, and the same year Capt. Andrew Parke is charged 12^s 6^d "paid for schooling of the regiment."

During the Revolutionary War the great commercial firm of Macomb, Edgar & Macomb was the agent for the military department. The partners were Alexander and William Macomb, sons of John Macomb, and John Edgar. The Macombs have been connected with Detroit ever since. They were interested in educational matters and all of their children were educated. John Edgar was "sent down the country" as a suspect, that is, one who favored the new United States government. He never returned to Detroit to live, but moved westward to Illinois and took up some large tracts of land. Edgar County, Illinois, is named from him.

Some mention of General Macomb has already been made. The three sons

of William Macomb were John, David and William. They owned the islands in the river, and on Grosse Ile are to be found today many of their descendants.

Mention has also been made of Dr. George Christian Anthon. His three noted sons were Charles, the lexicographer, John, lawyer and author in New York, and Henry, pastor of "St. Mark's in the Bowery" also in New York.

CHARACTER OF EARLY SCHOOLS

The schools were not like the public schools of today. Then a teacher would obtain a subscription for his employment, the contributions made by a number of citizens who were interested in educating the children. Each subscriber agreed to pay a stipulated sum for the teacher's salary and was permitted to send pupils, on his own account, to the extent of his payments. The teacher could obtain other pupils if he so desired. The school room was usually a room in the dwelling of the teacher or in a room rented for the purpose, or in one provided by the subscribers. There were no school houses. The pupil paid for his tuition by the term and was expected to supply a portion of the firewood used in heating the room, also candles for lighting it on dark days. Each pupil furnished his own books and they were not uniform for all scholars in the same class. These books were handed down from generation to generation until they were entirely worn out. Boys were usually sent to one school and one teacher and the girls to another. Classes were not large, the entire school usually numbering less than thirty students. Only one teacher was engaged in each school and this teacher was expected to give instruction in every course of study from the primer to trigonometry.

There were, necessarily, several schools in the village. The French inhabitants, being mostly Roman Catholics, were inclined to employ a French Catholic teacher, who would not only give instruction in the French language, but would also instruct in the tenets of the Catholic Church.

One of the old school books would be very interesting to examine at the present time. Books of the lower grades are sometimes mentioned in the old accounts. In 1782 Polly Rice had to pay two shillings for a "primer" and in 1783 Peggy Wood was charged four shillings for a spelling-book, which she gave to "Bob" for a Christmas gift. This is not only evidence that Peggy was interested in Bob's education, but that Christmas was observed in our village as early as 1783.

PEDAGOGUES OF LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The name of Ch. Fr. Girardin appears as a schoolmaster and also as a baker in 1783. If this was Charles François Girardin, his name appears many times in later years as one of the justices and judges under American rule.

"Mrs. Saunders" is mentioned as a school mistress in 1783. Madam Mary Crofton maintained a school for several years. Her name first appears in 1782. Mrs. Crofton's school was for both boys and girls and she received £1 per month for each pupil. She traded with Howard & McCaslan and with Macomb, Edgar & Macomb, also with John Askin. The items in her various accounts are very interesting to show the quality of goods she purchased and the prices she paid for them. The account of 1783 and 1784 includes thread, sugar, salt, spirits, flour, vinegar, flannel, silk stockings and a balance of A. and W. Macomb's account, making a total of £84. To offset this bill is an account for the education of the daughters of Commodore Grant and John Askin. The Grant and

Askin families were closely related, as Mrs. Grant and Mrs. Askin were sisters. The late Judge Robert Woods of Chatham, Ontario, was a descendant of Commodore Grant, and the Askin family is represented in Detroit today by the descendants of Elijah and Edmund A. Brush and on the Canadian side of the river by the various branches of the Askin family.

With the final treaty of peace with the United States in 1783, England gave up all hopes of ever becoming the permanent possessor of Detroit and from that time her attention was directed towards maintaining it as a military post only. No permanent improvements were made by the British and the only work that was done by them was to keep the fort in repair for their own protection. No lands were granted to encourage the farmers to develop the country and civilians were not induced to come here to settle. One election to parliament was held in Detroit and there were three men representing this part of the country in the first parliament of Upper Canada. They were: Commodore Alexander Grant, who was appointed a member of the upper house; William Macomb; and D. W. Smith (afterwards Sir David W. Smith) who lived at Niagara, Canada, but was elected in Detroit. The two last-named men were members of the lower house. Macomb died in 1796, just before his term was to expire.

This parliament hesitated to pass laws that were required for the government of our village, as they knew they did not rightfully control it. They did pass a very few necessary acts, but in very unsatisfactory form. They passed no laws for the establishment of schools, and left the people here who were progressive along that line, to attend to the matter privately and personally.

Hugh Holmes is mentioned as a schoolmaster in the fall of 1790 and he kept school for several years. He charged 6s:8d per year for each pupil.

François Houdou kept a French school in 1793 and 1794. He gave instruction to children and slaves. There were many slaves in the district at that time and some of their owners, notably John Askin, believed that they should be educated. In an old account book kept by Mr. Askin is an entry under the date of September 30, 1794:

"Paid François Houdow, French schoolmaster, one year's account for teaching children and slaves, £15 10s."

Mr. Askin was born in the north of Ireland and came to America as a young man. After arriving at Detroit, some time after 1760, he found it difficult to get along with the people without acquiring a knowledge of the French language. This language he then studied so diligently that he was able to write and converse in French, with ease. His trade was very extensive, his correspondence large and his letters numerous. His books of account were kept in both languages. The French trader had his account rendered in his own language and the Englishman was similarly treated. Askin was also a master of many of the Indian dialects and could act as interpreter when required. His children were all educated in both French and English; one of his daughters usually wrote to her mother in the former language and to her father in the latter.

In 1793 Joseph Roe kept a school. We have no information as to the number of pupils he had, but an old account book shows that on November 10, 1794 he purchased twelve spelling-books at three shilling each. This would indicate that he had, at least, twelve scholars. He continued to teach until 1797.

Miss Adhemar kept a school for girls in 1795. It was probably under the patronage of Ste. Anne's Church, of which she was a member.

Mrs. Pattinson (possibly the wife of Richard Pattinson) kept a school in

1795 and 1796. John Askin paid one-third of the expense of maintaining her school, and Commodore Grant paid the remaining two-thirds. The bill from October 7, 1795 to March 5, 1796 was £35, 10s of which the Commodore paid £22, 13s 4d and Mr. Askin £11, 16s 8 d. Probably Grant and Askin guaranteed to pay this sum and then collected in turn from the parents who sent their children to this school. There is also a credit item to Mrs. Pattinson:

"March 5, 1796. By schooling Com. Grant's 4 daughters 133 days at £60 per annum. £21, 17.3."

and also a debit entry:

"1796 Feb. 20. To cash per Miss Alice. £8, 4."

The "Miss Alice" was Adelaide Askin, who became Mrs. Elijah Brush. She was usually called Alice.

Commodore Grant lived on his farm at Grosse Pointe and his four daughters may have lived with Mrs. Pattinson when they were at school.

MATTHEW DONOVAN

Matthew Donovan began to teach in 1794 and continued until 1798 or 1799. A number of citizens subscribed to a fund to pay for his employment. He was to receive £30 per annum and tuition in addition. To him Commodore Grant sent his son, Alexander, and for the boy's twenty months of schooling the teacher was paid £16, 13s 4d. Donovan had somewhat irregular habits, which were of such a nature that it was thought best to employ another teacher. He wrote the following pathetic letter to Mr. John Askin:

"Detroit, Nov. 15, 1798.

"Dear Sir:

"I have been informed that you are concerned in establishing a school in this town in opposition to me, which amazingly surprises me, for I candidly declare that I always persuaded myself that you would be the last man in this town that would do me the least injury. I acknowledge that my conduct of the 29th of October was irregular, but partly was owing to the want of wood and to the inclemency of the weather, for it was not the concurrence of the will altogether, but rather a fatality impending over me. No man is his own keeper, neither is any man altogether perfect. I am not very subject to this crime, neither do I approve of it, nor is there any person existing more grieved or concerned for it than I am. I hope never to be guilty of such a crime, for I have made an absolute promise never to taste any spiritous liquors as long as I keep school in Detroit, and hope, with the concurrence of Heaven, to maintain that promise. I am bold to say that I have kept a good school these four years past and my scholars will prove it upon examination, and to sum up the total loss of my time in that irregular way, it will not exceed four days. Notwithstanding, I am censured, but I censure none. I own my faults, since few from faults are free. I perfectly recollect to hear you say that you had a tender feeling. I believe you have. Pray let it not be extinguished towards me, who am willing to serve you to the utmost of my power.

"Matthew Donovan."

Donovan's pleading did not persuade Mr. Askin of his sincerity and he had to seek another employer. Mr. Askin removed his children from Donovan's school. The latter was exasperated and undertook to over-charge Askin for past services. This over-charge brought the following letter from Askin:

"I am sorry to find that you made out your account for the schooling of my children, and Commodore Grant's boy, higher than our agreement. It cannot serve you, but may be harmful, which I do not wish, for it may lead others to think that when they remove their children to another school you will charge them much higher, therefore may take precautions to put it out of your power, which may be injurious to your interests."

It is said that Donovan continued to keep a school for several years longer. In 1804 he still had "Alick" Askin as a pupil. He was living in Detroit at the time of the fire in 1805 and was a donee under the act of Congress of 1806 for a lot in the new town. Shortly after this he moved to Amherstburg, where he died, before July 31, 1809. He left a wife, Mary, and five daughters: Catherine Welsh, in Ireland; Mary Fullerton Donovan, unmarried; Sarah Elliott, second wife of Matthew Elliott; Elizabeth Nelson, wife of Capt. Jonathan Nelson; and Margaret Innes, wife of Robert Innes.

Before leaving the time of British occupation, which lasted until 1796, attention ought to be called to Robert Nichol, who came to Detroit as a youth in the year 1795. He was for some years in the employ of John Askin. At the time of his arrival he wrote a very beautiful hand. He probably came from England, but that is not certain. There is no direct evidence that he ever taught school in Detroit, but he received much of his education here and was possibly self-taught. The book kept by him for recording his work in geometry is still in existence, and plainly shows the intense application of the young man, who was obtaining an education under the most adverse circumstances. The neatness and accuracy of his mathematical drawings are a surprise to everyone who examines them and knows their history. Robert Nichol's name should be added to the list of Detroit's early teachers, for it can scarcely be believed that he did not impart to others some of the education he received. The people with whom he associated were, perhaps unconsciously, his pupils. Nichol was accidentally killed by falling over a precipice near Niagara Falls.

Many of the better class of citizens sent their sons, and possibly their daughters, to Montreal to be educated.

Whoever has had occasion to examine the records of these early days will be surprised at the fine penmanship shown. There were no gold or steel pens in those days, but the drawings and writings were all made with quill pens. Joseph Campau wrote an elegant script. He could write in English, but he preferred his native French and he generally wrote in that language. Barnabas Campau, brother of Joseph, also wrote a very good business hand. John R. Williams, whose mother, Cecile, was the sister of Joseph and Barnabas Campau, wrote a hand to be envied by everyone except the most expert penman. He excelled also in composition and was a voluminous writer. He kept copies of all the letters and documents he issued in a long life full of activity. There are few writers, not professional, who can put words and sentences together more effectively than could John R. Williams. To him we owe much of the progress towards popular education in common schools which has come to our city and state. He was proficient in both the English and French languages. His sister, Elizabeth Williams, was one of the early teachers in the Indian missions; she will be referred to later.

Detroit was evacuated by the English garrison in 1796 and the Americans, under Gen. Anthony Wayne, and Secy. Winthrop Sargent, took possession of

the place. The ordinance of 1787 made provision for the encouragement of popular education throughout the Northwest Territory, and the people who came here with General Wayne and those who came shortly afterward were imbued with the idea of schools and schooling for everyone.

Mrs. Dillon had a school in 1798 and the following year. One of her pupils was Alexander Grant. He attended from the 19th of November, 1798, to August 19, 1799, "@ 24s", equal to £10:16s. He was credited with one cord of wood, sawed into stove lengths, for the school, £1:4s.

PETER JOSEPH DILLON

The following year, 1799, Peter Joseph Dillon made the following proposal to open a school:

"August the 24th 1799.

"Sir:

"On consulting my own mind I do not like to advertise, but I have taken the liberty to send you a memorandum of an agreement, requesting you to be so kind as to show it to any of your acquaintances who, you think, would subscribe to the conditions. I know that any writing, to become binding in law, for exceeding twenty dollars, must be written on stamped paper, but I hope none will be permitted to subscribe, who is not of both known principle and ability to comply punctually with the agreement; nor do I wish any to subscribe who have not pupils to send to school; for I cannot be under obligations of a pecuniary nature, except for a time after which restitution is to be made, but where no return is to be made, I will receive no money. I forgot to mention in the memorandum that I would continue for another half year, if desired, but that is supplied by an additional article on the back of the paper.

"I am, sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"Peter Joseph Dillon.

"Mr. John Askin, Sr."

This agreement or proposal which Dillon mentions has not been preserved. We first find mention of Peter Dillon as assisting Hugh Callahan in driving a herd of branded cattle from Hamilton to Detroit in 1798. He is not mentioned as a citizen in Detroit at the time of the fire in 1805 and had probably left before that date. Dillon engaged in keeping school during the winter, but had some trouble as the spring opened. Mr. Abram Cook had become interested in the school and wanted it moved to a new location on premises owned by him. The "stockade" was the name applied to the entire village, surrounded by pickets. There was a principal street, Ste. Anne Street, on which the school room fronted. The lots were very shallow and all, or nearly all, of the buildings reached through from street to street. Mr. Dillon thought that the scholars would have their attention taken from their studies by the crowds passing the open door. A letter was written to George Meldrum, one of his employers, who had a numerous family, some of whom probably attended Dillon's school. (Meldrum died March 9, 1817, leaving eight children, whose names were Nancy, John, James, William, David, Jane, George and Robert.) Following is a copy of the letter from Dillon to Meldrum, reciting some of the troubles he had in getting a school room:

"May the 11th 1800.

"To George Meldrum,

"Sir:

"I have just now learned by Mr. Cook that it is intended to move the school to the house where he keeps store. It will be very agreeable to me to have it moved to any place within the stockade where there is room and light enough; and this is the only thing which would induce me to choose one place before another; but neither of these can we have here, where the light comes from one side only. It is next to the windows alone that we can have a sufficient share; and this very defect has obliged me to give up general instructions in geography, because I can only do it in the evening, and thus has the school suffered in this particular. The room in which I first taught was offered me a few days ago, but as I had written on that subject and received no answer, I did nothing in it, not being willing to mention the same matter too frequently to any employers. I do not know whether it is now vacant. Please to take my word for it, much depends, of the progress of the scholars, on light and room enough. Where they are crowded they are always driving one against another and there is a continual murmur. I wish to have all inconveniences removed from my scholars that they may have nothing to mind but their progress, especially if it can be done as cheap. If even the partition were taken down, that is in the store, I could not conduct the school in that house, both for want of light and proper room, of which I think it is my duty to inform you in time; besides for the purpose of having air we would be obliged to have the doors and windows continually open and of course the eyes of the scholars always in the streets. With assuring you that I am altogether disinterested but for the school, I remain

"Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

"Peter Joseph Dillon."

About one week later the following agreement was made:

"Articles of agreement made and entered into at Detroit, in the County of Wayne and Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio, this nineteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, between Peter Joseph Dillon, of Detroit aforesaid, of the one part, and John Askin, George Meldrum and Mathew Ernest, of the same Detroit, on the other part, witnesseth—that the said Peter Joseph Dillon, for and in consideration of the covenants and agreements hereinafter mentioned and contained, and which on the part of the said John, George and Mathew are to be observed, fulfilled and kept; hath engaged and by these presents doth engage himself as a school-master to said John, George and Mathew for one whole year next ensuing the date hereof and fully to be compleated and ended, during which said time as aforesaid the said Peter Joseph Dillon is to teach and instruct the children of the said John, George and Mathew (and such others as they may please to send, not exceeding twenty-two in number)—the science of reading, writing and speaking the English language gramatically, in arithmetic, geography and trigonometry; and in any other branch of literature that may be thought most useful. And should it so happen that the said Peter Joseph Dillon at any time during the time aforesaid, through sickness, or any other necessary cause, suffer a temporary discontinuance in his school, the time which he may so lose shall be made up at the expiration of the aforesaid time of one year. In consideration of which said service the said John, George and Mathew hereby obli-

gate and oblige themselves to pay, or cause to be paid, unto the said Peter Joseph Dillon, the sum of five hundred dollars in the manner following (that is to say) fifty dollars to be paid on the opening of his school and four dollars per week during the time aforesaid and the remainder of the said sum of five hundred dollars shall be applied towards the discharge of a demand which the said John Askin and Mathew Ernest now have against the said Peter Joseph Dillon for advances already made. He shall keep a fair and just account of all moneys he may receive for instructing any other children that may be sent to him (except those of his employers) and a true statement render thereof every three months; and the money he may so receive shall be considered as applied towards the payment of the said four dollars per week; and should it so happen that the expiration of six months he shall not have suffered a sufficient discount in his wages to satisfy the aforesaid demand, which is now due the said John and Mathew, by drawing the aforesaid sum of four dollars per week, this said sum of four dollars shall be subject to such further discount as will discharge him from debt at the expiration of the time aforesaid. They shall also find and provide the said Peter Joseph Dillon with a commodious school house and fire wood as the season requires it. And further it is consented and agreed upon by and between the parties to these presents, that no children shall be received into the said school but such as are sent or approved by the said John, George and Mathew; neither shall any be dismissed or turned out of the said school but with their approbation. And for the true and faithful performance of all and singular the covenants and agreements hereinbefore contained and set forth, the parties to these presents bind themselves each to the other in the penal sum of five hundred dollars.

"In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals at Detroit, aforesaid, the day, month and year first above written.

"Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of

"Peter Joseph Dillon,
Schoolmaster.

"George Meldrum.

"John Askin."

It seems that this paper was not signed by the three men until some days later, when the following note was sent:

"May the 24th, 1800.

"Sir:

"As I can no otherwise acknowledge your unabated friendship but by complying with what you recommend, I have signed the articles, and will attend anytime when desired to acknowledge the signature. It is not necessary to take a copy. I want none and this may be left with you. If it is agreeable with you to send me 50 dollars in the course of the day, you will greatly oblige me; and I will take care to call for money only according to the quarterly sums mentioned in my last, nor even for that, except that I should really want it; and not to trouble you with more on this subject, I subscribe myself,

"Sir, With great respect, your most obedient
humble servant,

"Peter Joseph Dillon.

"Matthew Ernest, Esq."

The letter was sent to Mr. Ernest, although he did not sign the original agreement. Mathew Ernest was the U. S. collector of customs. He subse-

quently defaulted in his accounts and ran away to avoid arrest. He owned a large farm, now called the Williams farm, located in the western part of the present city limits of Detroit. The Government seized the land and sold it to satisfy, in part, the defalcation of the collector. His bondsmen had to pay the remainder of the defalcation. The Government kept the farm for several years and the Rev. Gabriel Richard maintained a school on it for some time. Then it was sold to John R. Williams, who kept it during his life and it was partitioned among his children. It still bears the name of the Williams farm. Some years after the Government seized the land, and after Mathew Ernest was dead, his children began suit to recover possession of the property, but they failed in their undertaking.

The papers of Mr. Dillon show that he expected about twenty-two pupils, though there were many more than that capable of attending school. Dillon seems to have been a simple, confiding and somewhat educated person, who had placed himself within the power of his employers by borrowing money from them. They did not exactly take advantage of his circumstances, but they drove a harder bargain with him than they would if he had been free to accept or reject their terms as he might wish. He needed a guardian to look out for his interests.

As schools were then conducted, parents were obliged to pay tuition and furnish a portion of the expenses of heating and lighting the school room. As there was no compulsory school law, it can be readily understood that no pupils attended except those of well-to-do parents, or of parents who were eager to have their children educated and were willing to make sacrifices of personal comfort to attain that object. Children who had indifferent parents or who disliked school were apt to grow up in illiteracy.

About the year 1800 an association was formed to provide a school house or school room, and employ a teacher. We do not have the names of the "Proprietors of the School," but any person could become a member by paying his portion of the expenses of conducting the school and this portion depended upon the number of pupils he sent for instruction.

There was certainly one other school, perhaps more, in the village at this time. An old account rendered includes John Burrell among the early teachers. The following is a copy of the account:

"John Askin Esq. To John Burrell. Dr.	
"To four months instruction of Miss Nellie from 28t Novem. 1799 to 28 March 1800 — 16.	£3, 4.
"To your proportion of fuel	8.
	£3,12.
"1799.	Cr.
"Decm. 2. By a/c March 27th— Sugar — 16	1, 16
N. Y. Currency	1, 16
"(Endorsed) Detroit April 22d 1800.	
"Mr. John Burrell, Schoolmaster, his a/c for schooling to yr. 28th March last."	

Mr. Burrell was in this instance engaged in teaching young ladies.

DAVID BACON

In the year 1800 David Bacon, father of the late Dr. Leonard Bacon of Yale University, came to Detroit. David Bacon can be reckoned as one of our early school teachers and his name is more familiar to us than most teachers, because of his learned and illustrious son. He was the son of Joseph Bacon of Stoughton, Massachusetts, and Abigail (Holmes) Bacon of Woodstock. David was born at Woodstock in 1771 and was baptized September 15th of that year. He studied to prepare himself for the ministry and for teaching school. He taught a school in Washington County, New York, in 1798. In 1800 he was chosen by the "Missionary Society" of Connecticut to do missionary work among the Indians west and south of Lake Erie. He left Hartford on this expedition August 8, 1800, and arrived at Detroit on the 11th of the following month, and was entertained at the home of Maj. Thomas Hunt, then commander at the post. He did not, at first, intend to stay in Detroit, but started for Mackinac, being somewhat assisted by Mr. John Askin and Mr. Jonathan Schieffelin, Indian agent at Detroit. He was becalmed in Lake St. Clair and while there his interpreter, Bernardus Harsen (son of Jacob Harsen, then owner of Harsen's island) persuaded him to remain with the Indians in this neighborhood. After remaining some time with the Indians, teaching, learning their language, and preaching, he returned to Detroit and in December went back to Hartford. On December 24, 1800, he was married to Alice Parks of Lebanon; she was the daughter of Elijah Parks and his wife, Anna Beaumont, and was born at Bethlehem, Connecticut, in February, 1783. David Bacon was ordained as a minister December 31, 1800, in the North Presbyterian Meeting House in Hartford and was appointed to continue the missionary work he had commenced the previous year. In February, 1801, he set out upon his westward way, accompanied by his wife and her brother, Beaumont Parks, and reached Detroit on the 9th day of May following.

Mr. Bacon had arranged, on his departure from Detroit, in the fall of 1800, to open a school there on his return, and he found the school awaiting him. School began May 25th and a few weeks later Mrs. Bacon opened a school for girls. The spare time of Mr. Bacon was occupied in studying the Indian language and in preparing a sermon for the ensuing Sunday, for he preached every Sabbath except the first one. In one of his letters he says that for Sunday service "we made use of the court house, which is very convenient for the purpose. Four or five of my hearers are men of liberal education." We can guess that John Askin, Solomon Sibley, Elijah Brush, Jonathan Schieffelin, James May, Alexander Grant, George Meldrum, James Henry, Benjamin Huntington, Thomas Hunt, and Mathew Ernest were considered among the better class of citizens and some of them were probably among Bacon's hearers.

An extract from one of the letters of Beaumont Parks shows the condition of Detroit at this time. He writes that Detroit was the largest and most important city west of Albany. The Indian traders were men of great wealth and highly cultivated minds. "The inhabitants were English, Scotch, Irish and French, all of whom hate the Yankees most cordially." There was not an American in the place, except the officers and soldiers of the garrison, which was composed of a regiment of infantry and one company of artillery. The city was enclosed by cedar pickets about twelve feet high and six inches in diameter and so close together that one could not see through. At each side



DAVID BACON

were strong gates, which were closed at night and a sentinel placed at each. No Indians were permitted to come in after sundown or to remain over night.

Mr. Bacon's school was well attended at first. The children were from the principal families, but the fact that he was a Yankee militated against him. There were four or five priests of the Roman Catholic Church, all classical men, and Mr. Parks thought that the influence of these priests controlled the feelings and actions of even those who were not Catholics and prejudiced them against Mr. Bacon.

A few bills, accounts and letters which have been preserved will show the method of carrying on a public school at that early day. The school rooms occupied by the Bacons were on St. James (Jacques) Street. This street was the next one north of Ste. Anne Street and occupied the land halfway between Jefferson and Larned Streets. Both Ste. Anne and St. Jacques streets were very narrow, not over twelve or fifteen feet wide. The building was located about the middle of the block between Shelby and Wayne streets on the present city map. The "school house" was the designation of the association by which Mr. Bacon was employed. The following is a copy of one of the accounts:

"Detroit August 25, 1801.

"School House

To James May, Dr.

		£	s.	d.
"1801.				
"	May 16. 2 lbs. nails 2/3		4	6
"	21. ½ lb. ditto. 2/6		1	3
"	" 4½ yds green baise 8/3	1	16	0
"	" 13 yds green binding		3	3
"	" Cash paid for small tacks		3	6
"	" 3 skeins thread			6
"	" 10 boards for desks, etc. 1/8		16	0
"	" 3 lbs nails 2/-		6	0
"	" 10 planks for benches			
	and feet of desks etc 2/6	1	5	0
"	" 10 days' work of carpenter fitting up			
	school room @ 10/	5	0	0
		<hr/>		
		"New York currency £9, 16. 0."		

This account is dated at the time Mr. Bacon returned to Detroit to begin his school and was for the work done in fitting up the room before the school opened. The bill was not paid, at the time, and another was made out in the fall with some additions and explanations as follows:

"Detroit November 9th—1801.

"The proprietors of Mr. David Bacon's school

Dr.

To the following persons, viz.

£	s.	d.	To	£	s.	d.
6	12	9	To James May for fitting up the school as per amount herewith	9	16	0
3	17	9	To John Askin, Esq. for a bell	5	14	8
			To Rev. Mr. Bacon for sundries furnished as per amount herewith	2	3	1
1	9	6				
<hr/>				<hr/>		
£12,	0.	0.	New York currency	£17,	13.	9.

"Detroit Nov 9. 1801.

"John Askin Esq.

"Dear Sir:

"I send per bearer the accounts for fitting up the school house, and as I have a payment to make up for Mr. Brush, this day, I will thank you if convenient to let me have my proportion of the twelve pounds allowed by Mr. Robertson, in doing which you will oblige

"Dr. Sir, Your very

humble servant

James May."

"John Askin Esq

To David Bacon, Dr.

	£	s.	d.
"To instructing Alexr. Askin in arithmetic from the 25th of August to the 25th of November at 14/- per month	2	2	0
"Chd. Alexr. Grant in writing the above mentioned time at 12/ per month	1	16	0
"Chd. John Richardson in reading the above mentioned time at 10/	1	10	0
"One month of Elinor at 12/		12	
"10 days of Charles and James at 16/		5	6
"Ink and quills at 6/3 per quarter	0	14	6
	<hr/>		
	£7,	0.	0.

"Detroit Nov. 28, 1800

"Rec'd payment in full for the above

"David Bacon".

The John Richardson mentioned in the account was a grandson of John Askin. He became a writer of some repute and among the books of which he was the author are "Wacousta, or the Prophecy", "Richardson's History of the War of 1812", "Matilda Montgomery, or the Prophecy Fulfilled", "The Two Brothers," "Hardscrabble, or Fall of Chicago", "Eight Years in Canada" and "Movements of the British Legion".

The children in the school did not all progress as rapidly as Mr. Bacon wished and he wrote the following note on the subject:

"Detroit Novr. 28, 1801.

"Dear Sir:

"I am afraid if your sons do not pay further attention to English grammar, they will lose what they have got. In the course of their winter evenings they might obtain a perfect knowledge of it, besides doing something more in geography. Beaumont would be able to assist them in grammar. They shall be welcome to my school room 4 evenings in a week, and to what assistance he can afford them; and I would try to help them occasionally myself, if you will please to send them and let them find their own firewood and candles. Perhaps several others would join them and pay their part in the firewood.

"Yours with great respect,

"David Bacon.

"John Askin Esq.

Present."

Although Mr. Bacon continued to preach and teach during the following summer and fall, his school gradually became smaller and his sermons drew

diminishing audiences. His wife fell ill and was obliged to give up her teaching. He was discouraged and made preparations to leave Detroit for his work among the Indians as early as possible in the year 1802. His son, Leonard, who, as president of Yale University, was destined to fill so exalted a place among the educators of America, was born at Detroit February 19, 1802. A short time afterwards David Bacon went, first to the Indians on the Maumee and, a year later, February 11, 1803, we find him with his wife and son at Mackinac. The first daughter, Sarah Dunham Bacon, was born at Mackinac, July 4, 1804, and within less than a month from that time the family returned to Detroit and in a few days started for Cleveland, which place they reached about the middle of October. He continued to act as missionary for some years in the Western Reserve and was reappointed for that service in 1806, but declined. It is said that Mr. Bacon, as a missionary, was a failure. He was opinionated, deeply religious and austere. He founded the village of Tallmadge, Ohio, as a settlement to which only Congregationalists or Presbyterians were admitted. He died at Hartford, Connecticut, August 7, 1817.

EARLY PROGRESS AFTER 1800

There were several teachers employed in the village in the years 1800, 1801 and 1802 and several schools opened. Among the teachers were those above mentioned, Mr. and Mrs. Peter Joseph Dillon, Matthew Donovan, Mr. and Mrs. David Bacon and Beaumont Parks. These were the teachers of the non-Catholic portion of the citizens, for the Catholics tried to maintain separate schools for their own people. The French or Canadians were nearly all members of the Catholic Church, while other Europeans or Americans were either Protestants or members of no church denomination. The Catholics largely outnumbered other denominations until long after the dawn of the Nineteenth Century.

Almost as soon as Detroit was taken in charge by the English in 1760, the French people began to leave the village enclosure and moved out to their farms in the neighborhood. This exodus had progressed to such an extent that in 1770 Father Simplicius Bocquet, the priest in charge of the church of Ste. Anne, wrote to the bishop: "I am in the greatest poverty in the world; all the town-folks, since the change of government, have retired to the cotes (meaning the farms outside the village); there are not more than six Catholic houses in the town."

The French families, scattered along the shore line of the settlement for a distance of from ten to twenty miles from the post, were in no condition to give much schooling to their offspring. That children so situated should grow up in ignorance is not greatly to be wondered. The people were poor and generally ignorant. The priest was poor and unable to maintain a school even if he could have collected enough children in one neighborhood to warrant keeping one.

However, the settlement increased in population; new houses were erected and settlements consolidated and school matters were then discussed. The Rev. John Dilhet, who was stationed in Detroit some time after the year 1800, says that Father Simplicius kept a school for the instruction of children, but it is probable that this instruction was only in preparation for their first communion, and the priest took the children to his house and made a home for them while this instruction was proceeding. Father Simplicius himself writes that the

people were so very ignorant that they could not write their own names and many of them could not make the form of the cross.

In 1797 there came to Detroit a priest who was destined to make a great change in the educational possibilities—the Rev. Gabriel Richard.

It is stated that the Rev. John Dilhet, who was, for a time, stationed at the River Raisin, came to Detroit in 1804 as an assistant to Father Richard and established a classical school. Father Dilhet remained in Detroit but a few years. He subsequently wrote a history of the *Etat de l'Eglise* which remains to this day in manuscript, unpublished, in Baltimore. A copy of this work, in the original French, is in the Burton Historical Collection at Detroit.

If Dilhet established a classical school, it was for the purpose of instructing the young priests and those who were studying for the priesthood, in the Detroit district.

REV. GABRIEL RICHARD

Rev. Gabriel Richard was born at Saintes, France, October 15, 1767; left that country April 9, 1792 and located and landed at Baltimore, June 24th, of the same year. He was sent to Kaskaskia, Illinois, as a missionary to the Indians, where he remained for about six years. He came to Detroit in 1797 and took charge of the Church of Ste. Anne. His first official act in Detroit was the baptism of Archange Meni, daughter of Pierre Meni, October 22, 1797.

While at Kaskaskia he deplored his inability to speak the English language with facility, but he was a diligent student and after coming to Detroit he conversed freely in the tongue. He was never, however, able to master the idioms, or feel at ease in conversation in English.

During the remainder of his life he was ever foremost in church affairs and in secular matters relating to his church. He was energetic and forceful. He was not loved by all of his parishioners, but by most of them. His enemies were many, both within and without the church, but those who were displeased with him were offended either by his attempt to enforce strict rules of the church or were opposed to him on political grounds. The educational activities of Richard appear in the following pages and were continuous during his life, but the other side of his life's work is quite as interesting. He was active in all of his church work; watched and encouraged the growth of his parish and reprimanded and punished recalcitrant members. He was also active in political affairs, solely for the benefit of his church. He was twice candidate or delegate to Congress and was once elected to that position, being the third delegate from Michigan Territory and the only priest who ever sat in Congress at Washington. He was sometimes termed the "pope of Congress" at that time.

It is said that in 1804 Father Richard established a ladies' seminary and a school for young men. This school was the one mentioned above as established by Father Dilhet, who was working in conjunction with him. In 1805 occurred the fire which utterly destroyed the village of Detroit and which is described in detail elsewhere. The church was burned, as was every building which could be used for school purposes. During the ensuing period, when the people were reestablishing themselves and the village was being recreated, very little was done along educational lines. For several years preceding the fire the Catholics had been planning the erection of a new church. After the fire, and on April 15, 1807, they formed the corporation known since as the *Eglise Catholique, Apostolique et Romain de Sainte Anne du Detroit*, and there

was given to the organization the block of ground bounded by Larned, Bates and Randolph Streets. Originally Congress Street ran in a southeasterly direction through this block. The new church building was erected within this enclosure, but many years elapsed before the edifice was completed. In the articles of incorporation of the church is a provision for the appointment of school teachers by the bishop of the diocese.

The number of confirmations in the church of Ste. Anne will indicate the probable number of children in the district of that church. This district extended from a distance of twenty or more miles down the river to a like distance in a northeasterly direction. All the farmers lived along the border of the river and lakes, and there were no habitations inland. Confirmation was administered only to persons above twelve years of age. The church records include the names of persons confirmed as follows:

In 1797 there were 51 persons.
In 1798 there were 41 persons.
In 1799 there were 39 persons.
In 1800 there were 42 persons.
In 1802 there were 41 persons.
In 1803 there were 35 persons.
In 1804 there were 43 persons.
In 1805 there were 46 persons.
In 1807 there were 58 persons.
In 1808 there were 40 persons.

436 persons.

The bishop of Quebec, Rt. Rev. Peter Denaut, visited Detroit in 1801 and the Catholic populace generally took advantage of the first visit of a bishop to the place to obtain confirmation, and there were 557 confirmations. A great many of these were persons of advanced age, several of them being ninety years old. There were 205 under twenty years of age. This would make a total of 641 children in the district between the ages of twelve and twenty years, or probably nearly 1,000 of school age. There certainly should have been a number of schools for this number of children, especially as their parents were mostly ignorant of book-learning and could give no schooling to their children at home.

The school established by Fathers Richard and Dilhet had been so successful that some of their pupils were put at the work of teaching, at least as early as 1804 and possibly before that date. About this time there were four young ladies, daughters of prominent families, who established a school or schools under the auspices of Father Richard. These women were: Elizabeth Lyons, daughter of George and Elizabeth (Chene) Lyons, born at Detroit, April 7, 1787; Elizabeth Williams, daughter of Thomas Williams and Cecile (Campau) Williams, sister of Gen. John R. Williams, and born at Detroit, August 2, 1786; Monique Labadie, daughter of Pierre and Therese (Gaillard) Labadie, born at Detroit, June 2, 1787, and later married to Antoine Beaubien; and Angelique Campau, probably the daughter of Simon and Veronique (Bourdeaux) Campau, born September 26, 1780.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

ORDINANCE OF 1787—PETITION FOR ACADEMY—BOND BETWEEN PRIEST AND JUDGE—PETITION TO GOVERNOR AND JUDGES—ACT OF 1809 FARM CONVEYANCES FOR SCHOOLS—ACT OF 1827—SCHOOL LAW OF 1833—FREE SCHOOL SOCIETY—SCHOOL LANDS AND CONSTITUTION OF 1835—DETROIT UNDER THE NEW LAW—BOARD OF EDUCATION—COLORED SCHOOLS—EIGHTY YEARS OF PROGRESS—LIST OF SCHOOL BUILDINGS AND DATE OF THEIR ERECTION.

In the ordinance of 1787, Congress provided that "religion and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." This section contained the germ that was afterward developed into the present efficient public school system in the states that once comprised the Northwest Territory.

The ordinance of 1787 provided for the encouragement of education by devoting a portion of the public lands of the Northwest Territory for that purpose. It was provided that when the public lands were surveyed into sections, the section numbered sixteen in each township should be reserved for the promotion of education. This reservation could not, of course, be made until the public lands were surveyed for sale. There were no such lands within the limits of Michigan Territory surveyed until many years after the organization of the territory, and consequently there were no public lands which could be used for school purposes. All of the people who owned farm lands in Michigan derived their titles either from the French or English governments or from Indian deeds. The American government never set up claim to the farm lands along the Detroit River or its tributaries, and the deeds from the government are confirmation of previously acquired ownership. The idea that the public owed it as a duty to the coming generations to give all children an education was imbedded in all of the members of the legislative body. The idea of universal education had not, at this time, reached the height it afterwards attained and now holds, but the seed was there and was slowly beginning to show life.

Of the four legislators, the one most prominent in the educational movement was Augustus B. Woodward. Judge Woodward was a student and a writer of several books which showed much learning and deep study. He loved to display his education and training in research, and his literary works and legal opinions are filled with words and references to other languages than the English.

PETITION FOR ACADEMY

The people of Wayne County, in March, 1802, prepared and sent to Congress a petition asking that one or more townships of land be granted for the purpose of erecting and supporting an academy. At that time Wayne County consisted of the eastern half of the lower peninsula of Michigan, the eastern tip of the upper peninsula, and about four hundred square miles in northwestern Ohio.

One academy might have been sufficient for the county, but Congress, with more foresight than the petitioners, took a broader view. On March 26, 1804, President Jefferson approved an act setting apart section 16 in each township for educational purposes. In this act it was provided that the proceeds derived from the sale of such lands should be a permanent fund, when established, might be increased, but should never be decreased. The provisions of this act were incorporated in the act of January 11, 1805, creating the Territory of Michigan.

Among the earliest acts passed by the legislative body in 1805 was No. 23, an act "for the encouragement of literature and the improvement of the City of Detroit." It was provided that \$20,000 should be raised by four lotteries, \$5,000 by each. This method of raising money was quite common at the time. No plan for using the money so raised was provided in the act, and the lotteries were never drawn. There were no other acts passed at this time.

After the fire of 1805 (described elsewhere) the new city plan was created, but, although provision was made for the old lot holders, a court house, jail and the Catholic Church, no lands were set aside at this time for school purposes.

BOND BETWEEN PRIEST AND JUDGE

The establishment of colleges, academies and schools, in fact the general subject of education, formed a bond of union between two of the most interesting characters of early Detroit, Fr. Gabriel Richard and Augustus Brevoort Woodward, the one rector of the Church of Ste. Anne, the other chief justice of the supreme court of the territory. The two men were most unlike in all their walks of life, save only in this one matter. The judge was eccentric, educated, pedantic, forceful, somewhat quarrelsome, either entirely without religious convictions or a very liberal Christian. The two were very much attached to each other and very earnest in their joint work for popular education. Their efforts for the formation of a university shows that they were many years ahead of their time, and, although they were ultimately successful in getting the university established on paper, it was a much more difficult matter to get one into successful operation. The work begun by them was continued by other hands to a successful conclusion, and today the great University of Michigan stands as a noble and enduring monument to the efforts of the priest and judge.

PETITION TO GOVERNOR AND JUDGES

The act of Congress of April 21, 1806 provided that the governor and judges should constitute a land board for the distribution of the village lots among the persons entitled to them. They had general control of these lands and were authorized to dispose of the lots not divided among the sufferers by the fire. In 1806 Fr. Richard presented the following petition to the governor and judges:

"To the Legislature of the Territory of Michigan,

"Gabriel Richard prays that for the purpose of erecting a college in which will be taught the languages, ancient and modern, and several sciences, etc. and enabling him to render the Education partly Gratuitous, the Corner lot on the military square of the section number 3 and the whole same section or a part thereof according to the will and benevolence of the Legislature be given.

"Detroit 8ber A. D. 1806.

"Gabriel Richard,

Rector of Ste. Anne"

The lot mentioned in the above petition is the one now occupied by the store of G. & R. McMillan. This lot would have been too small for the purposes

of a college and the priest asks for a larger tract. The section mentioned included all of the land lying between Woodward Avenue and Griswold Street, extending from the Campus Martius to Jefferson Avenue, as well as many lots west of Griswold Street and south of Larned Street. Richard was willing to leave the size of the donation to the legislative body. What he asked for was a site for a college. His request was not granted and the lot mentioned was sold to Isaac Todd in the year 1809.

Within a few days after the presentation of the above petition by Richard, another memorial was presented to the legislative body as follows:

"To the Honourable, the Legislature of the Territory of Michigan: John Goff begs leave to represent that he has kept a regular school in the town of Detroit for several years past; and that by his perseverance he flatters himself he has obtained the public confidence; that he has now the satisfaction of having such a number of children as to form a sufficient school, if the government should be willing to patronize him in granting him a lot in an eligible situation, and affording him some assistance in erecting a suitable school house. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will pray.

"Detroit 21st October 1806."

Among the documents examined in connection with these records were two papers which throw a little light upon the feelings and the desires of the legislature. In the absence of authentic records on the subject, these papers are interesting. The first is a draft of a resolution: "Resolved, That a lot be assigned to John Goff for the purposes of education." The paper bears no date or signature, but it is in Hull's handwriting. The other paper reads as follows: "The committee, to whom was referred the petition of John Goff for the grant of a lot and assistance in building a school house, reports: That however desirable the establishment of public schools may be, the mode in which the patronage of government ought to be exerted is not precisely such as is pointed out by the petitioner. Neither is it promised by your committee that the finances of the territory are at this time in such a state as to justify an expenditure for purposes the permanent utility of which would be very questionable. The education of youth could not be greatly promoted by grants to private persons. It appears to your committee that the city government would, at some future time, manage an institution in which the inhabitants of the city will be so nearly concerned." This report is also unsigned, but was written by Judge Bates. Another petition filed at about this time, made a further request for school lots. This petition follows:

"to the Legislature of the territory Michigan.

"Angelique Campeau & Elisabeth Williams pray that the corner's Lot on the military square of the section number 2 and some of the adjacent Lots of the same Section, as many as the Legislature shall think proper, be given for the purpose of erecting a young ladies school, together with a lot in the old shipyard on which stand the Barracks.

"Detroit 8ber 1st 1806.

"for Angelique Campeau & Elisabeth, Williams.

"Gabriel Richard."

(Burton Historical Collection. Vol. 457—p. 204. Askin Papers.)

The shipyard mentioned in the petition was located near the foot of the present Woodward Avenue. It was outside of the village enclosure. It con-

tained some old buildings that had been used by the British government in ship-building or ship-repairing and, as it was not within the picket line, these old buildings were not destroyed in the conflagration of 1805.

These plans of Bates, Goff, Richard and the Misses Williams and Campau were not entirely disregarded, but the object of them and the subject of schools were matters of indifference at that time and were laid aside.

The making of a new plan for the city in lieu of the little burned settlement; the formation of laws for a new territory; the distribution of lots in the new plant to sufferers by the fire; the starting of a new city upon the embers of the old, all made work enough to keep the officials busy without looking after school matters very much. Public schools, such as we now have, were unknown then, and any attempt to found them would have been too great a task for the men and the times.

Fr. Gabriel Richard, on September 12, 1808, purchased from Matthew Elliott a lot of ground fronting eighty-one feet on the south side of Woodbridge Street, just east of Bates Street, and extending to the river as then located. Richard paid \$500 for this land, and expected to use it for the site of an academy for young ladies. The school, when established, was to be placed under the charge of Miss Campau and Miss Lyons. Richard presented a petition to the legislature, which is very long, but it is so full of matters relating to schools at that time that it will be copied in full.

“to the Honourable Legislature of Michigan.

“Our neighbours on the British side are now erecting a large stone building for an Academy. the undersigned being sensible that it would be shameful for the American Citizens of Detroit, if nothing should be done in their territory for a smiliar and so valuable Establishment, begs leave to call the attention of Legislature of Michigan to an object the most important to the wellfare of the rising Generation—which cannot be but of little advantage, if it is not highly patronized by Governement.

“The Honourable Legislature partly knows what has been done by the subscriber for the establishment of schools, and for the encouragement of litterature, scientific knowledge and Useful Arts in this part of the Union. Besides tow (two) English schools in Town of Detroit there are four other Primary schools for boys and tow for young ladies, either in Town, or at Spring-Hill, at Grand Marais even at River Hurons. three of those schools are kept by three Natives of this Country who had received their first Education by the Revd Mr. J. Dilhet and of whom tow under direction of the subscriber have learnt the first Rudements of English and latin Languages, and some principles of Algebra and Geometry so far as to the measurement of the figure engraved on the tomb of the immortal Archimedes. by necessity they have been forced to stop their studies and to become masters and teachers for others. at Spring Hill under the direction of Angelique Campeau and Elizabeth Lyons. as early as the 9th of September last, the number of the scholars has been augmented by four young Indians headed by an old matron their grand mother of the Poto-watamies tribe. five or six more are expected to arrive at every momment.

“In Detroit in the house lately the property of Captain Elliot, purchased by the subscriber for the very purpose of establishing one Academy for young Ladies, under the direction of miss Elisabeth Williams there are better than

thirty young Girls who are taught as at Spring-Hill, reading, writing, arithmetic, knitting, sewing spinning &c. in these tow schools there are already nearly three dozen of spinning wheels, and one loom, on which four pieces of Linen or woollen cloth have been made this last spring or summer.

"To encourage the young Students by the allurements of pleasure and amusements, the undersigned has these three month past sent orders to New York for a spinning machine of about one hundred spindles an air-Pump, and Electrical Apparatus &c. as they could not be found, he is to receive these fall, but an electrical machine, a number of cards and few colours for dying the stuff already made or to be made in his Academy.

"It would be very necessary to have in Detroit a Public building for a similar Academy in which the high branches of Mathematics, most important languages Geography, History, Natural and moral Philosophy should be taught to young Gentlemen of our country, and in which should be kept the machines, the most necessary for the improvement of Useful Arts, for making the most necessary physical experiments and framing a Beginning of public Library.

"In order to advance the foregoing Institution The undersigned, prays that the part of the old ship-yard laying between G Meldrum, the River and the two adjacent streets together with the buildings that are on it, may be appropriated to the use of the aforesaid Academies, that is to say, given or exchanged for his donation Lot, for mr. Jh. Dilhet's donation-lot or otherwise as it will appear more convenient to the Honourable Legislature.

"The undersigned acting as Administrator for the said Academies further prays, that, for the Encouragement of Litterature and Useful Arts to be taught in the said Academies, one of the four Lotteries authorized by the Hon. Leg^{re}. on the 9th day of Sept. 1805 may be left to the management of the subscriber as Administrator of the said Academies, on the conditions that may appear just and reasonable to the legislative Board, and to make a Trial the subscriber is disposed to offer and from this moment, he offers during this winter to make some lectures on such branches of mathematics, or of Natural Philosophy that it will be more agreeable to the wishes of a majority of those Gentlemen desirous to attend on every evening.

"Detroit 8ber 18 - A. d. 1808. Gabriel Richard."

(Lansing—State Department—Box 777)

Here reference is made in the petition to the lot drawn by Father Dilhet as his donation lot. He drew lot 37 in section 7, but never received a deed for it, nor did he ever receive any other consideration for it so far as the records show. This lot is on the east side of Woodward Avenue between Gratiot and Grand River avenues and is now valued in millions of dollars.

Father Richard's petition was presented to the legislature by Judge Woodward. The only thing that Richard asked for was one of the four lotteries. Of course, if the lotteries were not drawn, the priest would gain nothing through his petition. A motion was made October 26, 1808 to repeal the law that provided for the lottery. No action was taken on this motion until December 10th following, although during the interval it was discussed and action postponed. On the 10th of December Judge Woodward was absent from the meeting and, taking advantage of that fact, the repealing act was taken up, passed, became a law, and Father Richard's petition fell to the ground, only to be dug up a century later.

ACT OF 1809

It was not until nearly five years after the organization of Michigan Territory that the first steps were taken toward the establishment of a public school system. On February 26, 1809, Judge James Witherell presented to the governor and judges, then Michigan's only legislative body, "An Act Concerning Schools". This act provided that the overseers of the poor should divide their districts in the most convenient form for erecting school houses and maintaining schools, these sections to be called school districts. Each year the overseers, who were to be the trustees for the school districts, should return a census of children between the ages of four and eighteen years, and a general tax was to be levied of not less than two dollars and not more than four dollars for each child. This money was to be divided between the districts in proportion to the amount spent by each district in the preceding year in the erection of school buildings and in maintaining schools. Nothing contained in the act indicates whether the schooling was, or was not, free, but from the text of the act it would seem that the encouragement of the territory was only to be given in the way of erecting school buildings. This so-called act was one of those passed in 1809 and declared to be void by the decision of the supreme court. The act itself was never called in question before the court, but the entire list of acts passed at that time was decided to be null. No work was ever done under it and no school census was taken at the time.

In an education way one of the most important events of early Detroit occurred at this time. This was the introduction of the first printing press in the town by Fr. Gabriel Richard. This is described fully in the succeeding chapter upon "The Press of Detroit".

FARM CONVEYED FOR SCHOOLS

In another direction efforts to extend the opportunities to obtain an education were made by the priest of Ste. Anne's.

In 1808 François Paul Malcher conveyed his farm, situated near the present bridge approach on the boulevard, to trustees for the purpose of religion and education in connection with the Catholic Church. The conveyance was partly in the form of a donation and partly a purchase by the parishioners. Father Richard was the one who accomplished the purchase, but he only obtained it after considerable delay and a great amount of work. Malcher would not convey directly to the priest, as he was afraid the annuity charged in the conveyance would not be properly met, and so five prominent citizens of the east side, Louis Beaufait, Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean, Benoit Chapoton, Charles Rivard and François Rivard, were chosen as trustees to take the title to the farm and they pledged their private fortunes to perform the terms of the agreement. The history of this farm is one of the romantic stories of our city. Many partial sketches of it have been printed, but the extended or detailed relation of the subject yet remains to be written. This farm is sometimes referred to as private claim 16, that being the number it bears in the list of applications before the United States Commissioners on land claims. It is sometimes referred to as the Malcher farm, from its original owner. Other times it is called the Church farm, from its long ownership by the Catholic Church, a portion being still owned by that organization.

On the river front was a large farm house which was fitted up for a chapel in which religious services were held and for which a record was kept.

The fire of 1805 had destroyed the only Catholic church there was at Detroit and it became necessary to use buildings away from the central settlement for church services, and the building on the Church farm was used both for these services and for maintaining a school.

A slight reference has been made to Mathew Ernest and his defalcation as collector. As this affair resulted in important work in educational matters, a more extended review of the difficulty will be made. Some time after the appointment of Ernest as collector irregularity in his accounts was found. In 1805 a suit was begun against him and his bondsmen. Judgment was obtained February 11, 1806 against Ernest and on the bond for \$7,457.77 only \$1,954.82 was derived, leaving due the government \$5,502.95. To satisfy this demand, the farm which Ernest owned in Springwells was levied upon under an execution. This farm, known as private claim 30, or the Ernest farm, is now generally called the Williams farm. It lies within the present city limits and Morell Street intersects it. It contains two hundred and seven acres in the front concession. The property was directed to be sold at auction in 1808 to satisfy the claim of the government and, as it was doubtful if any person could be found who would purchase it at the price of the judgment, the marshal making the sale was directed to bid it off to George Hoffman as agent for the United States. Hoffman was to hold the property subject to the direction of the United States treasurer. Hoffman was directed to "lease it for the remainder of the year to some person of character in whom you can confide."

The sale to Mr. Hoffman was made April 18, 1808 and as he was about to set sail for Mackinac on that day he delegated Solomon Sibley to make a lease of the premises if a tenant could be found. There were two negroes, Anthony and Robert, who had cultivated portions of the farm under leases from Mrs. Ernest. These leases were recognized by the government and the colored men were permitted to retain the lands they occupied until their crops were harvested.

Father Richard was the only applicant for a lease of the land and he entered into an agreement April 25, 1808 to pay \$200 for the use of the premises until the first day of the following year. It was provided that Father Richard might occupy "the large barn situated on the premises for the purposes of a temporary chapel or church". Peter Audrain became surety for the payment of the rent and the performance of the other obligations of the lease. Mr. Sibley, in his report of the transaction, said that "Mr. Richard's object is to establish a permanent school for the education of youths of both sexes, and wants to acquire this property, as it is deemed an eligible situation for that purpose". At about the same time Father Richard addressed the following petition to Congress:

"To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, the memorial of the Revd Gabriel Richard, pastor of the Catholic Society in the Territory of Michigan.

"Respectfully Represents

"That some time since the United States became possessed of a farm belonging to the late Collector of the Port of Detroit, on which there is now conducted a seminary for the instruction of the youth under the direction of your memorialist.

"The encouragement of Literature and useful arts in that quarter of the American Dominions has not yet particularly engaged the attention of Congress.

"Your memorialist solicits of your honorable Body that such an arrange-

ment may be made as will allow the Premises before mentioned to be exclusively and permanently appropriated to the education of white children in that territory and of Indian children within it or in its vicinity.

"Your petitioner in the name of the Indian tribe called Windots (Wyandottes) prays that — acres of land may be given and confirmed to the head of each family and to teach youth who shall be placed and will have remained eight years and has been educated in the above mentioned seminary; on the spot where the said Windots are now settled, that is to say between River Huron and River aux Ecorces—the distance between the two rivers being along the River Detroit about twelve miles.

"Whereas the present settlements of the said Windots are on the two extremities of the above mentioned distances, your memorialist prays that the whole tract of land which will remain in the center, after having satisfied to the above claims, may be kept as a Reserve for the endowment of the above mentioned institution, a part of which reserve, if it happens to be too large, could be used and cultivated as premiums by such Indian children who shall have made more progress in the said seminary.

"As there is no minister of any other denomination but Catholic in our territory of Michigan for the present time, it is, humbly, represented by your Petitioner that the administration and management of the above premises may be under the direction of the clergyman appointed, or to be occasionally appointed by the Catholic Bishop of the territory.

"And your memorialist will respectfully pray.

"Gabriel Richard, Pastor of the Catholic Society in the territory of Michigan."

This petition, undated, is entirely in the handwriting of the petitioner and is, at present, in the files, in the attic, of the House of Representatives in Washington. It is simply endorsed "Referred to the committee on public lands".

Governor Hull, in describing the Ernest farm in 1809, stated that Ernest had built "a good house, with wings attached to it. All the rooms in the house are well lathed and plastered and well finished in every other way".

Richard also wrote that he would move his printing press to his "Spring Hill" school in 1809.

Richard's Indian school was fairly successful for the short time that he occupied the Ernest farm, but the government would not donate the land for educational purposes and he could not afford to pay rent. The government price for the land was far beyond his ability to pay. He was obliged to return the property to the United States. This was done November 1, 1812.

Another charter was granted to the city in 1815. It was practically a re-enactment of the charter of 1802, and did not contain a word relative to schools or education. It contained no provision for the encouragement of education in any form. The board of trustees provided for in this charter continued to control city affairs until the adoption of the new charter and a change in the form of the city government in 1824. There was no petition or proceeding of any kind by the trustees in any way directed to school matters.

The schools established in the city during this time were maintained at the private expense of citizens in various ways, but no public money was used.

In 1818 Lemuel Shattuck came from Massachusetts and took charge of the Lancasterian School, which was opened under a commission issued by the university to Benjamin Stead, James Connor, and Oliver Williams. This school

was held in the university building. It was not a free school, but it was very popular and at times had nearly two hundred pupils. Under Mr. Shattuck a Sunday School was opened October 4, 1818. This was a free school; the teachers were volunteers and the teaching was entirely secular and not like the Sunday Schools of today. The pupils were the poor children of the city who could not pay tuition in the week-day schools.

A new city charter was granted in 1824. It is under this charter that the city is still operating, although the original act has been amended at various times and in many ways. The charter did not contain any provision relating to schools or education.

It might be said of all the schools of this time, that they were governed by the ferrule, the rod, the strap, and sometimes by the fist even, and it was not always the schoolmaster who was the real master in the controversies that arose in the school room. The modern method of governing by moral suasion, and without the aid of the whip, was unheard of, or if thought of at all, it was as one of the miracles of the millennium.

ACT OF 1827

An act for the organization of several counties and townships in the territory was passed April 12, 1827 by the legislative council. This act organized the Township of Detroit and provided that the limits of the township should be coincident with the limits of the city. On the same day another act was passed, and received the approval of Governor Cass on the 27th following, entitled "An act for the establishment of common schools". This was framed somewhat after laws passed in New Hampshire and Massachusetts many years before. Under its provisions, if two-thirds of the electors (called "freeholders and inhabitants") in any township voted in favor of the proposition to establish schools, the law became operative in that township. The act also provided that one school should be maintained for six months in the year, in each township of fifty families; in townships of one hundred families or more, tuition equal to twelve months was required; in townships having a population of one hundred and fifty families, two teachers were to be employed, and townships having two hundred families or more were to have two school buildings. At a township meeting the electors could divide the township into school districts as they saw fit. Each district was to elect a moderator and vote a tax to purchase or build a school house. Three trustees were to be chosen in each district. Children between the ages of five and fifteen years were considered school children. No child should be excluded from school on account of the inability of the parent or guardian to furnish his portion of the firewood used in the school. School masters should teach children to read and write, and they should be instructed in the English or French language, as well as in arithmetic, orthography, and decent behavior. The township might, if it so voted, raise by taxation a sum sufficient to support and maintain a schoolmaster or teacher "to teach their youth and children to read, write and cypher." As nothing further is said about free schooling, we infer that no schools were free unless the township so voted at its annual meeting.

The first school in Detroit under this law was opened about the first of June following its enactment. On May 27, 1827 the trustees of the University of Michigan ordered "that Mr. Cook, the teacher of the common school, be allowed the use of a room in the Academy". Mr. Cook died soon after opening

his school and it seems the commissioners were unable to find a suitable teacher as his successor, which resulted in the closing of the school.

Detroit was especially exempt from the provisions of the act of 1829, and no other school law was passed until 1833. There were many schools established in Detroit during the interval.

Some of the newspaper items of this time are interesting. In the *Herald* of November 25, 1825 is a notice that Horace Stratton had opened a day and evening school on Jefferson Avenue, one door above Mr. Schwartz' store, "where he will teach reading, writing, common arithmetic, English grammar, geography including the art of drawing maps, surveying, and the higher branches of mathematics, together with the Greek and Latin languages, if so requested."

The classical school of Mr. Asahel S. Wells gave an examination exhibition in the Latin and Greek languages, May 10, 1826. This school gave another exhibition in the following October. In this school were thirty-two scholars. It was conducted under the direction of the university.

In the legislature two bills were introduced for the purpose of raising money for the support of schools. The first bill, introduced by Robert A. Forsyth, was a proposal to levy a tax on the sale of liquors. The other was an attempt by Mr. John McDonell to institute a lottery, the avails of which should be used for the support of schools.

There was another resolution introduced in the legislature of a facetious, but interesting, nature, which was not adopted. Mr. Forsyth, who was a bachelor, introduced a resolution in December, 1826, for levying a tax upon all unmarried men over thirty years of age in the territory. One-half of the tax should go to the territorial treasury and the other half for the support of schools.

SCHOOL LAW OF 1833

On April 23, 1833 Governor Porter approved an act providing for common schools in the City of Detroit. This was the first law of a local nature which connected the school system with the municipal government. It authorized an election, on a day in May to be named by the council, for six commissioners, six directors and six inspectors of the common schools. The commissioners were to divide the city into school districts, altering the boundaries of such districts when necessary; the directors were to select and purchase sites for school houses, deeds for such sites to be taken in the name of "The Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Freemen of the City of Detroit", levy taxes for building school houses and call meetings of voters, etc.

The law also provided that at the annual April meeting the qualified voters should determine the amount of money to be raised "for the purpose of defraying the charge of schooling such poor children as have no parents to provide for them, or whose parents are unable to provide for them". All other children were to pay a tuition. This law was in part satisfactory, but the school demands were not fully satisfied. If any schools were established directly under this law, they were of short duration and left no record of what they accomplished.

FREE SCHOOL SOCIETY

Although the schools established by this society were not free schools, in the sense that they were maintained at public expense, the history of the society

is included in this chapter because of the influence it wielded in awakening an interest in the subject of popular education. The society was organized in the autumn of 1832 by a number of public-spirited women, who raised funds, built a schoolhouse, and in December, 1833, published the following:

"NOTICE—It cannot have escaped the observation of any citizen that in our midst are many children who are growing up not only in poverty, but in ignorance. The object of our society is to take these children and bring them under the culture and moral restraint of a school. We have employed for the year past a competent instructress and have collected together under her not far from a daily average of fifty scholars. There have been no less than one hundred and fifty names upon the roll of the school since its commencement. In addition to \$232 which the society has paid to its instructress, expended for wood and other incidental expenses, we have erected a plain but substantial school house at a cost of \$475, towards the discharge of which debt we have paid \$350, leaving a balance of \$125.

"Jane M. Palmer,
"Mary S. Wendell,
"Directresses."

The pupils attending the school were all under ten years of age, were provided with books and taught absolutely free of charge. Half-day sessions were held, some pupils attending in the forenoon and others in the afternoon. To raise funds for carrying on the work, the members made and sold various articles of their own handiwork, made tomato catsup which was sold at the store of E. Bingham, and in the winter of 1834 they held a fair, or annual sale, "in the long room of Woodworth's Steamboat Hotel." In 1834 there were eighty-one contributors and two hundred pupils. In 1836 the society had two schools in operation and a third was opened in 1837.

In the Catholic Church the Rev. Frederick Résé was created bishop of the Detroit diocese in 1833. In June the sisters of Ste. Clare Seminary of Pittsburgh opened a school in Detroit, under the supervision of Bishop Résé.

Miss Nichols, a graduate from Mrs. Emma Willard, came to the city and opened a school for young ladies in 1833. She was assisted by Miss Tappan.

D. B. Crane opened a high school August 1, 1833, in the old council house, in the rooms then lately occupied by Mr. Howe.

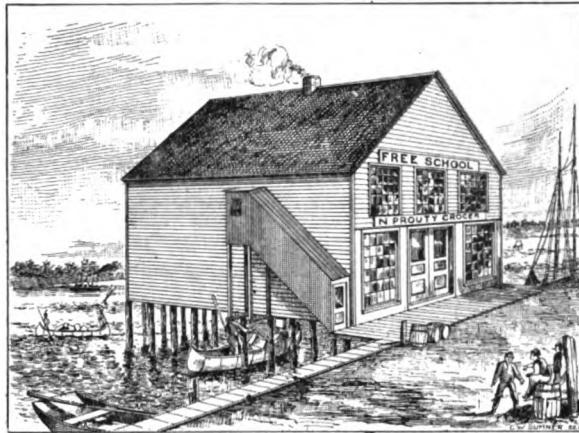
Mr. Olds opened a writing school in September, 1833.

An extract from the *Courier* of November 27, 1833, calls attention to educational matters as follows: "The cause of education with us begins to look up. We have numerous city schools and a ladies' seminary. The Catholics also have a school. There is also an academy for young men under the charge of Mr. Crane, with upwards of thirty pupils. Another school, to be called the Michigan High School, is soon to be opened by Mr. Bellows."

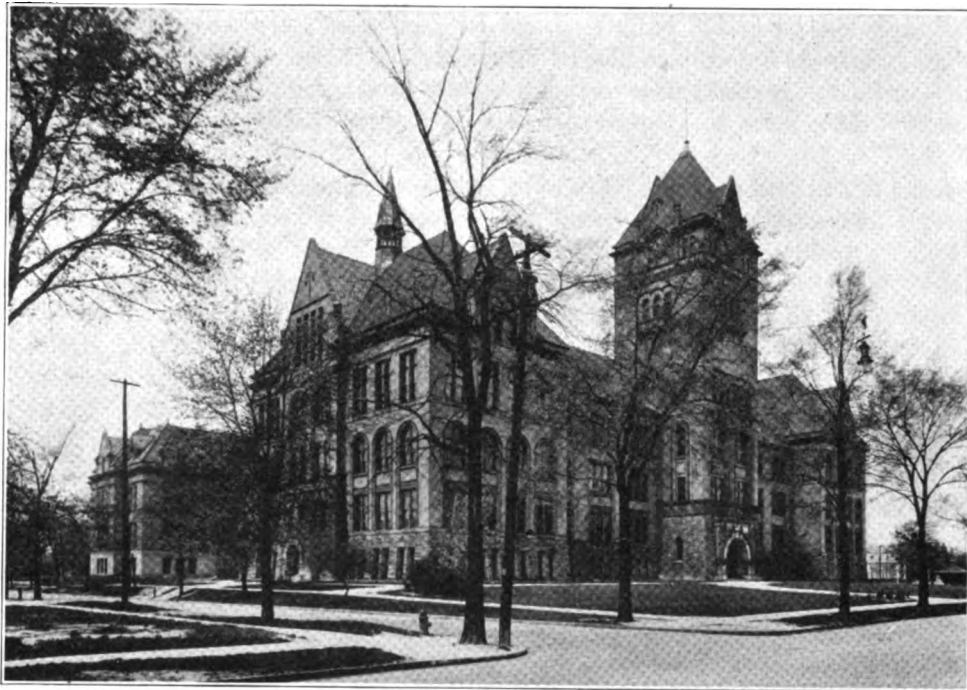
The Michigan High School was opened in 1834 in the upper room of the academy or university building.

The seminary building was on the site of the present city hall in 1834. It was a famous school, though not long-lived.

There were at this time, 1834, 777 children under fifteen years of age and 251 between fifteen and twenty years of age. In the city were twelve schools with an attendance of 448 scholars.



FIRST FREE SCHOOL BUILDING, 1838-42



CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

SCHOOL LANDS AND CONSTITUTION OF 1835

Very few schools were established under the law of 1827, for the reason that the school lands granted by Congress had as yet yielded only a scanty income. The act of 1826 gave the control of the lands in section 16 to the township authorities, or in townships where the local officials were unwilling to assume the responsibility, to the state. This dual method of handling the income from the lands resulted in confusion. In 1832 the Michigan Legislative Council passed an act authorizing the school commissioners "to take charge of all school lands, lease them and apply the proceeds to the support of common schools".

This was a slight improvement over the previously existing conditions, but there was room for still greater improvement. An amendatory act, passed in 1833, directed that in school districts where there were no commissioners of common schools, the governor should appoint a superintendent, who should take charge of school lands and protect them. By the act of 1835 the school commissioners were directed to make an annual apportionment of the income, in proportion to the number of children of school age in the respective districts of the township. In case there were no school commissioners to make such apportionment, the superintendent was instructed to turn over the income to the territorial treasury.

Michigan adopted a constitution in 1835, but was not admitted, as a state, until January, 1837. Section 2, Article X, of the constitution stated that:

"The proceeds of all lands granted by the United States to this state for the support of schools, which shall hereafter be sold or disposed of, shall remain a perpetual fund, the interest of which, together with the rents of all unsold lands, shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of schools throughout the state."

Isaac E. Crary was chairman of the committee on education in the constitutional convention and to him can be attributed much of the wisdom shown by the convention in adopting the provisions relating to Michigan's educational system. Mr. Crary was born at Preston, Connecticut, October 2, 1804, received his education in the Bacon Academy, at Colchester, and Washington College, at Hartford, where he graduated in 1829 with the highest honors. For about two years he was engaged in editorial work on the "New England Review", where he was associated with George D. Prentice, afterward the noted editor and proprietor of the "Louisville (Kentucky) Journal". In 1832 Mr. Crary came to Michigan, and at the time of his election as a delegate to the constitutional convention was not quite thirty-one years of age. He was the first representative in Congress from the State of Michigan, and was at one time speaker of the house of representatives in the Michigan Legislature. His death occurred on May 8, 1854.

Another man who was active in behalf of education at the time the state was admitted was Gov. Stevens T. Mason. In his message to the legislature of 1837, Governor Mason urged the employment of competent teachers, who should be paid well for their services, and added:

"Let free schools be established and maintained in perpetuity and there can be no such thing as a permanent aristocracy in our land; for the monopoly of wealth is powerless when mind is freely allowed to come in contact with mind. It is by erecting a barrier between the rich and the poor, which can be done

only by allowing a monopoly to the rich—a monopoly of learning, as well as of wealth—that such an aristocracy can be established. But the operation of a free school system has a powerful tendency to prevent the erection of this barrier.”

When Michigan was admitted in 1837, the lands in the sections numbered 16 throughout the state aggregated over one million acres. The school lands were first placed in the hands of the state superintendent of public instruction to be disposed of and the proceeds turned into the permanent school fund. This was an unwise proceeding. The superintendent was a good teacher, but he was not a business man, and some of the lands were lost to the state through his mistakes. Subsequently the state took the remainder and agreed to pay the department of schools interest in perpetuity on the value of the lands. The state also undertook the management of the schools, instead of leaving them under the control of the petty officials of the small districts.

A selling price of \$20 per acre was fixed for the common school lands, but the financial panic of 1837 caused a depreciation in real estate values and the sale of school lands was stopped until times improved. In 1839 an act was passed by the legislature providing that where a settler on section 16 of any township could prove cultivation of the land prior to its selection as state land, he should have the privilege of purchasing the land he occupied at \$1.25 per acre. Here Governor Mason again showed his loyalty to the cause of the common schools. He promptly vetoed the act, saying that he was “not going to permit the land speculator to masquerade as a poverty-stricken squatter”. By his veto thousands of dollars were saved to the common school fund of the state.

DETROIT UNDER THE NEW LAW

On December 2, 1837, the common council requested the city attorney to investigate and report what steps were necessary to organize the public schools under the acts passed at the preceding session of the legislature. The city attorney made his report just a week later, and in April, 1838, Henry Chipman, John Farmer and James F. Joy were elected school inspectors. All of these men were deeply interested in school matters, and are all well known in connection with the history of the city. Mr. Farmer was chosen chairman of the board and for the first time the provisions of the general state law were put into operation in Detroit.

The city was divided into five wardens, or wards, for fire protection, and a school census was taken in these wards, showing that there were 1,320 white and 36 colored children of school age, that is, between the ages of five and fifteen. In May the city was divided into seven school districts. The districts were assessed separately and not uniformly, as the needs of the different districts were not the same. To reduce the taxes for school purposes, each year there was a division of the primary school interest fund. This fund was quite large in 1836, but in consequence of the hard times and losses by cancelled sales and bad investments in the office of the state superintendent of public instruction, the amount of the interest fund decreased every year. In 1841 only \$473.93 was given to the entire city.

Everything was working along the proper lines to put the schools on a systematic basis in 1838. Each district was separate and there was no governing body or department that would look after everything, but there was a dispo-

sition to have the state take charge of the general direction and the city authorities assume the particulars of governing each district.

The directors reported the state of affairs for each district each year. In the seventh district the Hon. Benjamin F. H. Witherell was the director in 1838. His report for that year showed the number of children between five and seventeen years of age to be 417, of whom there were but 43 attending school. School was maintained three months. No money was received from the board of inspectors. There was \$590 received from taxes, of which \$500 was used for a school building and \$90 for a teacher. From other reports it seems that the usual salary paid a teacher was \$30 per month. In 1838 the school for district No. 1 was in an old two-story building, 40 by 80 feet, built on piles, on the shore of the river, on West Woodbridge Street near Shelby. The lower part was used as a grocery and the upper part was fitted up for the school. The building was leased for \$100 per year and was occupied until 1842. In 1838 W. K. Coyl was assessor and collector for the district and to his gratuitous services this school is indebted for its maintenance. The school for district No. 4 was taught by Rev. George Field in the basement of the First Methodist Episcopal Church. The teacher for No. 6, Melvina A. Hurlbut, taught at her residence on the northeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Beaubien Street.

The books in use in this school were Webster's Spelling Book, English Reader, Testament, and Daboll's Arithmetic. There were many other textbooks used in the various schools. Among them were Child's Guide, Juvenile Reader, First Class Book, Parley's First Book of History, Hale's History of the United States, Gallandet's Nat. Thesbian, Olney's Geography, Peter Parley's Geography, Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, Colburn's Arithmetic, Smith's Grammar, Lake's Philosophy and others.

In 1838 the school inspectors in Detroit were John Farmer and Henry Chipman. The third inspector's name, James F. Joy, does not appear in their reports. They examined candidates for teachers and granted certificates. The names of some of the early teachers were: Augusta Hulburt, Charlotte S. Rang, Harriett M. Van Ingen, Alice Rayney (or Rumney), Marian Titus, Melvina N. Hurlbut, Allen Ranney, Charles Chambers, Charles Rood, Rowley Morris, Jeremiah E. Whitaker, James S. Baker, Rev. George Field, Hiram F. Joy, E. F. Locke, J. T. Blois, William Merrill, William Huntington, Lorenzo Wood, John M. Davis, John Winchell and William Phelps.

The poverty of some sections of the city prevented the establishment of schools in those sections. It was reported in 1841 that there were 135 children in district No. 1 and the district was not able to employ a teacher "and is dependent upon private schools". It was this uncertainty of means to conduct schools that led to the changes in 1842. One of the leaders in this great change was Dr. Zina Pitcher, and he has sometimes been called the Father of the Public School System of Detroit. He was mayor of the city in 1840 and 1841 and president of the board of education in 1843. David W. Fiske, alderman from the fifth ward, introduced a resolution in the council on September 14, 1841, for the appointment of a committee to consider the school system and plan a more perfect one if possible. The committee appointed consisted of Mayor Pitcher, David W. Fiske and Charles Moran. Their report was submitted to the freemen of the city at a public meeting held January 12,

1842, and resolutions were adopted, endorsing the report and giving consent to petition the legislature to enact the substance of the plan into a law.

BOARD OF EDUCATION

As stated before, the amount received from the state school fund in 1841 was only \$473.93. This sum was entirely inadequate to maintain schools worthy of the name. The plan proposed by Mayor Pitcher, Alderman Fiske and Mr. Moran, which was submitted to the meeting of January 12, 1842, was to petition the legislature for an amendment to the city charter which would give the common council authority to levy a tax for the benefit of the schools. At the meeting Samuel Barstow introduced a resolution asking the legislature for authority to levy a tax, not exceeding one-fourth of one per cent of the assessed valuation of the property for the support of free schools; also to elect two persons from each ward as a board of education, with power to appoint teachers and provide for the management of schools. Doctor Pitcher's report stated that there were 1,800 school children in the city, of whom only 714 were in school. The sums paid for private tuition aggregated \$126 per year for a little more than one-third of the children.

After some discussion the resolution was adopted and Aldermen Joseph H. Bagg, Francis Cicotte and Matthew Gooding were appointed a committee to present the matter to the legislature. Then a remonstrance was started by those opposed to any increase in taxes, and it is worth remembering that the first name on that remonstrance was that of a man who signed by making "his (x) mark". This stirred the friends of education to action. Another meeting was held at the city hall on February 7, 1842, and it resulted in converting many of the doubtful citizens to the idea of free schools. The petition then went to the legislature and on the 17th of February the legislature passed a bill, which was approved by Governor Barry on the following day, "relative to free schools in the city of Detroit". Detroit was constituted one school district under the direction of the board of education, which was created by the act, and the schools were to be "public and free to all children within the limits thereof, between the ages of four and seventeen years".

The board of education was to consist of twelve school inspectors, two from each ward, while the mayor and recorder were ex-officio school inspectors. The act further authorized an annual tax, not to exceed one dollar for every child between the ages of four and eighteen years, for the support of the common schools. The money received from the primary school interest fund was used for paying teachers' salaries.

While many changes have been made in the school laws of the city since 1842, that act is the foundation for all the laws upon which the present magnificent school system has been constructed.

In October, 1851, D. Bethune Duffield, then secretary of the board of education, at the request of Francis W. Shearman, superintendent of public instruction, prepared an account of the movement in 1841 for the improvement of the schools. This account contains many interesting facts, and the Detroiter reading it now could hardly realize that the conditions portrayed by Mr. Duffield ever existed in the city. He stated:

"Previous to the year 1841, no such thing as a free school was known in the City of Detroit, and the interests of general education languished to such a degree that the benevolent attention of a few gentlemen, interested in the



**RUINS OF DETROIT HIGH SCHOOL, ON
SITE OF CAPITOL PARK, WHICH BURNED
JANUARY 27, 1893.**



**OLD DETROIT HIGH SCHOOL AT HEAD OF GRISWOLD STREET, WHERE CAPITOL
PARK IS NOW LOCATED**
Formerly the State Capitol Building but remodeled for school purposes

subject, was at length excited to reform and check the evils which were rapidly springing out of this unfortunate state of things. Foremost among them, and the first to take any steps in the matter, was Dr. Zina Pitcher, long known for his untiring efforts in behalf of every interest connected with this important subject, and widely esteemed throughout our state for his arduous labors in aiding to organize and perfect our State University.

"While acting as mayor of the city in 1841, Doctor Pitcher called the attention of several members of the common council to the great need of common schools among us and succeeded in obtaining some statistics on the subject which exhibited the condition of the community at that time in its connection with education. From these statistics it appeared there were then twenty-seven English schools, one French and one German school, but all of them exceedingly limited in numbers and scarcely deserving the name of schools, except the one connected with Ste. Anne's (Catholic) Church, which embraced nearly all the children of Catholic families then resident in the city. The whole number of scholars in attendance upon these twenty-nine schools was 714, and this in a city with a population of between nine and ten thousand inhabitants!

"The average cost of tuition, as then estimated, was \$17 per year for every scholar. It was likewise ascertained that there were more than two thousand children of school age within the then limits of the city, all of whom, excepting the 714 above referred to, were not in attendance upon any school whatever.

* * * Speedy measures were then adopted by the gentlemen above referred to, in connection with others who came forward as fellow laborers in this good work and, by hiring vacant rooms and securing teachers, upwards of seven schools were soon opened in different parts of the city and earnest efforts made to persuade various families, whose children were then roaming the streets, to send them to the daily schools thus established. Yet so great was the apathy and indifference felt by many on the subject, that when schools were thrown open for the instruction of their children at no cost to themselves, it still required the continued personal and individual effort of those interested to bring this portion of the community to see the great advantages they were able to derive for their families from the common schools."

No time was lost by the city authorities in carrying into effect the provisions of the new law. The first board of education was organized March 15, 1842, with Dr. Douglas Houghton as president; John S. Abbott, secretary; Daniel J. Campau, treasurer; Samuel Barstow, Elijah J. Roberts, John Winchell, Willard E. Stearns, Justus Ingersoll, John Watson, George Robb, Charles Peltier, Ebenezer A. Byram, and William Patterson. According to Mr. Wilkins, this board rented buildings in four of the six wards for \$166 and opened primary schools in May. In November, 1842, what were known as the "middle schools" were opened, with about five hundred scholars in attendance. The teachers of the middle schools were: Joshua N. Alvord, John H. Anderson, Thomas Grant, Charles W. Hayes and Dennis O'Brien, each of whom received \$30 per month. Six female teachers were employed in the primary schools and each received \$18 per month. A committee of women, three in number, was appointed in each ward to visit the primary schools and offer suggestions for their improvement. Concerning the new school system, the Detroit Gazette, in December, 1842, said editorially:

"The Board of Education was established by a law of the last session of the

Legislature, and, as usual with most features of legislation for the public good, met with opposition. The excellent choice made by our citizens, however, of inspectors, and the bold and decisive measures adopted by them on their first organization, had the effect to make the opposition to the proposed system falter and hesitate in their movements. The primary schools were open for six months in the six several wards for the younger class of scholars and the immediate consequence was the clearing of our streets and lanes of ragged, filthy children, engaged in every species of mischief, and growing up pupils of depravity and crime. The second view presented the same children cleanly clad, inmates of school rooms, and the third exhibited them in connection with children of what is termed the better class of society, contending for superiority, and finally the schools for the summer closed with universal satisfaction.

"The middle or winter schools are now in successful operation. There are six of these establishments—one in each ward—provided with excellent teachers, comfortable rooms and everything a parent can desire."

By the year 1881, in harmony with the city's growth in population and area, there were thirteen wards. This increased the board of education to twenty-six members, besides the ex-officio members. This body was thought to be too large and unwieldy. Accordingly, on March 11, 1881, a new law was enacted, reducing the number of members to twelve, to be elected from the city at large. The law provided that of the twelve members chosen at the spring election in 1881, six should serve for two years and six for four years, six members to be elected biennially thereafter. The first board under this law was composed of: Goerge R. Angell, Magnus Butzel, Thomas J. Craft, N. Gallagher, Levi T. Griffin, W. N. Hailman, James Johnston, Simon C. Karrer, James W. Romeyn, Luther S. Trowbridge, Charles I. Walker and Carlos E. Warner.

In the organization of the board, George R. Angell was elected president, and Henry M. Utley was employed as secretary. The new system soon showed an improvement over the old one, as each member felt that he was working in the interests of all the schools, instead of those in his own ward, and greater uniformity resulted.

The small board, elected at large, continued until, by the act of March 21, 1899, the membership was again changed to a single member from each ward. As thus constituted it consisted of seventeen members. The rapid growth of the city and the formation of new wards in the early years of the present century again made the board too large and unwieldy for efficiency. The legislature of 1913 therefore passed an act providing that:

"The Board of Education of any city having a population of two hundred and fifty thousand or over, which comprises a single school district, shall consist of seven school inspectors who shall be elected at large by the electors of the whole city qualified to vote for school inspectors in such municipality at the next spring election when judges of the Supreme Court are required to be elected. Two inspectors shall be elected to serve for two years; two inspectors shall be elected to serve for four years; and three inspectors shall be elected to serve for six years; thereafter, at the next like election immediately preceding the expiration of their respective terms of office, their successors shall be elected to serve for six years. The terms of office of each inspector shall commence on the first day of July following his or her election," etc.

The provisions of this act were adopted by the electors of Detroit at the

election held on November 7, 1916, by a vote of 61,806 to 11,342, and the first board was elected in April, 1917, the change becoming effective on the 1st of the following July.

COLORED SCHOOLS

A colored school (District No. 8) was organized in 1839, but no funds were appropriated to pay a teacher. According to Mr. Wilkins, John Biddle, John R. Williams and others petitioned the legislature in 1839 for the enactment of a law which would enable the people of Detroit to establish a separate school for the negro children of the city. An act to that effect was passed in 1840 and William C. Monroe, a colored clergyman, was employed as teacher.

Separate schools were maintained for colored children until 1869. The general school law of 1867 contained a provision that the children of "all residents of a school district were entitled to admission to the schools". The board of education claimed that this provision did not apply to the city. The colored citizens—or a part of them—set up the claim that the board had no right to exclude their children from the white schools, and their contention was sustained by an opinion of William Gray, the city attorney. The question was then submitted to the Supreme Court, which decided the colored children had the right to admission. On October 11, 1869, the board voted to rescind all previous orders relating to separate schools.

EIGHTY YEARS OF PROGRESS

Almost eighty years have passed since Dr. Zina Pitcher and his associates began their agitation for a better public school system. When the board of education began its work it was compelled to use rented buildings and rooms. In the year 1842, four buildings were rented at a cost of \$160 a year; one of these was on the corner of Clinton and Brush streets, and another on the northwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and First Street. On November 9, 1842, the council authorized the board to use the old Washington Market, corner Larned and Wayne, for schools, whereupon, after the sum of \$75 had been spent in renewing the interior, school was held therein until May, 1847. From 1844 until the fall of 1858 the old university building was also used.

The sole building possessed by the board in 1842 was located on Fort Street East, on the lot occupied in 1882 and now by the Everett School. The old building continued in use until 1869, when it was sold for \$39. The first school-house built by the board was erected in 1843, on West Park near Grand River Avenue, at a cost of \$540. It was removed in August, 1855. Up to 1847 the board owned but three houses. In that year the old state capitol was vacated and on the 10th of May the board appointed a committee to request the common council to secure the building for school purposes. Various difficulties were encountered, as title to the property was very vague, but finally, after much committee work, representations to the governor, etc., the board took possession without a lease. This building was used as a school until torn down. The site is now known as Capitol Park, bounded by Griswold and State streets. The first union building erected by the board was the Barstow. It was opened in May, 1850, and was the first school named for an individual—Samuel Barstow being the one honored in this case. The Houghton School, originally called the Eighth Ward School, opened in the fall of 1853, was the second under this

classification: it was so named after Douglass Houghton, the first president of the board.

The first mention of a high school is found in the proceedings of the board for April 22, 1844, when a committee was requested to submit a plan for a high school. The university regents placed the old academy building on Bates Street at the disposal of the board for this purpose, which offer was accepted. On May 2d money was appropriated for a high school to be conducted on the second and third floors of this building. Only about twenty-five scholars were enrolled, and these were to be boys of eleven years and up who had attended public schools three months and passed an examination. The school, however, existed but a brief space. On January 20, 1855, a legislative act gave further authority for maintaining a high school, but nothing was done until February 20, 1856, when D. B. Duffield sponsored a committee to consider the project of establishing such a school. The question was postponed until 1858 and upon August 30th of that year the high school held its first session in the upper story of the Miami Avenue School Building. In 1859 a building for the high school was erected upon the rear of the Miami Avenue (Broadway) lot. In September, 1863, the school was transferred to the second story of the old capitol building, and in 1875 a separate building was constructed in front of the capitol structure.

Military drill in the schools was first advocated in the fall of 1874 and several interested men petitioned the government for arms and instructors from Fort Wayne. On February 25, 1875, a committee on military instruction was appointed and for two years the boys were given daily drills.

In the year 1850 the school census, that is, the number of children between five and seventeen years of age, was 6,965; the enrollment was 4,250; the average attendance was 2,465; and there were 21 teachers. In 1860 the school census was 14,159; the enrollment, 7,045; the average attendance, 4,849; and the number of teachers, 68. In 1870 the census showed a figure of 26,641; the enrollment, 11,252; average attendance, 7,505; teachers, 143. In 1880 the school census was 39,467; enrollment, 15,802; average attendance, 11,513; teachers, 249. The figures for 1886 were: school census, 66,963; enrollment, 21,434; average attendance, 16,133; teachers, 383.

The regents of the university first decided to admit high school students on their diploma, without examination, on June 27, 1878.

Most of the township schools were taught in log houses, covered with "shakes" and provided with a puncheon floor. The door was roughly made and hung on wooden hinges. Heat was supplied from a huge fireplace at one end of the room or, in later years, a large cast-iron stove in the center. The furniture, made of logs variously hewn, was of the most primitive character. The city schools were a little better equipped. The school house was generally of frame construction, but the furniture was of homemade variety. The first "patent" desks in Detroit were those installed in the Barstow School about 1855. The average teacher of that period was not a graduate of a college and few of them had ever heard of a normal school. Elementary subjects were considered to be the only essentials, though higher subjects were taught. On the theory that no one could become a good reader without being a good speller, more attention was given to orthography during the child's early school years than to any other subject. After the scholar could spell fairly well, he was

given the reader. Then came the writing exercises and then arithmetic. Hence, the "three Rs"—readin', 'ritin' and 'rithmetic.

But conditions in educational matters have kept pace with the civic and industrial progress. The old log or frame school house has given way to the scientifically constructed building of brick, stone and steel. The hardships confronted by the early scholar have been replaced by modern conveniences and the curriculum has been advanced to a high degree. Yet, under the old system, justices, senators, notable professional men, and even Presidents of the United States acquired their rudimentary education in the little district school.

Concerning the growth of Detroit schools in recent years, the Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, issued September 1, 1920, states:

"Detroit's phenomenal development and growth from a 1910 population of 465,766 to 993,739 in 1920, an increase of 113%, has been reflected in the school system. This development was so rapid in some sections that it seemed physically impossible to make proper provision for it. In 1910 the Detroit school system was a small organization, built upon the theory of one-man control and with little or no room for administrative expansion. It was the obvious evolution of a small unit into a big organization without adequate preparation or without definite policy covering a period of years. Comparatively little attention was paid to the development of the school system upon lines designed for a large city. Administration and research received only the most casual attention. It was, however, a period of development of educational ideals and preparation for modern practices that paved the way for present-day teaching methods. During this time the break from the old-time formal academic type of training to the modern socialized curriculum was made possible by careful experimentation with the newer practices.

"In 1910-11 the registration of pupils was 61,961 and the school census 114,448. In 1920 the registration had become 139,604, an increase of 125%. During this period the public school registration has increased more rapidly in proportion than the school census, due largely to the application of the 16-year-old compulsory school law."

The school census in 1921 totaled 237,592. In 1911 there were in the board's employ 1,589 teachers, 125 of whom were men. In the school year covering 1920-21 there were 4,083 teachers employed, 540 of whom were men. The growth in size and value of the school plant is another index of the marvelous changes which the public school system has undergone. In 1896 the value of school sites and buildings was \$2,615,557; in 1912 it was \$7,080,167; and by June, 1921, the amount was over thirty millions of dollars. In 1896 there were 59 elementary schools and one high school. In 1921 this had increased to 144 elementary, 7 intermediate, and 12 high schools, one high school annex, 2 college buildings, 2 open-air schools, 27 rented and portable buildings, making a total of 265. As late as 1912 there had been only 95 buildings.

The principal school structures in Detroit, the dates of erection and subsequent additions, and the locations, are given in the following list: (Description of location as "N. Woodward" indicates "north of Woodward." "N. W. Maple and Riopelle" means "northwest corner of Maple and Riopelle," etc.) Admiral Winterhalter—1921. 12121 Broadstreet.

Alger—1898. No. Kenilworth, near Brush.

Amos—1895, 1908. S. E. Military and Regular.

Angell—1916. N. Maidstone; S. Euclid; W. Holmur.

Bagley—1884. N. E. 14th and Pine.
Balch—1921. Ferry Ave., between St. Antoine and Hastings.
Barbour—1921. 4209 Seneca.
Barstow—1849–1870–1912. S. Congress, near Riopelle.
Beard—1896–1900. E. Waterman and Lafayette.
Bellefontaine—1887. W. Morrell near Wabash Railroad.
Bellevue—1899–1910. E. Bellevue near Lafayette E.
Bennett—1911. N. W. Mullane and Senator.
Berry—1892. N. W. Concord and Charlevoix.
Bishop—1857, 1907, 1908, 1916. N. Winder; S. Adelaide; W. Rivard.
Brady—1921. 2920 Joy Road.
Breitmeyer—1915. E. Cameron near Marston.
Brownson—1887, 1894. S. Maple near Chene.
Burton—1912. N. E. Peterboro and Cass.
Campau—1898. N. Forest; E. Campau; W. Mitchell.
Campbell—1894, 1906. N. E. St. Aubin and Alexandrine.
Capron—1905. N. W. Maple and Riopelle.
Carpenter (Hamtramck)—1914. S. Carpenter; E. Mitchell; W. McDougall.
Carstens—1915. E. Coplin; W. Lakeview; N. Charlevoix.
Cary—1901, 1912. Southwest Place, near Waterman.
Chandler—1905. W. McClellan; N. Hendrie; E. Belvidere.
Chaney—1887, 1895. E. Lawton, near Linden.
Clay—1873, 1888. Stimson Place, near Cass.
Clinton—1870, 1876. S. Clinton, near Rivard.
Clippert—1910. W. Martin, near Michigan.
Columbian—1892, 1908, 1917. S. E. McKinley and Merrick.
Craft—1901. N. E. Ash and Vinewood.
Crosman—1911. N. W. Hamilton Blvd. and Taylor.
Custer—1886. W. Hammond and Ranspach.
Davison—1916. S. E. Davison and Grandy.
Davison Annex—1891, 1904. S. Davison, N. Roman; near Jos. Campau.
Dexter—1915. W. Dexter Blvd; near Boston Blvd.
Dickinson—1889. N. W. 12th and Calumet.
Doty—1908. W. 3d; S. Calvert; N. Glynn Court.
Duffield—1866, 1892. S. Clinton; N. Macomb; near Chene.
Dwyer—1913. N. Caniff; W. Hawthorne; E. Cameron; S. Rosedale Court.
Ellis—1915. S. W. Rich and Junction.
Estabrook—1896. N. E. Linwood and McGraw.
Everett—1869, 1873. S. Fort, near Rivard.
Fairbanks—1894, 1915. S. E. Seward and Hamilton Blvd.
Farrand—1893, 1897. S. W. Harper and John R.
Ferry—1886, 1889, 1894. N. E. Ferry and Campau.
Field—1887, 1894, 1907. N. W. Field and Agnes.
Firrane—1882. S. Fort, near McDougall.
Franklin—1899, 1912. W. Brooklyn; S. Pine; N. Henry.
Garfield—1898, 1912, 1915. N. E. Rivard and Frederick.
George—1911. E. Russell; N. Alexandrine; S. Superior.
Gillies—1901. S. E. Junction and Lafayette.
Goldberg—1904, 1916. W. 12th; N. Marquette; E. Vermont.
Grayling—1917. N. Adeline; E. Baumann; S. State Fair.



ORIGINAL CASS SCHOOL, GRAND RIVER AVENUE BETWEEN SECOND AND HIGH, ABOUT 1881



BISHOP SCHOOL, MARION STREET, BETWEEN HASTINGS AND PROSPECT, ABOUT 1881

CITY OF DETROIT

Greenfield Park—1916, 1917. W. Brush and Longworth.
Greenfield Union—1914. N. Seven Mile Road; E. Woodward.
Greusel—1908, 1917. E. Moran; N. Medbury; W. Ellery; S. Holburn.
Hancock—1887, 1891. N. E. Hancock and 14th.
Hanneman—1916. N. McGraw; W. Cicotte.
Harms—1916. E. Central; S. Pitt; W. Honorah.
Harris—1896. S. E. Pulford and Ellery.
Hely—1914, 1917. N. Duncan; S. Harper; E. Townsend; W. Baldwin.
Higgins—1895. N. Krupp, near Distell.
High, Cass Technical—1908, 1910, 1921. Grand River and 2d.
High, Cass Technical Annex—1917. S. Henry; W. 2d; N. High.
High, Central—1896, 1907. W. Cass; N. Hancock; S. Warren.
High, School of Commerce (Wilkins)—1870, 1873. S. Porter, near 2d.
High, Eastern—1901, 1908. S. E. Grand Blvd; and Mack Ave.
High, Nordstrum—1915. Fort near Waterman.
High, Northern—1915. N. E. Woodward and Josephine.
High, Northeastern—1914—N. Hancock; S. Warren; E. Grandy; W. Jos. Campau.
High, Northwestern—1911. S. E. Grand Blvd. N. and Grand River Ave.
High, Southeastern—1915. E. Fairview; S. Goethe; N. Charlevoix.
High, Southwestern—1921. Goethe and Fairview.
High, Western—1898, 1899, 1907. E. Scotten, near Baker.
High, Condon Junior—1914. N. Buchanan; W. Vinewood; E. Grand Blvd.
High, Joyce Junior—1913. N. Sylvester; W. Seneca; E. Iroquois; S. Canfield.
High, McMichael Junior—1917. S. E. Grand Blvd. and Grand River Ave.
High, Neinas Junior—1916. W. Cavalry; E. Military; S. McMillan.
High, Norvell Junior—1879, 1894. N. Arndt, near Jos. Campau.
Hillger—1912. N. Forest; W. Seneca; E. Iroquois.
Holmes, A. L.—1915. W. Rohns; N. George; E. Crane.
Holmes, O. W.—1917. E. Ogden; S. Michigan.
Houghton—1908. N. Abbott and Brooklyn.
Howe—1913. S. Charlevoix; W. St. Clair; E. Garland.
Hubbard—1887, 1895. E. 25th, near Porter.
Hutchins—1921. 8820 Wilson.
Irving—1882. N. Willis near Woodward.
Ives—1911. E. Philip near Jefferson.
Jackson—1891. N. Fort near Chene.
Jefferson—1871, 1892. N. E. Selden and Greenwood.
Johnston—1884, 1896. S. Waterloo near Dubois.
Jones—1906. N. Sylvester; E. Baldwin; W. Seyburn.
Keating—1919. N. Jones; S. Beach; W. 2d; E. 3d.
Kennedy—1916. W. 16th; S. Linden; E. 15th.
Leland—1917. N. W. Russell and Catherine.
Lillibridge—1905, 1908, 1912. N. W. Kercheval and Beniteau.
Lincoln—1885, 1912, 1916. N. Brady; W. St. Antoine; S. Livingston.
Lingeman—1915. W. Montclair near Edlie.
Logan—1886, 1895, 1903. E. Clippert, near Michigan.
Lonyo—1895. Lawndale, S. Michigan.
Longfellow—1917. N. W. Indiandale and 12th.
Lyon—1905, 1915. S. Varney; N. LeGrand; W. Ackley.

Lynch—1914, 1916. N. Palmetto Drive; W. VanDyke.
Lyster—1896. E. Livernois, near Michigan.
McGraw—1899. N. E. Wreford and 23d.
McKinley—1902. N. W. Stanley and Greenwood.
McKinstry—1905. S. W. McKinstry and McMillan.
McMillan—1895. E. West End, near Jefferson West.
Majeske—1914. N. Trombley; E. St. Aubin.
Marcy—1912. S. Sylvester; E. Canton; W. Helén.
Martindale Normal Training—1912. S. Grand Blvd. N., near Grand River.
Marr—1913. N. Grand River, near Roosevelt.
Marxhausen—1914. Cadillac Blvd. near Warren.
Maybee—1916. E. Cardoni and Hindle aves., near Westminster.
Maybury—1909. N. W. Porter and Clark.
Monteith—1905. W. Hibbard, near Jefferson E.
Monterey—1915. N. Monterey near Linwood.
Moore—1907, 1912. S. W. Alger and Cameron.
Morley—1903. Copland and Beaumont.
Newberry—1887, 1889, 1903. W. 29th, near Jackson.
Nichols—1910. S. E. Burns and Goethe.
Noble—1921. 8646 Fullerton.
Owen—1879, 1901, 1902. N. W. Myrtle and Vermont.
Palmer—1890, 1901, 1902. N. Horton, near Antoine.
Parke—1900. S. W. Grand Blvd. E. and Milwaukee Ave.
Pattengill—1920. Maplewood, Spokane and Northfield.
Philip—1916. W. Philip; E. Hitchings; N. Antwerp.
Pingree—1902. W. McClellan and Mack.
Pitcher—1871. W. Lawton, near Butternut.
Poe—1896. S. Lysander; N. Canfield near 6th.
Potter—1889. W. Tillman, near Myrtle.
Preston—1894. W. 17th, near Howard.
Ravenswood—1915. E. Yellowstone; W. Cascade; N. of Joy Road.
Roberts—1890. N. Adelaide near Antoine.
Rose—1887, 1899. W. Van Dyke; N. Ferry; S. Palmer.
Roulo (Springwells Township)—1906. E. Roulo; N. of Dix Road.
Russell—1887, 1900, 1913, 1917. S. E. Russell and Eliot.
Ruthruff—1885, 1914. S. W. Livernois and Plymouth.
Sampson—1911. W. Begole, near Ironwood.
Scripps—1898. W. Belvidere; E. Holcomb, near Kercheval.
Sill—1905. S. E. 30th and Herbert.
Smith—1903. N. W. Hunt and Ellery.
Stephens—1913, 1917. E. Seneca; S. Lambert; W. Burns.
Tappan—1868, 1886, 1902. N. W. Vermont and Marantelle.
Thomas—1905. W. Canton; N. Ferry; E. Concord.
Thirkell—1914. N. LaSalle Gardens, South; E. 14th.
Tilden—1887, 1897. N. W. Kirby and Brooklyn.
Trombly—1860, 1908. E. Connor's Creek Road; S. of Gratiot.
Trowbridge—1889. N. Forest near Hastings.
Turner—1914. E. Turner and Webb.
Van Dyke—1894. W. Van Dyke, near Kercheval.
Wabash—1915. E. Wabash; N. of Fenkel.

Washington—1871, 1894. W. of Beaubien, near Madison.

Webster—1874, 1885, 1906. E. 21st, near Howard.

White—1921. Charles Ave., near Fenelon.

Williams—1890. N. Canfield, near Mt. Elliott.

Wilson—1916. W. Central; S. Lane; N. Logan.

Wingert—1906. Grand Blvd. W. near Moore Place.

Complete statistics regarding the location and character of these various buildings, their location, their cost, and the sites, have been published in the seventy-fifth annual report of the board of education of the city of Detroit for the year ending June 30, 1918.

CHAPTER XXIX

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN—ESTABLISHMENT AT DETROIT—AN INDIAN LAND GRANT
—REORGANIZATION OF UNIVERSITY—ITS LOCATION AT ANN ARBOR—COLLEGE
OF SAINT. PHILIP NERI—GERMAN-AMERICAN SEMINARY—UNIVERSITY OF
DETROIT—BUSINESS COLLEGES.

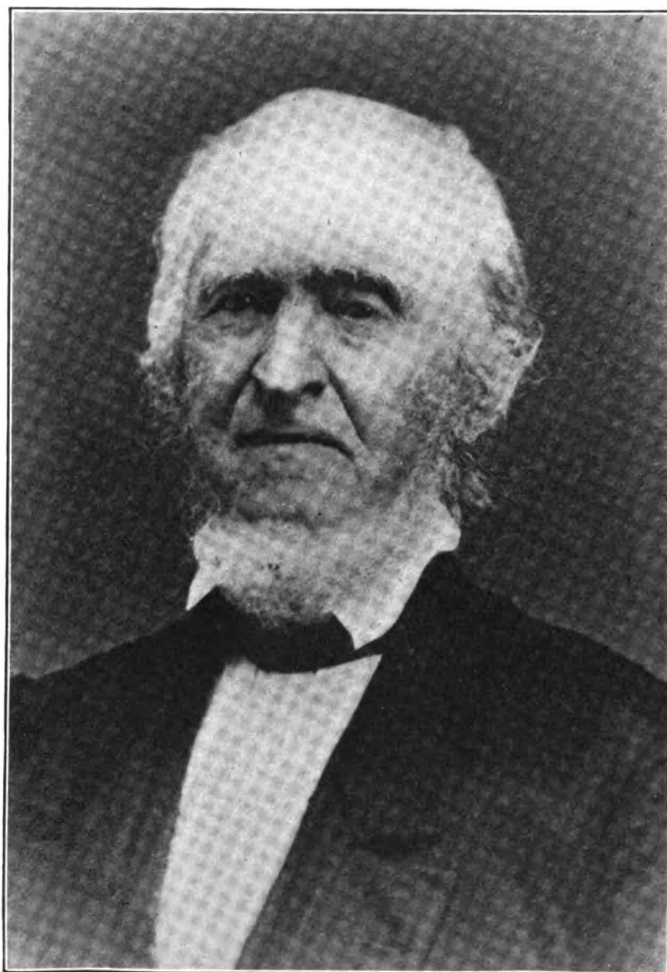
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The initial movement toward the establishment of a higher institution of learning in Detroit, that is, a school to be conducted as a public institution and at the public expense, was made on August 26, 1817, when the governor and judges, sitting as a legislative body, passed an act appropriating the sum of \$380 for the establishment of the University of Michigan. The act was signed by William Woodbridge, secretary of Michigan and acting governor; Augustus B. Woodward, presiding judge of the supreme court of Michigan; and John Griffin, one of the territorial judges of Michigan.

The bill authorizing the appropriation was undoubtedly prepared and introduced by Judge Woodward and it is full of coined words, indicative of the author's pedantry. Andrew Ten Brook, in his book, "American State Universities: Their Origin and Progress" (1875), infers that the system as originated by Judge Woodward may have been subjected to French influence, as at this time Napoleon, being in his second year of exile, was featured in every newspaper. In other words, those things of France or of French character, were faddish, and in some respects the plan of Michigan's university was modeled after the University of Paris, in that it made the university include all the primary and higher schools and gave all legislative and executive control into the hands of the president and professors.

The purpose of the act was declared to be the establishment of the "Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania." It provided for thirteen didaxia, or professorships, namely:

1. Catholepistemia, or universal science, the didactor, or professor of this didaxum to be president of the university.
2. Anthropoglossica, or language and literature.
3. Mathematica, or mathematics.
4. Physiognostica, or natural history.
5. Physiosophica, or natural philosophy.
6. Astronomia, or astronomy.
7. Chymia, or chemistry.
8. Iatrica, or the medical sciences.
9. Oeconomia, or the economic sciences.
10. Ethica, or ethical science.
11. Polemitactica, or military science.



REV. JOHN MONTEITH

12. Diegetica, or the historical sciences.

13. Ennoeica, or the intellectual sciences, including the human mind, animal mind, the Deity, religion, spiritual existence, etc.

It was further provided that the didactor of the last-named branch should be the vice-president of the institution. The salary of the didactors was designated to be \$12.50 for each didaxum taught. The faculty, or board of professors, was authorized "to establish Colleges, Academies, Schools, Libraries, Museums, Athenaeums, Botanic Gardens, Laboratories, and other useful Literary and Scientific institutions." And all this upon an initial appropriation of \$380! Provision was made, however, for levying an increase of 15% in the taxes for the support of the institution, and the people were given the opportunity to subscribe to a university fund, no subscriber being required to pay more than \$50 in any one year. The sum of \$3,000 was obtained in this manner. Ten Brook states that two lotteries were also authorized, but these were never drawn.

On September 8, 1817 the university was organized by conferring all the thirteen professorships upon two men—Rev. John Monteith, the Presbyterian minister, and Fr. Gabriel Richard, the priest of Ste. Anne's Catholic Church. The former was given seven of the didaxia and named as president, while the latter was made vice president and given the remaining six didaxia. These two men controlled the affairs of the university and were subordinate in this respect only to the governor, by whom they were appointed.

The remarkable career of Father Richard is described in many other chapters of this work. At this particular time in the history of Detroit there were few Protestants in the village. Catholicism held the upper and stronger hand, due in no small part to the large majority of French inhabitants. But during the winter of 1815-16 the leading protestants of Detroit, among them Lewis Cass, sent to the Princeton Theological School for a young man to act as pastor here. John Monteith, one of the most promising of the students, was named and he came to Detroit in response to the call. Naturally, soon after his arrival, he came into contact with Fr. Gabriel Richard and the two—Protestant and Catholic—found much in common through their kindred zeal in the interests of education. Their opposite religious faiths strengthened their work together, rather than weakened it.

The various "Statutes" of the university are interesting. The first, under date of September 12th and signed by Monteith, provides for a seal, upon which should be a device "representing six pillars supporting a dome, with the motto, 'Epistemia,' at their base, and the legend, seal of the University of Michigania, around the margin, and light shining on the dome from above."

Another statute provided that instruction in the primary schools should consist of writing, arithmetic, English grammar, and elocution. Another that the classical academy should consist of "French, Latin, and Greek Antiquities, English grammar, composition, mathematics, elocution, geography, morals, and ornamental accomplishments." The following books were to be used: Murray's Grammar and Spelling Book, the English Reader and Exercises, also Walker's Elocution and Dictionary. The thirteenth statute was as follows:

Whereas, for the relief of sufferers by the conflagration of the ancient town of Detroit in the year 1805, there were transmitted from Montreal and Michilimackinac certain sums of money which are now in the city of Detroit unpaid to such sufferers owing to the want of some principles on which payment can be made, so as to discharge the holders thereof, and whereas, the said sufferers have

generally manifested a desire that the said funds should now be appropriated in aid of the University of Michigania; Therefore

"Be it enacted by the University of Michigania that the holders of the same funds paying over the same to the trustees of the University, the said University shall be responsible for all future claims on the same, on the part of the sufferers by the conflagration aforesaid.

"Passed at the City of Detroit, on Saturday, the 20th day of September, 1817.

"J. Monteith,

"President of the University of Michigania."

The sum of \$940 was paid over to the university in response to this enactment. In this same connection the following quotation from an old subscription list is of pertinent character:

"In aid of the University of Michigan, No. 1. We the subscribers do agree to pay on demand the sums respectively annexed to our names, in aid of the University of Michigan.

"1817.	September 18.	James May.	\$ 25.00
		five dollars for five years.	
"1817.	October 20.	James Abbott, paid,	315.32
	"	Solomon Sibley,	625.67

"I acknowledge in my hands \$625.67, being a part of the donation money donated at Michilimackinac to relieve the sufferers by fire of the late Detroit, which I assume to pay over to the University of Michigan at the expiration of six months, on being indemnified.

"Sol. Sibley.

"October 20, 1817."

The amount of subscriptions soon reached \$5,100, one-fifth of which was payable on demand, the balance in annual installments extending over a period of nine years. In addition to the original appropriation of \$380 (\$300 for a building and \$80 for a lot) the governor and judges appropriated \$200 on the 10th of November, 1817.

A lot was purchased, located on the west side of what is now Bates Street between Congress and Larned, and on Wednesday, September 24, 1817, the cornerstone of the University Building was laid with appropriate ceremony. The structure was twenty-four by fifty feet, having two full stories with basement. Work proceeded slowly, owing to the delinquency of many of the subscribers. While the building was in course of erection, Reverend Monteith and Father Richard took the preliminary steps to open an academy at Detroit and primary or preparatory schools at Detroit, Mackinaw and Monroe. The "Gazette" of January 30, 1818 contained the following announcement.

"A Classical Academy will be opened in this city on the 2nd of February next by Hugh M. Dickie, A. B., who is commissioned by the University, and will teach the Latin and Greek languages and other branches of science at the customary prices.

"John Monteith,

"President."

As the university building was not yet completed, quarters for the school had to be obtained elsewhere. It is not known just where Mr. Dickie taught, but the old records of the university show that on May 12, 1818 the management appropriated \$30 "for rent of rooms for the Classical Academy to June 11, 1818." Farmer's "History of Detroit" (1889) states:

"Col. E. S. Sibley says that in 1817 he went to a school taught by Mr. Monteith in the old Meldrum House on Woodbridge Street, just east of what is now Shelby Street. His statement is the only evidence found that either Rev. Mr. Monteith or Father Richard acted as teacher, but an act of August 26, 1817, appropriated \$181.25 for their annual salary, and on February 8, 1821, \$215 was appropriated for the salary for the president for 1818, 1819, and 1820."

In 1818 the university issued a commission to Benjamin Stead, James Connor and Oliver Williams for the opening of the Lancasterian School. Lemuel Shattuck, of Concord, Massachusetts, came here as teacher and opened the first class in the University building on August 10th. Eleven scholars composed this first class, but by the following April the number had increased to 140. Shattuck's first report, on April 24, 1819, gave the number of scholars as 183 and the average price per quarter as \$2.60 for each scholar. That the trustees and directors of the school were rather indifferent toward its success is indicated by Shattuck in his report.

AN INDIAN LAND GRANT

When Governor Cass and General McArthur went to St. Marys, Ohio, in September, 1818, to negotiate a treaty with certain bands of Ottawa and Wyandotte Indians, in order to settle a controversy over the possession of lands in Michigan, they found that some of the Indians who had been converted to the Catholic faith, wanted to give a portion of the land to the Catholic Church of Ste. Anne in Detroit. A provision of the treaty, which was concluded on September 20, 1818, gave "to the rector of the Catholic Church of Ste. Anne of Detroit, for the use of said church, and to the corporation of the College of Detroit, for the use of said college, to be retained or sold as the said rector and corporation may judge expedient, each one half of three sections of land, to contain 640 acres, on the River Raisin, at a place called Macon, and three sections not yet located." Part of the lands thus donated to the Catholic Church and College lay within the strip claimed by both Michigan and Ohio. In 1835 Congress directed that the lands should be sold and one half of the proceeds should be given to the University of Michigan, the College of Detroit having no corporate existence.

REORGANIZATION

On April 30, 1821 the original University Act was repealed. Judge Woodward's stilted language was done away with and the institution was reorganized in "plain English" as the University of Michigan. Under the new act all the rights and privileges of the old corporation were conferred upon the governor and a board of trustees composed of John Anderson, John Biddle, N. Bolvin, William Brown, Christian Clemens, Peter J. Desnoyers, Henry J. Hunt, John Hunt, Charles Larned, Philip Lecuyer, John L. Leib, Daniel LeRoy, John Monteith, William H. Puthuff, Gabriel Richard, Solomon Sibley, Benjamin Stead, John R. Williams, Austin E. Wing and William Woodbridge. Messrs. Monteith and Stead declined to serve and their places were filled by the appointment of Abraham Edwards and A. W. Welton. Abraham Edwards was the first treasurer of the board, but resigned after a few weeks and was succeeded by James Abbott. Lemuel Shattuck was secretary until December 3, 1821, then Charles C. Trowbridge was appointed and served until February 13, 1835, when he was succeeded by G. Mott Williams.

Lemuel Shattuck resigned as teacher on October 8, 1821 and he was suc-

ceeded by E. Clapp, who was in turn succeeded April 1, 1822 by Rev. A. W. Welton. The latter was followed in October, 1824, by A. S. Wells, a graduate of Hamilton College; he taught until November 4, 1826, when he was succeeded by Charles Sears, who came under the agreement that he was to be paid \$500 per year. He remained until October, 1827. The board then, having contemplated the state of the university funds, decided that they were inadequate for the support of a classical school, and that the teacher would thereafter have to work at his own risk. The Lancasterian methods of teaching also came up for some discussion at this time and the "Gazette" spoke editorially quite freely in favor of the system. On October 8, 1821, the trustees passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, that Mr. Shattuck be authorized to communicate with Mr. William A. Tweed Dale, of Albany, New York, in order to procure some suitable person for a teacher of the Lancasterian school upon the presumptive allowance of five hundred dollars per annum for his services."

The result was that John Farmer, then teaching in Albany, was engaged to teach in Detroit. He was allowed \$500 annually for his services. In 1822 Lucius Lyon was assistant instructor and there were two hundred students. Mr. Farmer resigned January 26, 1824. Thereupon Major Thomas Rowland and Peter J. Desnoyers were appointed a committee to look after the affairs of the dwindling school. E. Shepard was engaged as a teacher in October, 1824, and continued until December of the following year. After 1827 the building was granted free, or for a nominal rent, to competent teachers. Although a university in name, the institution never conferred a degree, and the schools taught in the building were devoted to elementary work, the character of the instruction never rising above that of the modern high school.

LOCATION AT ANN ARBOR

By an act of Congress, approved by John Quincy Adams on May 20, 1826, two townships of land (46,080 acres) were granted to the Territory of Michigan for the support of a university. This provision was repeated in the act of January 2, 1837, which provided for the formal admission of Michigan into the Union as the twenty-sixth state. At the first session of the state legislature, in the summer of 1836, John D. Pierce was appointed superintendent of public instruction, with instructions to "prepare and submit a plan for a system of common schools and for a university with its branches.

Mr. Pierce spent some time in the fall and winter of 1836, consulting educators in various sections of the state, and at the second session of the legislature submitted his report. On March 18, 1837, Governor Mason approved the act providing for a state university, the control of which was to be vested in a board of regents, to be appointed by the governor and confirmed by the state senate. Two days later, the citizens of Ann Arbor having offered to donate forty acres of land as a site for the university, the governor approved an act locating the institution at that city.

On May 18, 1837, the trustees of the school at Detroit adopted a resolution tendering the building to the board of regents and asking that a branch of the state university be established therein. At a meeting of the regents on November 18, 1837, the following resolution was offered by William D. Wilkins and adopted:

"Resolved, that Chancellor Farnsworth and Dr. Zina Pitcher be, and they are hereby, authorized to confer with and receive from the president pro tem of



**OLD UNIVERSITY BUILDING ON WEST SIDE OF BATES STREET, NEAR CONGRESS,
IN NOVEMBER, 1858**

the board of trustees of the University of Michigan in behalf of the regents of the University of Michigan the lease of the Academy lot in the City of Detroit, and that the committee on branches immediately thereafter proceed to organize a branch of the University at Detroit."

At a later meeting of the board of regents the sum of \$8,000 was appropriated for the support of the branch schools. Of this amount \$500 was to be applied to the payment of a teacher in each branch and the remainder of the appropriation was to be divided among the branches in proportion to the number of students enrolled.

The first term of the Detroit branch opened on June 20, 1838, with Rev. C. W. Fitch as principal and W. A. Bissell as assistant, the former at a salary of \$1,500 per year and the latter at a salary of \$800. On January 8, 1841, the regents decided to allow the Detroit branch only \$500, in addition to the tuition fees of \$5.00 per quarter, or \$19.50 for the full year. At the last term in 1840 the enrollment was only twenty-five. At the quarterly rate the tuition received from this small number of students amounted to only \$500 for the entire school year.

A committee reported to a meeting of the regents on August 19, 1841, that only twenty-four students were then enrolled in the Detroit school and recommended that no further appropriations be made for the branches. The report was adopted, but the Detroit branch remained in operation until October 7, 1842, one of the teachers claiming that his contract did not expire until that date. The university building was then used by the Detroit Board of Education for school purposes until the fall of 1858, when the claim of the Young Mens' Society to the lot was sustained and the building, after forty years of service, was torn down. The University of Michigan at Ann Arbor is now recognized as one of the leading educational institutions of the country, enrolling about ten thousand students and having a faculty of nearly five hundred professors and instructors.

COLLEGE OF SAINT PHILIP NERI

When Bishop Résé came to take possession of his newly-erected See in 1834, he brought with him to Detroit two Oratorian fathers to establish "a college for ecclesiastical students and young men." The College of St. Philip Neri was begun and flourished for a time, but sickness and the death of its founders, added to a scarcity of priests in the diocese, were serious handicaps, and when the building was struck by lightning in 1842, St. Philip Neri closed its doors forever. Three years before the misfortune, Bishop Résé had sailed for Rome, never to return, and it was during the administration of Bishop Lefèvre, coadjutor of Detroit, that the college was destroyed. Though Bishop Lefèvre took the greatest interest in education, yet he found it impossible to reopen the college or establish another.

The St. Philip's College, as it was known, was located on what had been called the Church Farm in Hamtramck Township. In the early years of the nineteenth century, April 5, 1808, to be exact, this farm was transferred to Louis Beaufait, Joseph Cerre dit St. Jean, Benoit Chapoton, Charles and Francis Rivard, known as "Agents of the inhabitants of the Northeast Coast." They agreed to pay an annual rent of \$250 to Francis Paul Malcher during his life, and to pay to the son of Hypolite St. Bernard £113 when he became of age. The people living in the vicinity obligated themselves to make these payments on

condition that the farm might be used for school and church purposes. Within a short time after the transfer was made, a school was opened in the old farm house, and on May 10, 1809, a log chapel was dedicated.

For years it was the dream of the leading Catholics of Detroit to have a college conducted under the auspices of their church. But nothing definite was done until, as stated before, after the creation of the diocese of Detroit and the coming of Rt. Rev. Frederick Résé as the first bishop. An addition was then built to the farm house and the necessary steps were taken to found a college. The old farm house occupied a desirable location fronting the river and when remodeled made quite an imposing structure, having a piazza over one hundred feet in length. When the building was ready the following announcement was made through the newspapers:

"St. Philip's College (*Cote du Nordest*), near Detroit, Michigan, under the auspices of the Right Reverend Dr. Résé, Bishop of Detroit.

"Rev. Mr. Vanderpoel, Superior of the Institution. Reverend Mr. De Bruyn, President of studies. September 14, 1836."

The tuition was only \$3 per quarter, hardly sufficient to cover the incidental expenses of the average student in most of the colleges and universities of the present day. On April 16, 1839, Governor Mason approved an act incorporating the institution, Section 1 of which began:

"That the Rt. Rev. Frederick Résé, Roman Catholic Bishop of Detroit, and his successors in said office of Bishop of Detroit, duly appointed by the See of Rome, be and are hereby ordained, created and constituted a body politic and corporate, in fact and in name, under and by the name of St. Philip's College, and by that name he and his successors shall have perpetual succession and shall be capable of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, answering and being answered unto, defending and being defended, in all suits, complaints, matters and causes whatsoever, either by law or equity; of having and using a common seal; of enacting all by-laws for the regulation of said college; and of the members thereof; of altering from time to time the same; of acquiring by gift, devise, purchase or otherwise, and of holding and conveying any real, personal or mixed estate whatsoever, necessary and proper; of transacting all business, directing all the affairs, controlling and disposing of the funds, estate and effects of said college, and of doing every other act, matter and thing necessary and proper for the well being and good government of the same, not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the United States, or of this state."

Other sections of the act provided that the college should be located in Wayne County; that the bishop should have the power to appoint professors and fill vacancies; defined the powers of the bishop under certain circumstances, and how the college should be managed in the event of his absence; authorized the appointment by the governor of a board of visitors of three members, which should have power to examine the institution; and gave the college power to confer "such degrees as are usually conferred by collegiate institutions."

Farmer's "History of Detroit" states that the building was destroyed by fire in October, 1846, but a recent account of the school states that it was struck and destroyed by lightning in 1842. However this may be, the school was abandoned with the destruction of the building and was never resumed. Among the graduates of St. Philip's College, who afterwards achieved more or less prominence in Detroit, were: Christopher Moross, Alexander M. and John Barnabas

Campau, Henry Campau, Columbus Godfroy, John and Daniel McDonald, John and George Schwartz, Alexander M. Thomas, J. C. Devereau Williams, Jean Baptiste Cicotte, Michael B. Kean, George Cooper and David Stuart.

GERMAN-AMERICAN SEMINARY

While this institution was not a university or college, its history has been included in this chapter, partly because of the place it was originally intended to fill in the educational system of Michigan, and partly because it was one of the few educational institutions which received financial assistance from the state. The manner in which this school was conceived was rather novel. In the republican national convention of 1860, which nominated Abraham Lincoln for the presidency, there were a number of German delegates from different parts of the country. A group of these delegates was engaged in a casual conversation, when one of the number expressed his regret that there were not more schools in the United States for the training of teachers, especially teachers of subjects in which the German portion of the population was directly interested. A conference of the German delegates was held at the close of the convention. At this conference it was decided to establish a German Seminary for training teachers, and to locate it in the state that would offer the best inducements. The project was communicated to leading German citizens in various cities and their coöperation solicited.

There was at that time in Detroit a German and English school, which had been established in 1856 in a small frame building upon Lafayette Avenue, just east of Rivard Street. A new building was erected in 1858. Florens Krecke, the principal of this school, and other Germans, prominent among whom was Dr. Herman Kiefer, took an interest in the seminary proposition, with the result that on May 15, 1861, Governor Blair approved an act of the legislature appropriating 25,000 acres of the swamp lands belonging to the state, to aid in erecting buildings for the proposed seminary upon a site to be granted or leased to the association by the City of Detroit. A few days later another act gave the trustees of the seminary two years to select the lands, in parcels of not less than 320 acres each.

It often happens that an enterprise launched under the most favorable circumstances meets with obstacles from an unexpected quarter. It was so with the German-American Seminary. The city failed to grant or lease a site and the trustees had no place to erect their buildings. To overcome this difficulty, the legislature passed an act, approved on March 6, 1863, authorizing the trustees to erect buildings upon a site provided by the association. The same act required the trustees to give bonds in the sum of \$25,000 that the entire net proceeds of the sales of the donated swamp lands should be "faithfully and forever applied to the purpose named in this act."

It was then proposed to combine the seminary with the school already in operation on Lafayette Avenue. A consolidation was effected and in the spring of 1866 a large three-story brick building was completed. Advertisements announcing the opening of the school were sent out, but only a few students enrolled for the teachers' training course. After an effort to awaken an interest in the normal school idea, the original design was abandoned. The institution was then made a German school for both boys and girls, ranging from the primary to the high school grades, and continued as such for more than a quarter of a century.

UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT

When the Rt. Rev. Caspar Borgess succeeded to the See of Detroit in 1871 his first thought was for the education of the young of his flock. In 1873 he issued his famous pastoral on the subject of parochial schools and thenceforward gave his best efforts toward the establishment of a college.

In the month of July, 1877, it was announced that "the Fathers of the Society of Jesus are about to open in the City of Detroit an educational institution to be known under the name and title of Detroit College." On April 5, 1877, an agreement had been entered into between Bishop Borgess and the general superior of the Jesuits in this part of the country, by which the bishop transferred in fee simple to the Jesuit fathers the cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul and the adjoining residence. The sole condition was that they should establish and maintain in the City of Detroit a college and school for the education of youth. Upon Friday, June 1, 1877, there came four fathers who were to take charge of the future college. They arrived late in the day, passed the entire Saturday in confession, and upon Sunday, June 3d, held their first public services in the church. The superior, Rev. John B. Miede, S. J., was the celebrant, Rev. James Walsh, S. J., was deacon, and Rev. Eugene Brady, S. J. was sub-deacon.

John Baptist Miede, the first president of the school, had for twenty years ruled as bishop of the diocese of Leavenworth, when that diocese had embraced all the territory between the state of Missouri and the Rocky Mountains. He had retired as bishop and returned to the simple priesthood, so preferring it, but when the time came to select a man to establish the new college at Detroit his superiors insisted that he again assume the higher responsibilities, which he did.

Without an endowment, the society raised funds and purchased for \$23,000 a large, vacant residence, with a lot one hundred by two hundred feet, on the south side of Jefferson Avenue, between St. Antoine and Hastings Streets. Here the first term of the new college was opened in September, 1877, with eighty-four students enrolled and a faculty of five members. There were ninety-eight students enrolled for the second term and one hundred and thirty-two for the third term. A second story was added to the building in 1878. On April 27, 1881 the institution was incorporated under the laws of Michigan as "Detroit College," with power "to grant such literary honors and confer such degrees as are usually conferred by similar colleges and institutions of learning in the United States."

When the attendance grew to two hundred students, the society purchased another residence on the north side of Jefferson Avenue, with a lot measuring fifty-three by two hundred feet, for \$13,750, and expended \$500 for alterations to adapt the building to school uses. This property was on the opposite side of the street from the first college building, but on the same side as the church and rectory, separated from the latter, however, by three other residences. In May, 1885, the collegiate and scientific departments took possession of the new building.

The attendance continued to increase and within the next two years the society bought two of the three residences between the collegiate department and the rectory, paying \$15,000 for one and \$18,000 for the other. The third residence was purchased in February, 1889, for \$18,000, largely through the efforts of Rev. John P. Frieden, S. J. By these transactions, though, a debt was incurred and Rev. M. P. Dowling, S. J., who had succeeded Reverend Frieden in March, 1889, appealed to friends of the college for funds to cancel the debt



JESUIT COLLEGE (UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT) ABOUT 1881



UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT

and erect a new building. Six subscribers gave \$5,000 each and other subscriptions totaled \$20,000. The old buildings upon the north side of Jefferson Avenue were then removed and the present main building was erected. It was ready for occupancy in 1890. An addition to the building was erected in 1907.

At the beginning of the year 1911 the institution was reorganized on a broader basis and on January 10, 1911 the corporate name was changed to that of the "University of Detroit," and the first president under the new arrangement was Rev. William Dooley, S. J.

Under the direction of Rev. Richard Slevin, S. J., the building on Larned Street was erected soon after the reorganization. It contains eight recitation rooms and the large gymnasium. The engineering building, a modern fireproof structure, is located on the south side of Jefferson Avenue. It is four stories high, not including the basement, fronts one hundred feet on Jefferson Avenue and extends through the block to Woodbridge Street, a distance of two hundred feet. It was dedicated on November 30, 1915. The value of the grounds and buildings now occupied by the university is over a half million dollars.

The departments of the institution are: the High School, or preparatory department; the College of Arts and Sciences, which confers the degrees of A. B. and B. S.; the Engineering School, established by Reverend Dooley in the first year of his regime, in which are taught chemical, civil, electrical and mechanical engineering; the Law School, opened by Reverend Dooley in the fall of 1912, which prepares students for the Michigan bar examination and practice in the courts of the state, and confers the degree of LL. B.; the School of Commerce and Finance, for the training of students along commercial and industrial lines; and at the opening of the school in the fall of 1920 a course in Federal Taxation was added. The library, which was established in 1879, now contains about thirty thousand volumes.

During the school year of 1919-20 the enrollment was 1,635 in all departments. While most of these students came from Michigan, there were several from other places, particularly New England, Canada, Mexico, Korea; the Philippine Islands were also represented.

Rev. John T. McNichols is president of the university, having succeeded Rev. William T. Doran, who was transferred to Marquette University at Milwaukee in October, 1921.

On January 1, 1922, the faculty of the University of Detroit announced that a site for a new campus, university buildings and mammoth athletic stadium had been purchased. The tract, forty-two and a half acres in extent, is bounded on the west by Livernois Avenue, on the north by Palmer Boulevard (formerly Six-Mile Road), on the east by Fairfield Avenue, and on the south by Florence Avenue. The inadequacy of the present accommodations led to the purchase. The university has grown rapidly, the enrollment in 1921-22 being 1,700, and with new and larger quarters the number of students from the state of Michigan and elsewhere promises to be close to the 3,000 mark. Upon the new campus will be an administration building, a school of letters building, a general science building, a school of commerce and finance building, a dormitory, a union building, a monastery for the fathers of the Society of Jesus, and a gymnasium. The buildings will be of modified mission style and will be constructed of gray or white granite. The present buildings of the university on Jefferson Avenue will be maintained for night schools and extension courses.

One of the distinctive features of this new university home will be the im-

mense concrete and steel athletic stadium, which, when completed, will accommodate 70,000 people, one of the largest in the world. The gymnasium will be constructed on larger lines than is customary and will have sufficient space for any sort of athletic meet. It is the intention of the school authorities to place this large athletic plant at the disposal of city, state or nation, which policy is compatible with the purpose of the university itself—to make the institution a great, cosmopolitan, non-sectarian, but not irreligious university of higher learning. The Society of Jesus owns and manages the University of Detroit, but neither in the selection of professional school faculties nor in the reception of students is this fact to be a restrictive matter. Catholic in character, the institution is equally desirous of obtaining students of other denominations.

BUSINESS COLLEGES

The first school in Detroit for giving a commercial training to students was opened in 1848 by Uriah Gregory. It was located in the old Odd Fellows' Building on the west side of Woodward Avenue, between Congress and Larned streets. Mr. Gregory continued to teach for about ten years.

In 1850 the institution now known as the Detroit Business University was established by W. D. Cochrane, who had been engaged in teaching for several years. The school first occupied rooms over the banking house of David Preston & Company, on the southeast corner of Woodward Avenue and Larned Street. In 1857 Mr. Cochrane sold out to the firm of Bryant & Stratton and the school was removed to the fourth story of the Merrill Block, where it was under the management of Prof. J. H. Goldsmith, known as an experienced accountant and eminent educator. In 1865 William F. Jewell became associated with Professor Goldsmith. Mr. Jewell's experience in teaching and in business made him a distinct power in the school during the forty-seven years of his service here. He was president of the university when he met his untimely death by accident in October, 1911. When the new Mechanics' Hall Building was completed in 1874 on the southwest corner of Griswold Street and Lafayette Avenue, the school was removed there.

The Spencerian Business College, which was consolidated with the Detroit Business University in 1885, had been established by Ira Mayhew in 1860 at Albion, Michigan. In 1866 he removed it to Detroit and located on the northeast corner of Congress and Randolph streets, the site of the present county building. Upon the completion of the Board of Trade Building, southeast corner Jefferson and Griswold, in 1879, the school was removed to rooms in the fourth story. Mr. Mayhew sold out in 1883 to P. R. Spencer, E. R. Felton and H. T. Loomis. The school was soon afterward consolidated with the Detroit Business University under the presidency of William F. Jewell.

The Detroit Business University was incorporated in 1905, soon after which Mr. Spencer retired. About this time the Gutchess Business College of Detroit was merged with the Detroit Business University. Upon the death of Mr. Jewell in 1911, E. R. Shaw became the president of the institution. Commodious quarters are occupied at No. 411 West Grand River Avenue.

The Detroit Commercial College was opened on September 1, 1903. It was established by E. B. Winter, afterward mayor of Windsor, Ontario, who served as the first president of the institution. He was succeeded by Charles F. Zulaux, of Uby, Michigan, who held the office until March 1, 1914, when he was in turn

succeeded by R. J. MacLean, the present incumbent. This school has always been located in the building at 1248 Griswold Street, which has been remodeled to suit the needs of the modern business college.

The Business Institute of Detroit was founded by A. F. Tull and L. C. Rauch in June, 1906, and is one of the few business colleges in the United States occupying an entire building constructed especially for business school purposes. When first opened the Institute occupied the eighth floor of the Breitmeyer building upon Broadway and Gratiot. The following year the school had spread to portions of the seventh floor also, and in 1909 the needs of the increased attendance had become so imperative that the building at 1333 Cass Avenue was erected for the school. Removal was made to the new building August 1, 1909. The Pontiac Business College was purchased by the Business Institute in August, 1915, and the following June a building was purchased in Mount Clemens, where a second branch was established. The character of the instruction in the Pontiac and Mount Clemens branches is the same as in the parent school at Detroit. A. F. Tull is the president of the Business Institute.

CHAPTER XXX

PRIVATE AND DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

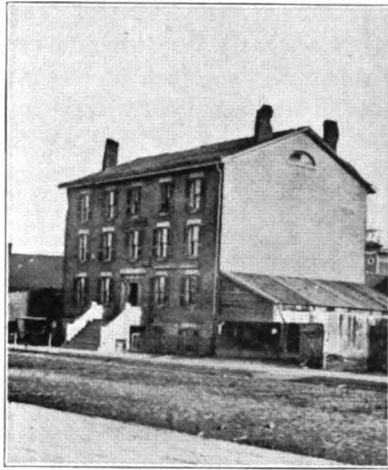
PRIVATE SCHOOLS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY—THE FEMALE SEMINARY—SCHOOLS IN MECHANICS' HALL—BACON SELECT SCHOOL—OTHER PRIVATE SCHOOLS—THE LIGGETT SCHOOLS—DETROIT UNIVERSITY SCHOOL—CHURCH SCHOOLS—LIST OF CATHOLIC PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS—LIST OF PROTESTANT PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS—MICHIGAN STATE AUTO SCHOOL—VARIETY OF SCHOOLS IN DETROIT.

The first schools in Detroit were conducted either as private institutions or under the auspices of the church. These early schools have already been described in a preceding chapter upon "Early Schooling in Detroit and Primitive Methods of Education," consequently it is the purpose of this chapter to give some account of the private and church schools of later date, those which were established soon after the opening of the Nineteenth Century, those begun contemporaneously with the free public schools and those of more recent date.

On October 24, 1806, John Goff petitioned the governor and judges for a lot upon which to conduct a school. His first school was located on the bank of the river, near the mouth of the Savoyard, but he afterwards taught upon what is now Woodbridge Street, between Bates and Randolph. Goff's wife, who assisted him, was an able woman, but Goff himself was a dissolute fellow, constantly in trouble. Until 1816, however, a school was maintained under his name.

From 1810 until the summer of 1812 Daniel Curtis was a teacher in Detroit and from 1812 until about 1818 a pedagogue named Payne, or Peyn, of very good reputation and ability, conducted a school. There are obscure records that in 1813 Mr. Rowe taught a school in an old wooden building on Griswold Street, near the corner of Jefferson Avenue. On June 10, 1816 Mr. Danforth, a belligerent sort of person, opened a "common" school and soon had an enrollment of close to forty pupils. His temperament manifested itself at times when he bombarded the class with books, rulers and even an open knife, which eventually caused him to seek refuge from the irate parents. His departure across the river ended his school. Levi Cook opened a school soon afterward in a building owned by Mr. Campau on the northwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street, but continued only a twelve-month. The movement for public schools had not yet taken place, but the idea had taken root and was growing. An editorial in the "Gazette" of August 8, 1817 had stated:

"Frenchmen of the territory of Michigan! You ought to begin immediately to give an education to your children. In a little time there will be in this territory as many Yankees as French, and if you do not have your children educated the situations will all be given to the Yankees. No man is capable of serving as a Civil or Military officer unless he can, at least, read and write. There are many young people, of from eighteen to twenty years, who have not yet learned to



DETROIT FEMALE SEMINARY, BUILT IN 1834 ON THE SITE OF THE PRESENT CITY HALL.



GERMAN-AMERICAN SEMINARY, CHAMPLAIN STREET, BETWEEN RIVARD AND RUSSELL, IN 1882

read, but they are not yet too old to learn. I have known those who have learned to read at the age of forty years."

Such a condition as set forth in this editorial is almost incomprehensible to us of a hundred years later. Without education, there could have been little culture or civic pride in the town of Detroit and it must have been a source of shame to the better minds of the community to witness the slothful surroundings. The men and women who had the courage and high ideals to begin small private schools were deserving of high praise, as their efforts were in few cases well rewarded or appreciated. In fact, it is probable that they were subjected to certain indignities which often fell to the lot of the "schoolmaster."

At the council house Mr. Banvard opened a class on November 3, 1817, and during the same year William Brookfield and his wife conducted a school on the southeast corner of Woodward Avenue and Woodbridge Street. In 1818, John J. Deming taught for a few months in the old council house. In May, 1821, E. W. Goodwin taught a private school, and T. Young opened an English school "at Mr. J. B. Ladouceur's large house" near May's Creek. In November, 1821, and for several years after, Mr. and Mrs. Brookfield taught a school known as the "seminary" in the same place. In 1822, Eliza S. Trowbridge was teaching in Detroit. For a short time in 1821 and 1822, Orestes A. Brownson held classes in Springwells. From 1823 to 1825, rather a large school was taught by Mr. and Mrs. John M. Kinney, but the school survived only until Mr. Kinney's dissipation incapacitated him. In 1826, however, his wife was keeping a school in the rear of the Newberry store on the corner of Griswold and Larned Streets.

On October 27, 1823 the university trustees voted to permit Mr. Carpenter to occupy a room in the university building for a school. One year later Mr. Shepard held a primary school in a small building on the university grounds, and in May, 1825, his wife had a "female school" at the same place. On November 14, 1828 leave was granted to P. W. Healy to keep a school in the university building. In 1829 he was teaching elsewhere and Delos Kinnicutt was keeping school in the university. During the greater part of the period from 1828 to 1832 private schools were conducted by Anson E. Hathon and Edwin Jerome. In 1829 a public meeting was held for the "establishment of an English common school," and the result was the opening of a school by Joel Tucker: the common council, on May 12, 1830, gave him permission to occupy a building on the military grounds adjoining the Cass Farm.

THE FEMALE SEMINARY

One of the notable schools of early Detroit was the Female Seminary, which stood upon the site of the present city hall. The land here was set aside for a female seminary in response to a resolution of a citizens' meeting held September 15, 1829, at which Jonathan Kearsley presided and John J. Deming was secretary. On March 18, 1830 a society was incorporated for the promotion of female education and the first meeting was held March 24th, at which time the following officers were elected: Lewis Cass, president; Charles C. Trowbridge, treasurer; John J. Deming, secretary; Jonathan Kearsley, Henry M. Campbell, DeGarmo Jones, William Ward, Eurosas P. Hastings, James Abbott, Charles Larned and Edmund A. Brush, directors. The governor and judges stipulated when conveying the site now occupied by the city hall, that by the year 1835 a suitable building should be erected. Nearly four years passed before it was finally completed, and then the following notice appeared in the press:

"The stockholders of the Association for promoting female education in the city of Detroit are requested to meet at the building recently erected for the Seminary, on Thursday, December 4th inst., at two o'clock P. M., for the purpose of considering the constitution to be proposed for the government of the Association, and for the transaction of other important business to all concerned in this object. The importance of the subject to be submitted induces the undersigned to hope for a very general and punctual attendance of those whose munificence has enabled them to progress thus far, and of all who may be willing to contribute further aid to the undertaking.

"John Biddle,
E. P. Hastings,
B. F. H. Witherell,
Thomas Palmer,
DeG. Jones,
H. M. Campbell,
E. Brooks,
W. L. Newberry,
J. Dean,
C. C. Trowbridge.

"Detroit, December 2, 1834."

The building itself cost \$7,325 to construct. It was of yellow brick, with a frontage of fifty-six feet and a depth of forty feet; each of the three stories contained eighteen rooms and a large hallway.

The Seminary was opened June 4, 1835 under the supervision of Mr. and Mrs. William C. Kirkland of Geneva, New York. Mrs. Kirkland was a woman of splendid education and was known as an author, some of her works having been: "Autumn Hours and Fireside Reading," "Memoirs of Our Country," and "Our New Home in the West, or Glimpses of Life Among the Early Settlers." The latter work was written under the pen name of Mary Clavers and excited much comment.

The Kirklands remained in charge of the Seminary until 1836, when they were succeeded by George Wilson, who was there until 1839. Mrs. Hester Scott and her daughters, Annie, Isabella, and Eleanor, who had conducted a young ladies' school for two years previous, then assumed charge of the Seminary and stayed until 1842.

In 1837 the trustees of the Seminary asked the common council to grant them permission to sell the grounds. A resolution was adopted on March 8th, granting the permission asked for upon condition that the trustees execute a bond for \$50,000 to the city conditioned that the trustees should, within two years, purchase another site and erect another building thereon. It was further provided

"That the real estate so to be purchased shall never be disposed of or appropriated to any other use and purpose than as aforesaid, without the consent of the said common council, and this stipulation shall be embraced in the conveyance to the said trustees."

It is difficult now to determine why the trustees should have wanted to sell the Seminary. It was located in a good quarter of the town. Fine residences were springing up along Fort Street, and across the street from it were the Baptist Church and Mechanics' Hall. However, the Seminary was not disposed of at this time, nor for many years.

In 1842 another petition was presented to the council and on March 4th of that year the trustees were granted permission to sell the property to the regents of the University of Michigan. The only condition attached to this permission was that the board of regents should continue in Detroit a school for the promotion of female education. This sale was not carried out and in the following May another resolution was passed by the council, granting permission to the trustees to lease the premises. Classes were discontinued in the Seminary in this year.

A short history of the transactions connected with the Seminary had been drawn up in the form of resolutions to the common council at the meeting of May 2, 1842, and from this report it appears that the buildings and fixtures on the Seminary lot were valued at \$5,000 and that their cost was \$7,325, of which \$4,290 was borrowed from the Bank of Michigan and \$3,035 was subscribed and paid by various citizens. In case of sale of the property for \$5,000 the sum was to be split between the citizens and the bank. The bank was indebted to the board of regents of the university in the sum exceeding \$7,300 "and they have agreed that a lease of the Seminary lot shall be executed to them for nine hundred and ninety-nine years in full satisfaction of the claim of the bank which now, with interest, amounts to \$6,016, and the regents will pay the subscribers the amount due each of them."

It was thereupon resolved by the trustees at their meeting of March 24, 1843 that they should execute to the regents of the university a lease for 999 years upon the Seminary lot and the premises "granted by deeds dated the 29th of March, 1830, and the 1st of April, 1837, being the Female Seminary Grounds on Campus Martius and Griswold Street." Thus the title became vested in the University of Michigan.

The Seminary building was afterward used as a state armory, for sessions of the supreme court, and for other state offices. After it came into the possession of the city, the offices of the mayor, the board of sewer commissioners, and the city surveyor were located there. It was eventually torn down to make room for the present city hall.

OTHER PRIVATE SCHOOLS

In 1830, a so-called "infant" school was opened by Miss Elizabeth Williams in one of the old military buildings on Fort Street West; her pupils were thirty in number. The Misses Farrand conducted a young ladies' seminary about the same time and George Wilson taught an English classical school. He was succeeded after a few years by Rev. D. S. Coe. In May, 1832, J. B. Howe was teaching a classical academy. During 1833 D. B. Crane was in charge of a classical school in the old council house on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and Randolph Street. In 1833, gentlemen named Nichols and Tappan were teaching a female seminary in the old university building.

What was known as the Michigan High School was opened December 2, 1833 in the south basement room of the council house under charge of J. N. Bellows. On March 12, 1834 the lower portion of the building was rented to D. B. Crane and the upper part to Mr. Bellows. According to Niles's Register for April 19, 1834 there were then 448 scholars on attendance at the various schools in Detroit.

From the time the Detroit Mechanic's Society erected its first small building at 111 Griswold, on the corner of the alley just below the corner of Griswold and Lafayette, in 1834 until the building was torn down in 1873, it was used as a

schoolroom at various times and by different teachers. Soon after the hall was finished the society decided to establish a school and the trustees were directed to employ a teacher. They secured the services of Owen Marsh and in October, 1834, the Mechanics' Academy was opened. In the Free Press of September 28, 1835 the announcement was made that Mr. Foy had opened a school for mathematics, French and English. He taught only until May of the following year, when the school was continued by Joseph F. Weed. Mr. L. J. Ames was also a teacher in the Mechanics' building in 1836. "Miss Clancy from Rochester" conducted a school for young ladies in the upper room in May, 1836. Henry P. Philbrick conducted a singing school in the same building in the fall of 1836. The Free Press of February 17, 1843 stated that Percival C. Millette and Patrick Higgins intended to open a classical and English school at the Mechanics' Hall on Monday, February 20th, for young gentlemen—"Mr. Millette has until recently been the principal of the Ann Arbor Classical Institute and taught there two years." L. J. Himes and G. B. Eastman were other early teachers here.

John S. Abbott had a school in 1835 in the Athenaeum on Griswold Street and Jefferson Avenue.

BACON SELECT SCHOOL

In July, 1836, Washington A. Bacon opened a "select school for boys" in a frame dwelling on the corner of Jefferson Avenue and St. Antoine Street. Mr. Bacon was a native of Sault Ste. Marie and had taught there for three years before coming to Detroit. He was a well educated man and a very successful teacher, even though his scholars found him somewhat inflexible at times in the enforcement of discipline. After a term or two, Mr. Bacon removed his school to the same lot as his residence, corner of Jefferson Avenue and Russell Street, a building having been erected on the rear of the lot for the accommodation of his class. Here Mr. Bacon taught four terms every year until about 1871 or 1872, and quite a number of young men who afterward made their mark in the commercial or professional life of Detroit were students at one time or another in Bacon's "select" school.

In 1836, Rev. R. Elms was at the head of the Detroit Classical Academy. In 1836, John T. Blois and Mr. Mitchell had schools with about forty scholars each. In 1839 and 1840, E. J. Meany conducted a class for boys over the Bank of St. Clair on Jefferson Avenue. On May 25, 1841, Miss E. J. Vail opened a school for young ladies on Wayne Street between Fort and Congress. In the autumn and spring of 1842, Rev. C. W. Fitch taught a girls' seminary. Also, in the early part of this year, Miss A. S. Bagg began a school for the instruction of young ladies.

In 1843, Dennis O'Brien taught in the old academy and Miss Sanford had a young ladies' school on Jefferson Avenue opposite the Exchange. In the spring of 1844, Stephen Fowler and Mr. Cochrane opened a school, classical in character, in the basement of the Baptist Church at the corner of Fort and Griswold Streets. About 1849, his school was located on the north side of Jefferson Avenue near St. Antoine Street, in a large wooden building called the Detroit Institute. George Brewster had been a teacher in this building for two years previous. Fowler's school ended about 1852. Mrs. Clements also taught a well patronized select school near this time.

In 1844, Mrs. Elizabeth D. Bryant, cousin of William Cullen Bryant, began a select school, which she continued for over thirty years.

In 1845 and 1846, Mechanics' Hall was used as a school by D. T. Grinold. In 1846 and 1847, William Brannigan and N. West taught boys' schools and in 1847 there were also the schools of Melville Moir, Abner Hurd, and Miss Melvina Hurlbut. In 1847 and 1848, Franz Zinger conducted a select German school on Croghan Street between Hastings and Rivard and on July 22, 1849 Joseph Kuhn began a school on the corner of Croghan and Hastings, which he operated for three years.

On September 23, 1851, a popular ladies' seminary was opened in the Strong house on Fort Street West by Miss Sarah Hunt. In the following year, removal was made across the street between Griswold and Shelby Streets. The establishment of this school, which, after one other removal in 1856 to Madison Avenue and there continued until 1860, was helped materially by several Detroit business men, among them John Owen, David French, Eber B. Ward, John J. Garrison, John Stephens, Caleb Van Husan, James Burns, J. D. Morton, Herman De Graff, William K. Coyl, George Kirby, Moses F. Dickinson. These men advanced \$3,000 for the school, which sum was repaid by the tuitions of the scholars.

For a time during the interval between 1845 and 1850, John Funke kept a school on the south side of Macomb near St. Antoine Street, and A. Stutte on the southwest corner of Croghan and St. Antoine. From 1851 to 1854, W. D. Cochrane maintained an English and classical school on what is now Broadway near Grand River.

Miss C. E. Chapin opened a school in the Sheldon Block in the fall of 1854 and in the same year S. L. Campbell taught a classical and high school in the old Seminary Building on Griswold Street. After this, and until 1860, this last-named school was taught by Dr. C. F. Soldan.

In April, 1856, a school was opened on the corner of State Street and Woodward Avenue by Misses Hosmer and Emerson. In 1857, Miss Ellinwood and Maria Rockwell (afterward Mrs. Mathew W. Birchard) had schools. Miss Rockwell had taught for several years in the old Capitol School. In 1858 and 1859 Dr. and Mrs. Reighley conducted an institute on the northeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Rivard Street. The Detroit Female Seminary, first on the corner of Fort and Wayne Streets, was founded in September, 1859. The seminary was at first a corporation, but in 1874 J. M. B. Sill became its sole proprietor. The first principal was J. V. Bean, succeeded in after years by J. F. Pearl, J. M. B. Sill, Mrs. Simons Towle and H. M. Martin.

A notable school of this period was Philo M. Patterson's school for boys, organized at the rear of one of the Mechanics' Society lots, 109 Griswold Street, September 1, 1860. Patterson had a five year lease on the building for \$550 per year. In 1873 the school was moved to the corner of Gratiot and Farmer, and subsequently to the Chamber of Commerce Building, where it continued until Mr. Patterson's death in 1882. This was a famous old school and was attended by the best of Detroit's younger manhood. John H. Bissell and Frank Andrus, now well known in the city, were teachers in this old school.

In 1861, Leo Romer was conducting the Michigan Female Seminary at 215 Woodward Avenue, but in 1862 it was moved to Park Place and Grand River Avenue, where it continued several years.

The German American Seminary, established in the early '60s is described in the chapter upon universities and colleges.

In 1862, and for several years later, a Ladies' Day School was conducted by Mrs. C. James at 267 Jefferson Avenue and a classical and high school by L.

Leonard at 239 Woodward. In 1863 H. G. Jones began a boys' school at 58 Grand River, which was moved several times in later years. In 1876, N. Schantz established a German and English academy with a kindergarten on Farrar Street near Monroe, which continued in the same location until 1882. In 1876 Rev. A. B. Brown opened a boys' school on the northeast corner of Monroe and Farmer and remained there until 1882. During 1882, a boys' school was established in the basement of the St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church and was taught by Rev. Paul Ziegler. In later years it was transferred to a building of its own on Adams near Park. Holy Trinity Anglo-Catholic School was opened at 86 Fourteenth Avenue September 5, 1881, with eighteen scholars, and continued by Rev. R. M. Edwards until 1883.

THE LIGGETT SCHOOLS

The Detroit Home and Day School was opened in September, 1878, by Rev. James D. Liggett, his wife and three daughters, one of whom was married two years later. The school was located in three connecting houses on Broadway, then called Miami Avenue, near Grand River, but the increasing numbers and the requirements of good work demanded a suitable school house, consequently a stock company was formed to erect one to be leased for a term of years to the school management. In January, 1883, the new location on Cass Avenue and Stimson Place was occupied and, with many alterations and adaptations to changing conditions, has been in use until the present time.

In 1890 it seemed advisable to abandon the coeducational idea and receive boys in the primary grades only. At this time a kindergarten was added and a school lunch room. The home department steadily grew until, in 1907, it was necessary to rent an adjacent house as an annex. In 1912 it was decided to drop the boarding-school feature and remodel the dormitory floor for laboratories and extra recitation space.

When the first corporation charter expired, its renewal was marked by a change of name to the Liggett School.

In 1913 patrons living on the east side organized a second stock company for the establishment of a branch elementary school, to be called the Eastern Liggett School, and the following January its beautiful, modern building at Burns and Charlevoix Avenues was occupied. Work here is carried through eight grades only. Both schools have followed the new movement towards a flexible classification of the children through the third grade, to permit development according to individual indications until the child has acquired the use of reading, writing and simple numbers usually expected for the fourth grade. Throughout the entire school experience, the project method is introduced wherever feasible, and a due proportion of time is given to music, design, dramatics and athletics. Self-government and a sense of responsibility are encouraged in every practicable way from the earliest beginnings of school life up to the point when the various student bodies organize and conduct such boards as the Athletic League, Self-Government Board, Symmatheta (the dramatic society), Rivista (the school publication), and others. The enrollment of the main school is at present 356, of the branch 194; the united faculties number 60 persons. Of the 666 alumni, 192 have entered college and 88 have been graduated.

In 1888 Miss Eliza Collar was conducting a private school at 143 High Street West, the Detroit Industrial School had sprung into existence, and Misses Nellie J. and Susie K. Thompson had a private school at 257 East Congress Street. The

following year the Detroit Seminary, corner of Park Place and Adams Avenue, was in charge of Anna M. Cutcheon and Harriett B. Pope. This seminary comprised five departments—kindergarten, primary, intermediate, academic and collegiate. In 1890, also, Rev. Jacob Gronemann had a private school at 179 East Fort, which continued but a few years. In 1891 the Industrial School Association was located at the corner of Grand River and Washington Avenues. By 1894 there had come into existence the Detroit School for Boys, conducted by Frederick and Mary E. Whitton at 15 and 17 Winder Street. Miss Edna Chaffee was teaching a school of "elocution and English literature" at 60 Edmund Place. In 1895 Miss Nellie J. Thompson was teaching alone in her select school. "The Plymouth Institute—The Peoples College" is advertised in 1895 as having regular courses in college preparatory, science, acting, music, business, English, political and social economy and domestic science. Rev. Morgan Wood was the president. The Detroit Seminary in 1897 was in charge of Eliza Hammond and Laura C. Browning and was located at 643-5 Jefferson Avenue.

The development of private schools in Detroit was not regular. The increasing efficiency of the public school system rendered a great number of select and private schools unnecessary and from 1896 until 1906 very few were established. The well-established private schools continued to operate successfully, but the smaller and new ones suffered from lack of patronage. About 1905, however, the population of Detroit began to grow at an accelerated pace, and very soon the public schools were overcrowded. To meet this situation several more private schools came to be established. The North Woodward School was established in 1905 with an enrollment of sixteen pupils. This school was for boys and girls and carried them from the kindergarten through the first year of high school. Miss Mary Newman was the teacher here. In 1908 the Jefferson Avenue School of modern languages, was established for boys and girls and the study embraced subjects from the primary grades through the first year of high school. The Dexter School for boys was established in 1909 and followed closely the plan of the German gymnasium. Work corresponding to that from the fourth grade through the first year high school was introduced. The Bloomfield Hills Seminary, begun in 1912, carried boys and girls through the eighth grade; the first enrollment was eighteen. The Grosse Pointe School for boys and girls was established in 1915 and embraced the whole curriculum from primary through high school, with some kindergarten classes.

The Thomas Normal Training School, for the training of teachers in domestic science, physical and manual training, was founded in 1888 by Mrs. Myra B. Thomas, who was for eighteen years supervisor of music in the Detroit public schools.

The old Detroit University School was established first in 1890, and in 1905 was reorganized as the New Detroit University School. The school is now located at 548 Parkview Avenue, with D. H. Fletcher as head-master, and W. H. Fries, associate. The Clark Private School is located at 4835 Second Boulevard.

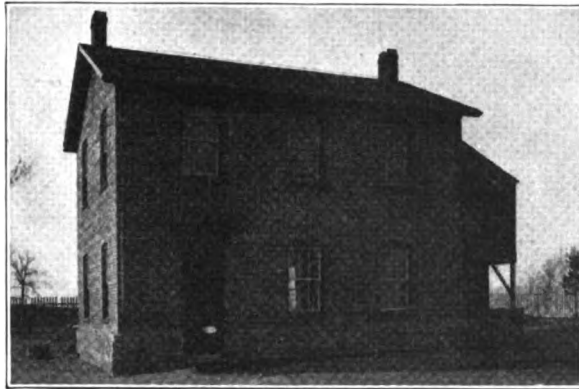
It may be noted in passing that Detroit's public schools have, in great measure, grown to the needs of a large city. Small private schools, of strictly academic or classical character, have largely disappeared. The older and exclusive private schools such as the Liggett School, yet receive a generous patronage and always will. Vocational and technical schools of private character have been organized in great numbers, as have correctional schools of different types. These are described in a later paragraph.

CHURCH SCHOOLS

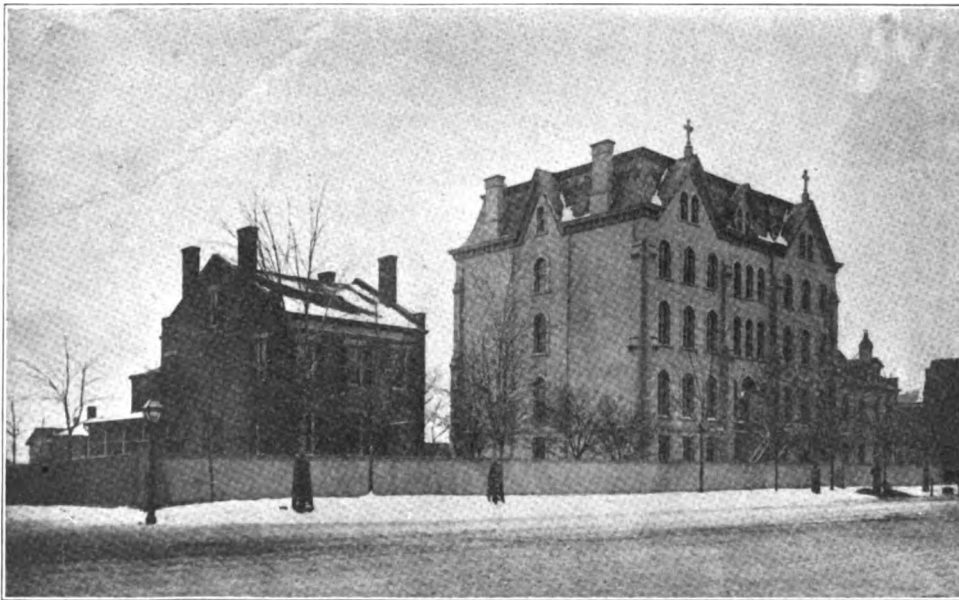
It has been narrated how Cadillac favored some means of educating the youth of his settlement, how the Church of Ste. Anne carefully nourished the seed of education, and how Father Gabriel Richard, hard fighter for the cause of education, labored to establish schools for the young people of Detroit. Father Richard constantly sought ways and means of establishing schools. In 1811 he secured a teacher named La Salliere from France and in 1820 the *Communaute de Ste. Marie*, a school taught by Miss Elizabeth Williams, was maintained, probably in connection with Father Richard's parish. This school existed for many years and subsequent reports indicated that it cared for nearly all the Catholic children in the community. The school known as St. Philip's College (*Cote du Nordest*), distinctly a church school, has been described in the chapter upon universities and colleges. In connection with this mention of Father Richard, the following letter from him to Rt. Rev. Dr. Fenwick, bishop of Cincinnati, in 1824 (while Richard was in Congress) is of interest:

"The laws allow the President to spend yearly \$10,000 for the purpose of aiding the schools that are or may be established for the instruction of young Indians. You will see that the whole is not to be done by Government, a beginning must be made by the benevolence of some charitable persons. You will find by the enclosed papers, that the Government is disposed to pay two-thirds of the expense of the necessary buildings, and Mr. Hamilton, the clerk under Mr. Calhoun, who has all the management of the affairs of the Indians in relation to their civilization, has told me, that the President has given, in one instance, as much as \$2,000 towards the erection of a building estimated at \$3,000. I am almost determined to try one establishment of the kind at the River Raisins, either on my own land, or on that of St. Ann's, which, as you know, has three sections above the French settlement, or else on the very Indian reserve of six sections, close by the three of St. Anne's. The French would willingly advance a third, on condition that we admit the French and Canadian children into the same school. . . . You can bring from Europe three French Priests, to live either with me at Detroit, to exercise the holy ministry among the white population, or to attend to the Indian school at the River Raisins. All that I can require is, that they pay their expenses from Europe to Detroit. From New York they can come to Detroit in eight days, each for less than \$30, and will have fine accommodations all the way in steamboats, and through the grand canal in the elegant newly-built boat, the charges are only \$3.00 per 100 miles everything included. You may send me three French priests or two French and one American. I can promise that I will cause them to be provided for as well, or better than myself."

In the early part of the summer of 1833, several of the Sisters of St. Claire, originally from Bruges, under the leadership of Sister Superior Von de vogel, came to Detroit from Pittsburg and established a seminary for girls. In 1837 they were conducting a German and English free school with an enrollment of forty-five pupils. In this last-named year this school was succeeded by the French Female Charity School, under the patronage of Mrs. Antoine Beaubien (who was Monique Labadie, one of the four teachers employed by Fr. Gabriel Richard in 1804: she married Antoine Beaubien in 1829) and taught by Elizabeth Williams. Miss Williams died in 1843 and was succeeded by Miss Matilda Couchois, and after a year the Sisters of Charity took charge.



OLD CATHOLIC SCHOOL BUILDING ON GRATIOT ROAD, NEAR CONNER'S CREEK, BUILT IN 1864



ACADEMY OF SACRED HEART, JEFFERSON AVENUE AND ST. ANTOINE ST., ABOUT 1881

Four sisters arrived May 30, 1844, and under their charge a free school for boys and girls was opened June 10, 1844 in a frame building on the southwest corner of Randolph and Larned Streets. On May 1, 1845, the boys were transferred to the basement of Ste. Anne's Church and the girls remained in the old location, the school taking the name of St. Vincent's Seminary. In 1846, there were one hundred pupils, about twenty-five of whom paid a tuition. The brick school building on Larned Street was opened in 1852 with 150 scholars, which number had been increased to over 200 in 1870. In 1871, the Sisters left the school, but it was maintained by lay teachers for four years longer. The boys' department, in the basement of Ste. Anne's, was conducted by the Sisters until September, 1851, when the 280 pupils were placed under the care of five brothers of the Christian schools. In 1851, a brick addition was erected in the rear of the church for the accommodation of the school, which in 1852 numbered 400 scholars. In July, 1864, the school was discontinued.

As early as 1850, a parish school was taught by Daniel O'Connor in the basement of Trinity Church at Porter and Sixth. In 1851 separate schools for each of the sexes were taught in the same location. In 1852, the brothers of the Christian school began to teach the boys to the number of 250. In 1853, a brick school building was erected just east of the priest's house on Porter. A girls' school was continued in the basement of the church until 1858, when a large brick school building was erected on Porter Street, between Sixth and Seventh. This building has been enlarged several times subsequently. The school was first in charge of the Sisters of Charity, and in 1872 was taken over by the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. In 1870, there were four teachers at the boys' school at the corner of Porter and Fifth Streets.

A school for girls was established in the parish of St. Mary's in 1850, with an initial enrollment of eighty scholars. At first it was taught by teachers, but in 1866 it was given over to the Sisters of Notre Dame from Milwaukee who have charge of the school at the present time. The school for boys was opened September 24, 1852 and before the end of the year there were 300 scholars. A brick school house was constructed on the southwest corner of Croghan and St. Antoine Streets in 1868.

The first school in connection with the parish of SS. Peter and Paul was established in the rear of the cathedral in 1858 under the charge of the brothers of the Christian schools. It was continued by them for three years, and was then taught by lay teachers. On September 9, 1864, it was placed in charge of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, who remained until September, 1881.

A school for St. Joseph's parish was in existence in 1850 with nearly 100 scholars. The parish school of St. Boniface was established and the building erected in 1869. The St. Vincent de Paul School was established in August, 1872 and was at first conducted by lay teachers. In September, 1874, the female department was placed in charge of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The school of Our Lady of Help was begun in 1872. St. Albert's school was also established in 1872. St. Joachim's, formerly the Sacred Heart French School, was instituted in June, 1875. In April, 1875, there came into existence the Sacred Heart German School. Most Holy Redeemer school was begun about 1882. St. Casimer's school, Polish, was also begun in the '80s. St. Anthony's school on Gratiot Avenue was established about 1854 in a frame building constructed for the purpose.

Over seventy years ago the Religious of the Sacred Heart, at the invitation

of Mr. and Mrs. Antoine Beaubien, and with the approval of Bishop Lefevre, first came to Detroit to devote themselves to the education of youth. They opened their first convent in June, 1851, in a small frame house on Jefferson Avenue, north side, near the old railroad bridge, but the next year increased attendance necessitated a removal to a brick building on the southwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and St. Antoine. In 1854 a property called Elmwood was purchased and there the boarding and day schools, as also the free school, increased in numbers and the foundations were laid on which have been built the present flourishing academies on Lawrence Avenue and at Grosse Pointe in which the boarding school was established in 1885. After a few years at Elmwood, having obtained a clear title to the fine property situated on Jefferson Avenue and Antoine Street so generously donated to the Society of the Sacred Heart by Antoine Beaubien and his wife, the Religious were enabled to transfer their work to the former Beaubien residence and there to erect, in 1861, the large convent which for a half century was a landmark in what was then a purely residential section of the city, but which, in recent years, became converted into a business and industrial center. Then it was that the property on Lawrence Avenue was purchased and in 1918 the present spacious academy of the Sacred Heart was opened. From the early days of the foundation to the present time the Catholics and non-Catholics of Detroit have patronized well the strong training of this institution. The first school registers record many names prominent in Detroit history, among them being: Godfroy, Cole, Provençal, Piquette, Gagnier, Brennan, Van Dyke, Pitcher, Elbert, Davis, Cicotte, Holbrook, Beaubien, Hall, Moran, Chapoton, Bull, Dubois, Flynn, Campau, Ives, O'Brien, Elliot, St. Aubin, Connor, Palms, Lewis, Baby, Riopelle, Brodhead, Willis, DuCharme, Bradford, Larned, Peltier and Flattery.

The Convent of the Sacred Heart at Grosse Pointe Farms is another institution established under the care of the Religious of the Sacred Heart. In 1885 the Society, already well-known in Detroit where a day school had been opened in 1851, mentioned above, founded a boarding school in Grosse Pointe. A large farm, which forms part of the property, supplied fresh fruit, vegetables and dairy products, so that the pupils enjoyed all the benefits of country life. In 1887 a parochial school was opened for children of the neighborhood.

The St. Cyril and Methodius Catholic Seminary, for the education of Polish theological students, was first located on St. Aubin Avenue, between Forest and Garfield Avenues. The building was first used December 20, 1886.

Beginning in the early '90s, when the growth of the city meant the establishment of additional Catholic parishes in Detroit, the number of parochial schools increased correspondingly. The idea of education has never been permitted to lapse among the parishes, and today the thoroughness and quality of the school system in the Catholic Church is of great merit. The Roman Catholic schools in Detroit in 1920-21 are:

All Saints Parochial School: West Fort and Springwells: in charge of Sisters of Immaculate Heart of Mary.

Annunciation Parish School: Parkview and Agnes Avenues: Sisters of Immaculate Heart of Mary.

Assumption Parochial School: Lovett and Warren Avenues: Felician Sisters.

Assumption School: Gratiot Avenue near Grotto Road: Dominican Sisters.

Blessed Sacrament School: Belmont Avenue: Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

Carmelite Sisters, D. C. J.: 3350 Leland.
Convent Felician Sisters: 2248 Medbury Avenue.
Convent of the Holy Family: 9532 Cardoni Avenue.
Convent of the Immaculate Heart: 1051 Porter Street.
Convent of Notre Dame: 128 Macomb Street.
Convent of Sacred Heart: Lake Shore Road, Grosse Pointe.
Convent and Academy of Sacred Heart: Lawrence and Wilson Avenues.
Felician Convent: Canfield and St. Aubin.
Holy Cross Catholic School: Southwest Place and Yale.
Holy Name School: Nuernberg and Van Dyke.
Holy Rosary Parish School: Woodward and Harper Avenues: in charge of the Sisters of Immaculate Heart of Mary.
Immaculate Conception School: Trombley Avenue and Moran.
Most Holy Redeemer Convent and School: Junction Avenue between Eldred and Dix.
Most Holy Trinity School: 148 Porter Street.
Nativity of Our Lord Parish School: McCellan Avenue near Lamb: Dominican Sisters.
Our Lady of Angels Parish School: Martin Avenue and Edward: Franciscan Sisters.
Our Lady of Help School: Elmwood Avenue and Larned.
Our Lady of Lourdes Roman Catholic School: Dearborn Avenue near Railroad.
Our Lady of Sorrows Roman Catholic School: 722 Meldrum.
Resurrection School: 6141 Leuschner Avenue.
Sacred Heart Academy: 171 Lake Shore Road, Grosse Pointe.
Sacred Heart German Catholic School: Eliot and Rivard.
Sacred Heart Seminary.
Sacred Heart of Jesus Roman Catholic School: 290 Eliot: Sisters of Notre Dame.
Sacred Heart of Mary School: Canfield and Russell: Polish Sisters of St. Francis.
St. Agnes Convent: LaSalle Gardens.
St. Albertus School: St. Aubin and Canfield: Felician Sisters.
St. Aloysius Parish School: 44 Park Place East: Sisters of Charity.
St. Alphonsus Roman Catholic School: Warren Avenue near Miller Road: Sisters of St. Dominic.
St. Ambrose Parish School: Hampton and Weyburn Avenues, Grosse Pointe Park.
St. Anne's Convent: 2630 Lafayette Boulevard.
St. Anne's French Catholic School: Howard Street between Eighteenth and Nineteenth.
St. Anthony's Catholic School: 1218 Field Avenue: in charge of the Sisters of Notre Dame.
St. Benedict's Parish School: Candler Avenue.
St. Bernard's School: Lillibridge Avenue: in charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph.
St. Boniface Parochial School: 2350 Vermont Avenue: in charge of the Sisters Immaculate Heart of Mary.
St. Casimer's Catholic School: 657-9 Twenty-third Street: in charge of the Felician Sisters.

- St. Catherine's Roman Catholic School: Maxwell and Sprague Avenues.
 St. Charles Borromeo Catholic School: Townsend Avenue: in charge of Sisters of Immaculate Heart of Mary.
 St. Elizabeth's Parochial School: 4230 McDougall: in charge of the Sisters of Charity.
 St. Florian School: Florian and Whiting Avenues: in charge of the Felician Sisters.
 St. Francesco Parochial School: Eliot Avenue.
 St. Francis Polish School: Buchanan and Wesson Streets.
 St. Francis Polish Roman Catholic School: 5806 Buchanan Street: in charge of Sisters of St. Francis.
 St. Gabriel's Parochial School: 8118 Ferndale.
 St. Hedwig School: Junction Avenue: Felician Sisters.
 St. Hyacinth Roman Catholic School (Polish): Frederick Avenue: Felician Sisters.
 St. Joachim Parish School: 2158 Lafayette.
 St. John's Cantius School: Pulaski Avenue: Felician Sisters.
 St. John's Parish School: East Grand Boulevard and Sargent: Sisters of Christian Charity.
 St. Josaphat's Polish Roman Catholic School: Canfield Avenue: Felician Sisters.
 St. Leo's Parish School: Fifteenth and Warren: Sisters of Charity.
 St. Mary's Catholic School: St. Antoine and Monroe: Sisters of Notre Dame.
 St. Paul's Parochial School: Grosse Pointe Farms.
 SS. Peter and Paul Cathedral School: Parson Avenue: Sisters of Immaculate Heart of Mary.
 SS. Peter and Paul (Jesuit) Parochial School: Larned and St. Antoine: Sisters of Charity.
 St. Rose Parish School: Kercheval and Defer Place.
 St. Stanislaus School: Medbury Avenue and Dubois: Felician Sisters.
 St. Theresa Roman Catholic School: Blaine and Radford.
 St. Thomas Parochial School: Fischer and Chapin.
 St. Vincent de Paul School: Fourteenth and Dalzelle: Sister Servants of Immaculate Heart of Mary.
 St. Vincent's Convent: 2140 Marantelle.
 St. Wenceslaus Bohemian School: 745 St. Antoine: School Sisters of St. Francis.
 San Francesco Parish School: 290 Eliot: Sisters of Notre Dame.

PROTESTANT PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

The St. John's German Evangelical School on Monroe Avenue and Farrar Street was established in the year 1843. A school house was built at the rear in 1845 and for nearly twenty years a school was held here intermittently. St. Mark's German Evangelical School was established January 2, 1884 with twenty-two scholars and was located at the corner of Military Avenue and Dix. St. Matthew's Lutheran School was organized in 1846, on Congress near Russell Street, and a building was erected for the purpose in 1850. Trinity Evangelical Lutheran School was organized in 1850 in the old wooden church on Larned Street between Rivard and Russell Streets. Zion German Reformed Lutheran School was originally organized about 1852, and until 1857 met in a church

building on Croghan Street near Beaubien. A school house was built on Russell Street in 1861, after the school had been discontinued for four years. Salem Lutheran School, which was located on the south side of Catherine Street between St. Antoine and Hastings, was started in 1864. Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran School was organized in 1866 and was originally located on Ninth Avenue near Orchard Street. Zion Evangelical Lutheran School was established in the fall of 1878 on Welch Avenue in Springwells, St. Paul's Lutheran School, which was located on the corner of Jay Street and Joseph Campau Avenue, was organized in the early '70s. St. Paul's Second German Evangelical School was located on the corner of Seventeenth and Rose Streets and was established in 1873. St. Peter's German Evangelical School, located on Pierce Street near Chene, was established in 1879. This, in brief, is the story of the beginning of Protestant parochial schools in Detroit. Like the Catholic and public schools, the number of them has increased with the growth of the city, until today those in existence are:

- Bethania German Evangelical School: Meldrum and Pulford Avenues.
- Bethania Evangelical Lutheran School: Mount Elliott and Church Avenues.
- Bethlehem School: McKinstry Avenue between Porter and Christiancy
- Christ German Evangelical School: Myrtle and Roosevelt Avenues
- Christ German Evangelical Lutheran School.
- Concordia Lutheran School: Cadillac and Sylvester Avenues.
- Concordia School (German Protestants), 8419 Vanderbilt.
- Emmaus Lutheran School: Twelfth and Lysander.
- Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel School: 3750 Twenty-fifth Street.
- Evangelical Lutheran Trinity School: Rivard and Gratiot.
- German Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel School: Twenty-fifth between Magnolia and Linden.
- German Evangelical Lutheran Bethel School: 5850 Mitchell.
- German Evangelical Lutheran Zion School: 4323 Military.
- German and English Evangelical Lutheran St. Luke's Parochial School: Field and Kercheval Avenues.
- Gethsemane German and English Lutheran School: Twenty-eighth near Buchanan.
- Good Hope Evangelical Lutheran School.
- Grace Evangelical Lutheran School: Highland and Woodward.
- Holy Cross Evangelical Lutheran School: Joseph Campau and Illinois.
- Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox School: 2427 Meade Avenue.
- Hungarian Magyar Reformed Protestant School: 8028 South.
- Immanuel Parochial School: Livernois and Vernon.
- Immanuel School (German): Pine near Nineteenth.
- Peoples (Polish) School: 2929 Yeamans Avenue.
- St. James Evangelical Lutheran School: Humboldt and Poplar.
- St. John Evangelist School: Sargent and East Grand Boulevard.
- St. John's Evangelical Lutheran School: Maybury Grand Avenue and Poplar.
- St. John's German Evangelical School: Burdeno and Ford.
- St. Luke's German Evangelical School: Harper Avenue.
- St. Marcus German Evangelical School: Military Avenue.
- St. Matthews German Evangelical Lutheran School: Carleton Avenue.
- St. Paul's German Lutheran: Joseph Campau and Jay Streets.

St. Peter's German Evangelical School: 2281 Pierce.
Salem Evangelical Lutheran School: Mack and Chene Street.
Stephanus Evangelical School: Chamberlain and Lawndale.
Zion's German Evangelical Lutheran School: 4305 Military.

OTHER DETROIT SCHOOLS

When the automotive industry in Detroit was in its very infancy, there was a demand for skilled mechanics for the manufacture of gasoline motors. The vast expansion of the industry, the almost unbelievable number of men required for its maintenance, have created a steady need for this class of workmen. In 1910 a number of Detroit men saw the opportunity in this situation to establish a school for the training of men for positions in the automobile and parts factories, and for garage and repair work. The school was organized as a corporation with a capital stock of \$10,000 and was called the Michigan State Auto School. Beginning with only a few instructors and less than one hundred students, the school has grown until now there are seventy on the school staff and the enrollment has exceeded one thousand. The course of instruction covers a period of from nine to ten weeks and the tuition fee is \$150. This fee entitles the student to a life enrollment, so that at any time he may come back and repeat his course, or take additional courses. The Michigan State Auto School is now located at 3729 Woodward Avenue. The main building has two floors, as have two other buildings on Selden Avenue, nearby. The instruction in the school is divided into study of the chassis, the motor, ignition, starting and lighting, repairing and review. Special courses are also given in welding, tire repairing, battery repairing and machine shop practice. The president of the institution is Arthur G. Zeller.

Beginning in the early '90s there came into existence in Detroit individual schools for the teaching of music and other accomplishments. There are in Detroit today scores of schools covering a broad scope of subjects. Among the subjects taught and the purposes advanced by these schools may be mentioned the following:

Music, dramatic art, accounting, dress making, millinery, languages, automotive trades, mechanics, boxing, toilet art, technical subjects, business subjects, chiropractic, osteopathy, English, law, medicine, surgery, religion, citizenship, engineering, golf, nursing, arts, health building, singing, salesmanship, dentistry, motherhood, home training, barbering, navigation, moving picture work, occupational therapy, truck and auto driving, correction of stammering, social work, commerce and finance, and traffic.

CHAPTER XXXI

HISTORY OF THE PRESS

PREDECESSOR OF THE MODERN NEWSPAPER—FIRST NEWSPAPERS IN LONDON AND IN THE UNITED STATES—DETROIT'S FIRST NEWSPAPER—DETROIT GAZETTE—OTHER PUBLICATIONS OF AN EARLY DAY—THE NEWSPAPER GRAVEYARD—THE DETROIT TRIBUNE—THE DETROIT FREE PRESS—FIRST DAILY ISSUE—THE DETROIT NEWS—THE DETROIT JOURNAL—THE DETROIT DAILY TIMES—OTHER LIVING DETROIT PUBLICATIONS—PHARMACEUTICAL AND DENTAL—MEDICAL JOURNALISM—LEGAL PUBLICATIONS—RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS—GERMAN NEWSPAPERS—OTHER FOREIGN LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS: FRENCH, POLISH, ITALIAN, BELGIAN, HUNGARIAN, RUSSIAN AND JEWISH—NEWSPAPERS OF WAYNE COUNTY OUTSIDE OF DETROIT.

To the civilization of ancient Rome the nations of the modern world are indebted for the crude idea that has been developed step by step into the daily or weekly newspaper. The Roman "Acta Diurna" were manuscript publications, written or engraved upon wax tablets with an instrument called the stylus. As this method of production was somewhat tedious, the edition was necessarily limited to a few copies, which were displayed in the most public places in the city, in order that the people might acquaint themselves with current events, entertainments at the Coliseum and the political trend of the times. The "Acta Diurna" were not issued at regular intervals, but only upon the occurrence of some event of more than passing interest. When one appeared, each place where it was posted would be surrounded by people, who listened eagerly while someone read the contents. These "Acta Diurna" were not unlike the bulletins displayed in front of the modern newspaper office.

The first publication really worthy of the name of "newspaper" made its appearance in London in 1622, nearly two centuries after Gutenberg invented the process of printing with type. It was called "The Weekly News from Italie and Germanie". Previous to its appearance the wealthier classes of Europeans had been accustomed to receiving their information of the world's doings through the medium of the weekly "news letter", but this form of manuscript literature was too expensive for any but the very rich. "The Weekly News from Italie and Germanie" was printed upon a clumsy press operated by hand power—the invention of Nathaniel Butler—yet this primitive and imperfect machine occupies a place in history as the progenitor of the complex printing press of the present day. The contents of this first diminutive newspaper consisted mainly of social items and satirical quips until about 1641, when the parliamentary reports were published in its columns. This was the first notice ever given by the "press" to political affairs. The first advertisement ever published in a newspaper appeared in this little journal in 1648. It was written in rhyme and was intended to call the attention of the public to the merits of a Belgravia merchant tailor.

The "London Courant", the first daily morning newspaper ever published,

was established in 1709. It consisted of a single sheet and its contents were principally translations from foreign journals. With the inauguration of the daily newspaper, the press gained rapidly in popularity and importance and the "Courant" was not long without its competitors. By 1760 over seven million copies of daily newspapers were sold annually in England.

IN THE UNITED STATES

A small quarto sheet, called the "Boston Public Occurrences," was established in 1690 and was the first newspaper in the United States. Subsequently it was suppressed by the Massachusetts colonial authorities on account of its radical utterances. Next came the "Boston News-Letter," which was started in 1704 by John Campbell, then postmaster at Boston. In 1721 James Franklin established the "New England Courant" and conducted it for five or six years, when it was suspended for want of adequate support. Soon after this paper was suspended, Benjamin Franklin founded the "Pennsylvania Gazette" at Philadelphia and published it as a weekly until 1765, when it was merged with the "North American." The "Evening Post," of New York City, was founded in 1801 and is still published.

West of the Alleghany Mountains, the first newspaper was the "Pittsburgh Gazette," the initial number of which was issued on July 17, 1786 by Joseph Hall and John Scull. On August 11, 1787, John Bradford published the first number of the "Kentucky Gazette" at Lexington. William Maxwell began the publication of "The Centinel of the Northwest Territory" at Cincinnati in November, 1793. This was the first paper northwest of the Ohio River. About three years later Edward Freeman purchased the outfit, changed the name to "Freeman's Journal," and removed the publication office to Chillicothe, then a town of more importance than Cincinnati.

Probably the first newspapers to be read by the people of Detroit were those published in Canada. In the districts of Canada where the French were in control, no printing of any kind was permitted, but the English were more liberal in their views. The "Halifax Gazette" began its career March 23, 1752, and soon after the close of the French and Indian war the "Quebec Gazette" was started. The first number was dated June 21, 1764, and was printed partly in French and partly in English. "The Pittsburgh Commonwealth," published from 1805 until 1809, paid special attention to news from Detroit, both to keep their eastern subscribers informed about their relatives in the West and to encourage emigration to the new country.

DETROIT'S FIRST NEWSPAPER

The news of the day was first circulated in Detroit by notices left at the doors of those who could afford such service. News of events reached Detroit many days, and sometimes weeks, after they occurred and even then was a much garbled story. Late in the Eighteenth Century the town crier rang his bell in the narrow streets of the village or summoned a crowd by drum-beats to listen to his latest announcement. Thomas Williams was one of these town criers. Meeting-time at old Ste. Anne's Church was a favorite hour for the dissemination of news. Theophilus Mettez, printer of religious books and afterward a news publisher, cried aloud the story of the day after services in the church, made announcements of local character and otherwise notified the people of past and coming events of interest.



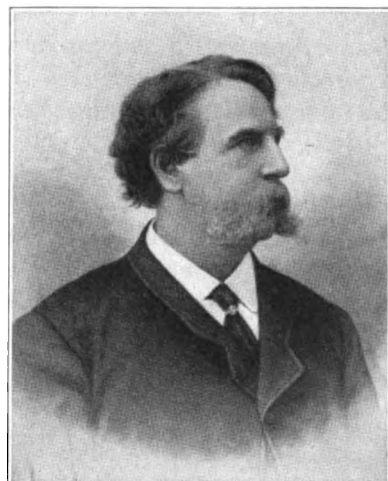
James E. Scripps



William E. Quinby



William H. Brearley



Richard S. Willis

OLD PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT DETROIT MEN

In the year 1809 occurred one of the most important events of early Detroit. This was the introduction of the first printing press. Fr. Gabriel Richard, the priest of Ste. Anne's, purchased a press, type and other materials for printing in Baltimore and had them conveyed to Detroit. It is not probable that he retained the ownership of this property very long, although it is very certain that he was, in some way, deeply interested in it for years. If he retained ownership, he leased its possession to James M. Miller. The latter had come to Detroit from New York State and later returned there and died at Ithaca in 1838.

There were a number of small articles, such as tax receipts and blanks of that nature, printed immediately upon the arrival of the press, but the first thing of importance to be printed was "The Child's Spelling Book, or Michigan Instructor." This was a small speller containing twelve pages and was issued August 1, 1809. "The Michigan Essay, or Impartial Observer" was issued August 31, 1809. Only one issue of this paper has ever been found and it is not known for certain whether there were any other issues. From this time forward various books were printed on this press, mostly of a religious character, and nearly all of the Catholic faith and in the French language. A. Coxshawe had charge of the press in 1811 and 1812. During the War of 1812 several proclamations and the capitulation of Governor Hull were printed on it. The Cass Code, issued in 1816, was printed by Theophilus Mettez, who was in charge of the press and had been for some time, although he was uneducated and unable to sign his own name: legal documents executed by him were signed with a cross.

"The Michigan Essay, or Impartial Observer," as stated before, was the first newspaper ever issued in Detroit. But one number of this paper has ever been found and it was designated as Volume I, Number 1, and was printed and published by James M. Miller. It was dated August 31, 1809, was 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 16 inches in size, of four pages, each of which contained four columns of matter. Silas Farmer, who discovered a copy of the paper in Worcester, Massachusetts, wrote as follows regarding the make-up:

"The title is not in French, and instead of being printed mainly in that language, but one and a half columns out of the sixteen are in French—not one-tenth of the paper. The make-up consists of articles from the London Morning Chronicle, Liverpool Aurora, New York Spectator, Pittsburgh Commonwealth, Boston Mirror, and items credited to Baltimore and Dutch papers. There are also extracts from Young's 'Night Thoughts' and from Ossian; three short poems on Evening, Happiness, and Futurity; a communication on Manufacturers, and short prose articles on Politeness, Early Rising, and Husbandry. The information from Europe is from four to five months old, and that from various parts of the United States was new from four to six weeks before its publication in the Essay. There are no local items of any sort whatever, and of course no telegraphic or market news, and but one advertisement—that of St. Anne's School. In the only article at all of the nature of an editorial, 'the public are respectfully informed that the Essay will be conducted with the utmost impartiality; that it will not espouse any political party, but fairly and candidly communicate whatever may be deemed worthy of information, whether foreign, domestic or local'; and 'gentlemen of talents are invited to contribute to our columns whatever they suppose will be acceptable and bene-

ficial to the public, yet always remembering that nothing of a controversial nature will be admissable'."

The price of the "Essay" was advertised to be "\$5 a year to city subscribers, \$4.50 by mail to residents of Upper Canada and Michigan, and \$4 to more distant subscribers." Advertisements were quoted at fifty cents for the first insertion and thereafter twenty-five cents for each insertion, for a stipulated amount of space.

It is probable that just one, and not more than three, issues of this paper were ever published. No record has ever been found to contradict this.

THE DETROIT GAZETTE

Probably the first among the more important publications in the newspaper field of Detroit, but which are now defunct, was the "Detroit Gazette." This paper was started by John P. Sheldon, who formed a partnership with Ebenezer Reed known as Sheldon & Reed, at the suggestion of Lewis Cass. The first number of the "Gazette" was issued July 25, 1817. The sheet was democratic in color. The print measured 9½ by 16½ inches, with a four column make-up, and the type used was very poor, evidently of second-hand nature. The body of the paper was printed in English, with a reproduction of a few of the more important articles in French upon the back page. The paper was first printed in the old Seek House, near Wayne Street, then described as being "on Attwater Street, a few rods above the public wharf." The way of the early newspaper in Detroit was surely an uncertain one. The "Gazette" had more than its share of troubles. An editorial of July 14, 1820, stated:

"We have in the City of Detroit 82 subscribers; at River Raisin, 17; in other parts of the Territory, 19; total, 118 subscribers in Michigan Territory; 2 subscribers in Upper Canada, and 32 in different parts of the Union. Total subscribers, 152. Not one of the advertisements have been paid for, and only 90 subscribers have paid for the paper."

That this lamentable condition was not corrected is shown by a subsequent editorial, October 1, 1829:

"Our subscription list in Michigan bears no proportion to the number of subscribers we have in other states. Foreign subscribers pay in advance, while those in Michigan pay or never pay, as it may chance to suit their fancy. Sometimes we get a pig or a load of pumpkins from them, and once in a great while there is a man of mettle who pays cash for his paper."

The price of the paper was reduced from \$4 to \$3 for city subscribers, in an effort to bring in the delinquents. In July, 1828, the "Gazette" was leased to H. L. Ball for a term of nine years, but Sheldon continued in his place as editor. Sheldon was a fearless editor and did not hesitate to speak his mind through his editorial columns. There arose, in 1829, a case in which he chastised the Supreme Court, which is one of the most interesting stories of early Detroit journalism. One John Reed was brought to trial in the Wayne County Circuit Court on the charge of larceny. Reed made a peremptory challenge against an objectionable juror and caused him to be removed. Nevertheless he was convicted. Then, in January, 1829, the Supreme Court granted him a new trial upon a technicality resulting from this challenge. The editor of the "Gazette" immediately began a series of articles in criticism of the action of the Supreme Court, with the result that he was arrested and fined \$100 for

contempt of court. Edmund A. Brush and Eurotas P. Hastings offered to pay his fine, but Sheldon declined and was locked up.

On the same day Sheldon was committed to jail, March 5th, a public "indignation meeting" was held at the old Mansion House, on Jefferson Avenue near Cass. Resolutions condemning the arrest of Sheldon were passed and a committee was appointed to collect funds to pay the fine, the amount from each person not to be over 12½ cents. Detroit citizens hastened to prepare some sort of testimonial to their heroic editor and a public dinner, to be held at the jail on the site of the present down town library, was planned. On May 7, 1829, nearly three hundred persons filled the jail and the banquet was attended by speeches, songs and cheers.

For nine days Sheldon remained imprisoned, during which time he composed several articles for his paper on the Wayne County jail. On the 14th of March he was escorted from the jail to the Mansion House and, after luncheon, left for his Oakland County home. On April 23d following he resigned from the editorial management of the "Gazette" and was succeeded by Ebenezer Reed.

The last number of the "Gazette" appeared April 22, 1830, and was followed four days later by a fire which destroyed the entire plant. A printer named Ulysses G. Smith was imprisoned for having committed the offense. Promises of renewing the paper were made, but were never kept, and so passed the first serious newspaper venture in Detroit.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS OF AN EARLY DAY

"The Michigan Herald," of whig tendencies, was published by Henry Chipman and Joseph Seymour as a weekly. The first number was issued May 10, 1825, and the last April 30, 1829.

"The Herald of Literature and Science," a small quarto monthly, was first issued May 14, 1831, by the Detroit Debating Society and continued for three or four numbers.

"The Michigan State Register," a semi-monthly publication, of historical nature, was first issued July 1, 1836, by G. L. Whitney and George Corselius. The last known issue was No. 13 of February 1, 1837.

"The Detroit Evening Spectator and Literary Gazette" was published by B. Kingsbury and G. P. Burnham, two Boston men, and printed by G. L. Whitney. The first number was issued October 20, 1836, and the last in the late spring of 1838.

"The Spy in Michigan," a weekly whig paper, was published by Morgan Bates, edited by E. M. McGraw, and printed by Harsha & Bates. The first number came out June 12, 1837, and ran continuously until November 13, 1838, when it was abandoned for a time. In 1839 it was revived and published for about a year before it finally expired.

"The Detroit Morning Post," which might have been styled an intermittent daily, was established by the firm of Kingsbury & Burnham, and the first issue was sold on the streets of Detroit in July, 1837. In 1838 J. M. Berger was the proprietor of the paper and B. Kingsbury, Jr., editor. In December of this year, G. R. Griswold became editor and proprietor and associated with him was Kingsbury. In January, 1839, the paper was consolidated with "The Craftsman of Michigan," which latter publication had been started in May, 1838, by E. J. Roberts as a weekly. The consolidated paper was called "The Morning Post and Craftsman," and was issued by Kingsbury & Roberts until

June, 1839, when the name was changed to "The Evening Post and Craftsman." In the autumn of 1839 it suspended for about two months and was afterwards revived and published for an interval in 1840.

"The Michigan Observer" was first issued June 17, 1837, under the editorial management of Rev. Warren Isham. It was a weekly publication, devoted to religious and kindred topics. It was discontinued after the issue of June 22, 1839.

"The Day Book," a daily penny sheet, was published by William Harsha in 1838. Only a few numbers were ever issued.

"The Michigan Agriculturist," under the editorial management of H. H. Snelling, was first issued in October or November, 1838, and was continued until January 8, 1839.

"The Mirror of the Lakes" was the ornate title of a literary and society paper published by H. H. Snelling for a time in 1839.

Another of the ephemeral publications of the day was "The Spirit of '76" or "Theller's Daily Republican Advocate." This was both a daily and weekly publication, first issued August 17, 1839. H. H. Snelling was the publisher and Dr. E. A. Theller was the editor. This paper was devoted to the cause of the patriots and the editor was at one time imprisoned during the Patriot war. In the autumn of 1840 the publication of the sheet was abandoned.

"The Washingtonian," organ of the State Temperance Society, was originally published at Jackson, then at Marshall, and finally at Detroit. The first issue in Detroit was dated March 12, 1842. It survived about one year.

An antislavery sheet, called "The Detroit Times," was published from May to November, 1842, by Warren Isham.

"The Constitutional Democrat" was first issued on May 25, 1842, as a semi-weekly by Currier, Briggs & Company, with E. D. Ellis as editor. After October 1, 1842, it was issued but once each week and in 1844 it was changed to a daily. This paper was merged with "The American Citizen" in 1845, which latter paper had been a weekly, devoted to the free-soilers. The merged publications continued until the late spring of 1847.

"The Detroit Daily Gazette" was first issued December 19, 1842, by Sheldon McKnight, who also published a weekly edition. This sheet existed about three years.

"The American Vineyard," a temperance and anti-Catholic publication, issued by E. McDonald, ran from September, 1843, until May 19, 1848.

"The Detroit Daily News" was first published July 7, 1845, by M. P. Christian, C. A. Hedges, E. M. Geiger, J. Campbell, and D. H. Solis. This was considered the best daily newspaper of Detroit up to that time, insofar as quality of news and make-up was concerned.

"The Western Excelsior," in the interest of the colored population of the city, was first published March 29, 1848.

One of the most elaborate publications of early Detroit was "Wellman's Literary Miscellany," established by J. K. Wellman. The first number was issued in July, 1849, with D. F. Quinby as editor. It was an octavo of forty-eight pages and within a comparatively short time the subscription list had reached six thousand. In February, 1851, the publication was sold to Luther Beecher and D. F. Quinby and its name changed to "The Monthly Literary Miscellany." In July, 1852, Beecher sold his interest to H. S. Sparks and a Mr. Russell and later A. G. Wood came into the company. In January, 1853,

the name was again changed to "The Western Literary Miscellany," and a few months later Quinby bought out his three partners and in turn sold, on August 20, 1853, to Mrs. E. M. Sheldon. Again the name was altered to "The Western Literary Cabinet." The last number of the magazine was issued in August, 1854.

"The Detroit Daily Herald," John N. Ingersoll and W. T. Young, proprietors, existed from November 26, 1849, until December 6, 1850.

"The Monthly Hesperian and Odd Fellows' Literary Magazine" appeared in January, 1850, and was published by John N. Ingersoll and Henry Barns. The firm of Moulton, Craw & Company was afterward the publishers and during the last year of the three years' life of the paper the title was "The Monthly Hesperian and American Literary Magazine."

"The Peninsular Fountain," a temperance publication, was first published May 17, 1851, with Henry C. Knight, editor. Its life lasted about a year.

"The Northwestern Musical Herald," under Alex. McFarren, publisher, and Charles Hess, editor, appeared in May, 1851, for a brief existence.

"The Detroit Commercial Bulletin," George W. Pattison, editor, a revival of an old publication, died with the burning of the Cooper building April 16, 1852, having been on the boards about two years at the time.

"The Detroit Catholic Vindicator," edited by Thomas R. Elliott and published by Daniel O'Hara, had its start April 30, 1853. In January, 1860, it was merged with the "Detroit Guardian," a Catholic weekly, which continued for about five months under T. C. Fitzgibbons.

"The Detroit Daily Times," the second paper of the name in Detroit, was published by G. S. Conklin and E. T. Sherlock, with John N. Ingersoll as editor. The first number appeared under date of May, 1853. It was purchased by Ingersoll & Tenny in November, 1854, and sold in December, 1855, to an association of journeymen printers, who continued its publication until the following spring.

"The Michigan Journal of Education and Teachers' Magazine" was established with the number of January, 1854, and was published by G. E. Pomeroy and Company, and edited by E. O. Haven, who afterward became a notable educator. For a number of years this paper was published at Ann Arbor, under several different editors, but was finally removed to Detroit again and here expired about 1860.

"The Ashlar," a monthly devoted to Masonry, was first printed in September, 1854, by Allyn Weston, and continued for several years.

"The Daily Evening News," the second paper in Detroit to bear that title, was first issued March 19, 1856, by the Franklin Printing Association, which was composed of William S. Bond, Charles S. Stevenson, Charles Miller, O. S. Burdick, Franklin D. Ross, and Henry Metz. Notwithstanding the fact that the subscription list mounted to 5,000, trouble arose among the managers and after about three months the sheet was discontinued.

"The Fireman's Journal," a weekly, first issued in September, 1856, by George W. Pattison, was in existence as late as 1861.

"Preston's United States Bank Note Reporter," made its first appearance December 4, 1856, with David Preston as proprietor. It was published semi-monthly for about five years, then monthly until December, 1865, when it disappeared.

"Brown's Reporter," by John Brown, then by J. H. Kaple & Company, lived from 1857 until 1859.

"The Magazine of Travel" was published from January, 1857, to 1858 by Warren and Warren P. Isham.

"The Young Mens' Journal and Advocate of Temperance" was published in September, 1859, by Green & Brown. It survived about two years, then gave place to "The Transcript," a temperance paper published by S. D. Green.

"The Detroit Herald," weekly, came in about 1859 under the editorship of Cornelius O'Flynn and Dr. Alvord. It was discontinued in 1861.

"The Spirit of the Week," a military and sporting paper, Frederick Speed, editor, was first issued March 17, 1860.

"The Michigan Democrat" was published by John S. Bagg in 1860, but lived only a few months.

"The People's Press," a workingman's paper, published by S. J. Martin, was issued from December, 1860, until April, 1861. Thomas C. Fitzgibbons was editor.

"The True Democrat" was printed in the office of George W. Pattison as a campaign paper in the fall of 1863.

"Froth," an illustrated comic weekly, was first printed, or lithographed, December 12, 1864, by a number of men connected with the Detroit & Milwaukee Railroad. It was discontinued in November, 1865.

"The Detroit Journal of Commerce," weekly, established in 1865 by Thomas K. Miller, was merged in 1871 with "The Daily Sun," which latter paper was first issued October 2, 1864, and continued until 1876.

"The Peninsular Herald" was first issued at Romeo, Michigan, in June, 1864. It was afterward moved to Detroit, where it made its first appearance October 24, 1866. It was published and edited by Rev. John Russell and C. P. Russell. With several other owners it continued until February 1, 1872, when the name was changed to "The New World." It was finally abandoned July 3, 1873.

"The Detroit Price Current" was a small weekly issued during 1866 and 1867.

"The Detroit Monitor," a daily evening paper, published by Joseph Warren, was first issued June 1, 1867, and lasted four months.

"The Mechanic and Inventor" was first issued September 23, 1867, as the official paper of the Mechanics' and Inventors' Association. In December, 1874, it was merged with "The Scientific Manufacturer," a paper established by R. A. Sprague in September, 1873. After the merger of the two papers, the publication was called "The Scientific Manufacturer and Patent Intelligencer." In the autumn of 1874 it was merged in turn with "The Journal of Commerce," the second paper of the name, established in 1874, and in April, 1876, the last-named paper was consolidated with "The Sunday Times." In February, 1877, this sheet was discontinued.

"The Odd Fellows' Wreath," first published at Mason, was first issued in Detroit September 1, 1868, by D. B. Harrington. In August, 1869, it was moved to Chicago and called "The Western Odd Fellow."

"Our Yankee Land," monthly, ran from January, 1872, until October, 1873.

"The Mystic Star," a Masonic monthly, edited by Rev. John M. Arnold, was published in 1872 and part of the following year, then moved to Chicago.

"The Boy of the Period," a small monthly, began November, 1872, and finished in August, 1876.

"The Better Age," a temperance sheet, was published by J. Russell & Son on December 6, 1873. In the following October it was moved to Chicago.

"The Detroit Weekly Price Current," William R. Millard, manager, was first published in December, 1875, and discontinued in November, 1882.

"The Little People," by Johnstone & Gibbons, was published during the year 1875.

"Truth for the People," a weekly, was started January 1, 1875, by Mrs. M. J. E. Millar. On August 1, 1879, its name was changed to "The Michigan Truth Teller," but it failed to survive longer than 1880.

"The Capitol," one of the first high school publications, was issued in 1876 and 1877.

An interesting newspaper venture which was the result of a strike among the compositors of the "Evening News" was the publication of "The Evening Star" from September 23d to October 7, 1876.

"The Traveler's Illustrated Official Railway Reporter" was first issued in October, 1876, by the Western Railway Advertising Company. Two numbers only were put forth.

"The Detroit Daily Hotel Reporter and Railway Guide," the initial number of which was issued March 17, 1877, by William J. H. Traynor, was discontinued in the fall of 1885.

"The Marine Record" was a short-lived paper in 1877.

"The American Workman," "Rose's Nose," "The Red and White Ribbon" and "The Western Era" were other short-lived publications of 1877 and 1878.

"The Detroit National," the state organ of the greenback party, was issued for a year from February 28, 1878, by H. A. Griffin, then was merged with "Every Saturday."

"The Detroit Society News," the first publication of this nature in Detroit, was edited by Rev. Eugene D. Daniels. It was a weekly publication and continued from December 14, 1878, to March, 1880, when it was sold and re-established as "Every Saturday" by Moore & Parker. Subsequent owners were William H. Brearley, H. A. Ford and Miss Alice Cary. This paper, which was devoted to literary and society topics, was discontinued August 8, 1885.

"The Michigan Weekly Sun" was published here from January to October, 1879, by Horatio N. Mather, then moved to Jackson, Michigan.

"The Socialist," weekly, owned by the Detroit section of the socialist labor party, was issued from October 13, 1877, until June 8, 1878, then merged with "The National Socialist" of Cincinnati. Judson Grenell was the editor.

"The Michigan Homestead" made its appearance November 14, 1878, and in September, 1880, was merged with "The Agricultural World" of Grand Rapids.

"The Popular Era," a paper for the colored people, was first published by Albert Swain on May 31, 1879, but lived only until the following November.

"Moore's Masonic Messenger" was a monthly published by Charles Moore, beginning in October, 1879. It was discontinued in March, 1881, on account of Mr. Moore's death.

"Public Spirit," an illustrated weekly, was issued by L. A. Rose and Pat Reilly from July 12th to October 4, 1879, and then by William J. H. Traynor as "The Detroit Graphic." It was discontinued in February, 1881.

"The Sunday Herald" was first issued November 9, 1879, by J. F. Burnham. It was a weekly society paper. In June, 1881, the owner bought "The Detroit

Times," which had been established in April, 1881. The "Herald," however, was discontinued November 20, 1881.

"Chaff," also a society paper, was first issued March 26, 1881, by D. J. McDonald and Lloyd Brezee. It was discontinued November 15, 1885.

"The Lever," a temperance weekly, first published at Grand Rapids, was first issued at Detroit in August, 1880. The last number here was dated March 16, 1883, and then the paper was moved to Chicago.

"Detroit Illustrated," a monthly quarto, published by Wesson & Wood, ran from September, 1880, until December, 1881.

"The Daily Mail" ran for thirty-five numbers after July 24, 1879.

"The Northwestern Review," a literary monthly, was published from January, 1880, until sometime in 1882.

"The Labor Review," monthly, published by Joseph A. Labadie, Judson Grenell, and Henry Pool, ran from January to July, 1880. It was revived in August, 1881, by Henry Pool as a semi-monthly, and continued until March, 1882.

"Our Catholic Youth," an illustrated monthly, by John C. Lappan, began in August, 1880, and ended in February, 1882.

"The Detroit Unionist," semi-monthly, first came out March 10, 1882, and ceased March 28, 1883.

"The Evening Telegram," daily, by Rich & Son, lasted from August 8th. to October 23, 1882. It was continued as "The Detroit Daily Times" from October 24, 1882, to January 31, 1883.

"The Western Land Guide," monthly, was inaugurated in May, 1883, by Willcox & Howell. It was discontinued in the fall of 1886.

"The National People," an organ for colored people, published by W. A. Sweeney, was first issued in April and discontinued in July, 1883.

"The Detroit Times," a morning daily, was first issued December 4, 1883, at 47 Larned Street, West, and was conducted by a stock company. Charles Moore, Charles M. Parker, D. J. McDonald and Frank E. Robinson were managers. Fire completely destroyed the plant on the morning of April 11, 1884, but with the assistance of the other Detroit printing establishments, the edition came out as usual. It was sold to Lloyd Brezee November 22, 1884, but the paper was suspended with the issue of February 26, 1885.

"THE DETROIT TRIBUNE"

The history of this important paper in Detroit is a record of many consolidations. The first paper which may be called the ancestor of the "Tribune" was "The Northwestern Journal," which was published first by George L. Whitney on November 20, 1829. It was a weekly, edited by William Ward, and established by the political friends of John Quincy Adams. At the close of its first year of existence the name was changed to "The Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser," the first issue of which under the new title came out November 24, 1830, and thereafter on Wednesdays, published by George L. Whitney. In 1831 Mr. Ward was succeeded as editor by H. W. Bellows, later a well-known Unitarian minister. Charles Cleland and Thomas Rowland were editors before 1833. On March 1, 1833, the paper was called "The Detroit Journal" and issued as a five-column semi-weekly. George Watson and George Corselius were editors of this sheet after Rowland left in September, 1834. On August 28, 1835, the paper was made a tri-weekly.



**DETROIT DAILY POST BUILDING, NORTHEAST
CORNER LARNED AND SHELBY**



RUINS OF THE DETROIT TRIBUNE BUILDING, APRIL, 1873

The first paper merged with "The Detroit Journal" was "The Detroit Courier." The latter publication had been established by Stephen Wells on December 23, 1830, as a literary and religious newspaper. It was edited by George Brewster and issued every Thursday. William Ward, Franklin Sawyer, Jr., Wells & Ladd, Charles Cleland, Thomas M. Ladd & Company were associated editorially or managerially with the "Courier" during its span of life, which was one of frequent trouble. The last number of the paper appeared January 14, 1835, and thereafter it was a part of the "Journal," the consolidated papers having been published under the title of "The Detroit Journal and Courier." The first number appeared January 21, 1835. In the following month a semi-weekly edition, known as "The Journal and Advertiser," was established, and in August a tri-weekly edition was inaugurated.

The need of a daily issue, in order to keep pace with the times, soon became evident. Accordingly, on June 11, 1836, the first number of the "Detroit Daily Advertiser," by George L. Whitney, appeared. Subsequent owners and proprietors of this paper until 1842 were F. A. Harding, Franklin Sawyer, Jr., Augustus S. Porter, George Dawson, Morgan Bates, Gen. A. S. Williams. The plant of the "Advertiser" was destroyed by fire on January 1, 1842, at which time the location was in the third story of a building at the southwest corner of Woodward and Jefferson avenues. The regular edition was interrupted only three days, however.

The next paper taken in by the "Advertiser" was the "Daily Express," which had been first issued as an evening paper on June 2, 1845, by the firm of Smith & Gulley. Thereafter it was published for about six months, or until November 29, 1845, when the business was sold out to the "Advertiser." General Williams remained as editor of the latter publication until 1848, when N. I. Rawson, H. H. Duncklee and George W. Wisner became the proprietors. Before 1855 Rufus Hosmer, E. A. Wales, Allyn Weston and Mortimer M. Thompson were associated with the paper as editors or proprietors.

On June 30, 1855, four more newspapers were consolidated with the "Advertiser." These were: the "Free Democrat," "Michigan Organ of Temperance," "The Michigan Temperance Advocate" and "The Daily Enquirer." The "Free Democrat" had been established in the fall of 1852 by Rev. S. A. Baker. "The Michigan Organ of Temperance" was started May 12, 1852, and in 1853 was consolidated with "The Michigan Temperance Advocate," which had been established in December, 1852. Both the latter papers were merged with "The Free Democrat" prior to the merger with the "Advertiser." "The Free Democrat" was consolidated with "The Daily Enquirer" on February 5, 1855. The latter newspaper had been established January 18, 1854, with Rufus Hosmer, editor, and after the consolidation was called "The Democrat and Enquirer." Four months after its first issue, or, on June 30, 1855, it was consolidated with "The Advertiser," which was given the stamp of republicanism under the editorship of Rufus Hosmer. This paper was issued an evening daily until November 19, 1855, during which time a weekly, "The Michigan Free Democrat," was also published. Silas M. Holmes, Frederick Morley, James E. Scripps and Martin Geiger were proprietors afterward until July 8, 1862, when "The Advertiser" was consolidated with "The Detroit Daily Tribune," the latter a whig paper established as a weekly October 23, 1849, under the management of Josiah Snow and Henry Barns and financed by Thomas C. Miller.

During its existence "The Advertiser" had many locations. First located on the southeast corner of Woodward and Jefferson, it was later moved to the southwest corner, where the plant was destroyed by fire, as mentioned before. Then it was moved to the Sheldon Block, then back to the original location on Woodward and Jefferson, then to 226 Jefferson Avenue. In the autumn of 1852 E. A. Wales erected a special building for the paper at 212 Jefferson.

"The Tribune" soon absorbed the "Peninsular Freeman," a free soil paper which had first been issued in the fall of 1848 by Robert McBratney and J. D. Liggett. "The Tribune" changed hands first in July, 1851, when Henry Barns and Benjamin G. Stimson became owners, and thereafter, or until the consolidation with the "Advertiser," George E. Pomeroy, B. Wight, Joseph Warren, Thomas C. Miller, James F. Conover, Joseph French and Francis B. Way were identified with the sheet. The "Tribune" was afflicted with fires, the nemesis of the early newspaper plant. The office on the northeast corner of Woodward and Woodbridge was burned May 18, 1856, and on December 31, 1858, it was again consumed by fire. Then the paper was printed at the "Advertiser" office until removed to Shelby Street just north of Jefferson on the east side.

After the consolidation with "The Advertiser," the "Tribune" took the name of "The Advertiser and Tribune" and was published at the "Advertiser" office on Jefferson Avenue. The management of the new paper was vested in a corporation, headed by Henry Barns and James E. Scripps and a board of five directors. In January, 1864, the company bought "The Detroit Free Union," a semi-monthly which had been started July 18, 1863, by Frederick B. Porter. Eber B. Ward, James E. Scripps, Hiram Walker, Edward C. Walker, James F. Conover, Charles K. Backus, William M. Carleton and H. E. Baker were associated with "The Advertiser and Tribune" either as proprietors or editors until 1877. In 1870 the paper was published from a building erected for the purpose on West Larned Street and in July, 1872, the first Hoe four-cylinder type-revolving press in the state was installed.

"The Advertiser and Tribune" was consolidated with "The Detroit Daily Post" in the year 1877. The last-named newspaper began publication March 27, 1866, as an eight-page daily. The paper was republican in color and was established by a stock company, of which Zachariah Chandler and Eber B. Ward were leaders. "Zach" Chandler was really the moving spirit behind the establishment of the "Detroit Daily Post," as he desired to start some opposition to the old republican "Tribune" which had tried to dynamite his political ambitions. Carl Schurz was editor for a time, followed by Frederick Morley. From January, 1876, until its consolidation with "The Advertiser and Tribune," the "Post" was edited by William Stocking.

The first number of the consolidated papers was issued October 14, 1877, and bore the title of "The Post and Tribune." A paper called "The Evening Telegraph" was issued by the same company for a little over a year. "The Post and Tribune" was sold to a stock company March 1, 1881, and a few weeks later William Stocking became managing editor of the paper, which position he retained until 1883, when Frederick Morley became the manager of both the business and editorial departments. On August 1, 1884, the publication was taken over by Joseph L. Stickney and on the same date the unwieldy title was shortened to "The Daily Post." In 1885 the paper again changed hands and Charles A. Nimocks became proprietor. Again on August 1, 1886, James H.

Stone received the management, acting for the interests of influential republican party leaders. On January 1, 1891, the "Tribune" was sold to James E. Scripps, and the ownership was then unchanged until its merger with the "Detroit News" on February 1, 1915.

"The Commercial Advertiser and Michigan Home Journal" was founded in 1861 by Charles F. Clark as a weekly publication under the title of "The Commercial Advertiser." The paper became the property of William H. Burk in 1863 and in the autumn of 1866 the first named title was adopted. This publication continued to be issued in Detroit until 1905, when it dropped out of sight.

"The Agricultural and Horticultural Journal" was established by the firm of Pope & Coleman January 1, 1869, with R. A. Koss as editor, and continued to be published until 1887.

"The Progress of the Age," a semi-weekly, was established in January, 1872 by Pope & Coleman and continued until about 1894. In 1887 the name was Germanized to "Fortshritt der Zeit."

"The Public Leader," devoted to the interests of wine, beer and liquor merchants, was started May 19, 1874, by a stock company and was published until about 1905.

"The Family Circle," by Pope & Coleman, a weekly first issued in January, 1878, had expired by the year 1887.

"The Michigan A. O. U. W. Herald," organ of the Ancient Order of United Workmen, was first issued in May, 1878, and lasted until about 1905.

"The Family Herald," a weekly story paper, published first by William J. H. Traynor May 7, 1881, continued until 1886.

"The Detroit Plaindealer," a weekly in the interests of the colored population, was first published May 16, 1883, by Jacob Coleman, Robert and Benjamin Pelham, R. Redman and W. Stone. This paper, which was republican in politics, continued until about 1895.

"The Center" was a weekly temperance paper, the successor of "The Michigan Prohibitionist," which was first issued August 28, 1884. The name was changed to "The Center" April 25, 1885, when Rev. Frank B. Cressey purchased the paper from a stock company. The paper was published until the early '90s.

"The Microscope," monthly journal, established in January, 1881, was first published at Ann Arbor, then in 1887 removed to Detroit, where it was issued until about 1893.

"The Detroit Trade Journal," later known as the "Detroit Trade Journal and Michigan Courier," was started by G. W. Halford on May 20, 1884, and lasted for about ten years.

"The Lamp of Life," monthly, was first issued in 1882 at Bay City by Rev. J. S. Smart, afterward moved to Albion, then to Detroit, where it continued as a magazine of "experimental religion" until about ten years later.

"The Labor Leaf" was first issued by the Detroit Typographical Union November 1, 1884, as a campaign paper, with Charles S. Bell as manager. In March, 1885, John R. Burton became owner. He improved the paper and in February, 1887, sold it to J. M. McGregor. On February 19th of the same year the title was changed to "The Advance and Labor Leaf," but the publication lived but a short time afterward.

"The Freemason," a weekly paper for the Masonic craft, was first published

November 15, 1884, and issued by Latour Brothers. This sheet survived until the early '90s.

"The Index" or "The Detroit Index," a weekly sheet, was published for the first time November 15, 1877, by T. J. Crowe and had a life of something over fifteen years.

"The American Meteorological Journal" was established in May, 1884, as a monthly by the W. H. Burr Publishing Company, with quarters in Mechanics' Hall. This journal was out by 1887, however.

On January 1, 1871, there was first published a paper called "The Song Journal" by C. J. Whitney & Company. It suspended in April, 1877.

In the year 1885 there was established, or reestablished, in Detroit, "The Song Journal," devoted to topics relative to music and literature, and published monthly. About 1895 "The Song Journal" was succeeded by "The Concert-Goer," a publication which did not depart definitely from the style of the former. It was then being issued by Wilcox & Haigh and edited by J. C. Wilcox. By 1905, however, "The Concert-Goer" had been discontinued.

"The Detroit Daily Hotel Reporter" was issued for a few years in 1887.

"Detroit Every Saturday," a social, sporting and dramatic weekly, was established in 1879. Charles W. Irving was managing editor. This publication lived only about eight years.

"The Detroit Trade Journal," G. W. Halford, editor, a weekly issue, suspended publication about 1893.

"The International Printer," monthly, was started in June, 1885, by A. M. Dewey & Company, but survived scarcely two years.

"The Detroit Commercial" and "The Dilettant," publications of widely different intent, were, however, of similar destiny—an early demise about 1886.

"The Michigan Builder," a weekly under the management of W. C. Cunningham, existed from 1885 until 1888.

"The Detroit Mercury," a weekly society paper, Charles Maxwell Parker, editor, was published for about three years in the middle '80s.

"The Michigan Horticulturist," under the editorship of Charles W. Garfield, began about 1884 and existed until 1886.

In the middle '80s there began a publication called the "National Benefactor," issued in the interest of inventors and manufacturers. It continued publication for about ten years.

"The River Gazette," a weekly by Louis Hawekotte, and issued for the passengers on steamboats and railroad trains, had a short life from 1885 until 1887.

"The American Dollar Monthly," a household publication published by the firm of Hess & Newkirk, was here from 1885 until 1887.

"The American Stove and Hardware," monthly, with J. E. Turner, had a brief existence during the '80s, as did the "Commercial Reporter," a daily edited by W. P. Rogers.

"The International Masonic Review," monthly under the editorship of C. C. Burt, came in about 1886 and went out in the early '90s.

From May 22, 1887, until about 1893 there was published "The Sunday World," a weekly, under the management of F. S. Crowfoot.

"The Detroit Dash," issued by the Western Newspaper Union in the interests of the newspaper fraternity, was begun in 1887 and was published for about ten years.

"The Northside Notion," a weekly newspaper for the northern part of the city, was established August 20, 1886, by J. H. Junkin and lasted until 1893.

In June, 1885, there was established "The Sunday Sun," which was published for some seven or eight years under the proprietorship of David Pryse Mackay. Ten editions were published between Thursday and Sunday of each week.

"The Argus" was published monthly by the Argonaut Literary Society from 1888 until 1893.

Beginning in 1888, the "Detroit Globe" was published for a few years.

"The Detroit Visitor and Michigan Hotel Reporter," a weekly published by the firm of Sullivan & Spratt, was issued from 1889 until 1893.

"Golden Dawn," a literary weekly, and "Marine News," were in existence from 1888 until 1893.

"The Building, Savings and Loan Review" was established in May, 1890, and continued publication for four years approximately.

"Detroit Family Gleaner," semi-monthly, was in existence in 1889 and probably continued for a few years.

"The Journal of the Brotherhood of Machinery Moulders," a labor paper, was established January 1, 1888, and was issued for about five years.

"Patriotic American," an independent publication, W. J. H. Traynor, editor, came in in 1889 and lasted a few years.

"The Business Man's Magazine and Bookkeeper" was started in the year 1888. "The Bookkeeper" was the title of an issue beginning in 1889. In 1906 the title is again listed as "The Business Man's Magazine and Bookkeeper" and two years later it again reverts to "The Bookkeeper." "The Bookkeeper and Home Study" is the title of a publication established in 1900. A newspaper directory of the day lists "The Business Man's Magazine" as having started in 1888. By 1912, however, all of the magazines of this name had disappeared.

"The Sower," a weekly, nationalist and independent, was begun October 1, 1888, and was published for about six years.

"The Visitor's Gazette," started in 1885, passed out shortly after 1900.

"The Collector," afterward called "The Collector and Commercial Lawyer," was established in 1890 and was issued until 1905.

The "Evening Sun," a democratic paper, was established in March, 1890, with David P. Mackay as editor and publisher. This paper was discontinued prior to 1894.

"Once a Week," P. F. Collier, publisher, was inaugurated about 1890 and continued as a Detroit publication for about eight years.

"The Quarterly Register of the Current History," issued by the Evening News Association, lived for a few years in the early '90s, then was removed to Buffalo.

"Rope and Rubber" was the name of a publication of the Bookkeeper Publishing Company, which was issued for about four years beginning in 1890.

"The Saturday Night," with A. E. Meigs as editor, ran from 1890 until 1897.

By the year 1892 quite a number of new publications had been established in Detroit. Chief among these were: "The American Horse Monthly," "American Pharmacist," "The American Tyler," "Detroit Times," "Fraternal Gazette," "The International," "The Lookout," "Michigan Philatelist," "The

Sodalist," "American Horseman and Farmer," all of which were published from two to fifteen years afterward.

"The Collector and Commercial Lawyer," afterward known as "The Collector," came in about 1893 and was published until about 1905.

By 1894 such publications as "Detroit Critic," "Detroit National Independent," "The Foundry," "The Jury," "National Liquor Journal," "Once A Month," "Patriotic American," "Red Cross Gazette," "Town Topics," "Wayne County Recorder," and "People" had come into existence at Detroit and were published for a varying number of years.

"Trade," an independent weekly journal, devoted to the interests of the retail general merchants of Michigan, Ohio and northern Indiana, was established in 1894. In 1897 the paper was published by the Trade Journal Association and the name of "Trade" given. Previous to this time it had been called the "Herald of Commerce" and was issued by the Evening News Association. It was continued until about ten years later.

"The American Land and Title Register," "Board of Trade Market Report," "The Detroit Press," "Michigan Fancier," "Truth," "The Budget" and "The Sporting Record" were publications, now all defunct, which had been established by January 1, 1895.

"Justice," a weekly devoted to the single tax question and direct legislation and published by the Single Tax Association of Detroit, was started in 1895 and continued until 1905.

In 1896 the "Board of Trade Market Report" was succeeded by the "Detroit Daily Market Report."

A publication entitled "Cycling and Outing" made its appearance about 1898 and continued for some six or seven years. In 1899 and 1900 a number of new publications were started at Detroit, among them being: "The Bankers' Review," out by 1906; "Detroit Republican," which lasted from March, 1900, to 1906, and was published for the colored people of the city; the "Michigan Sentinel," a democratic family monthly, which was issued for five years; the "National Bankruptcy News and Reports," short-lived; "The Preacher Magazine," "Pure Food Era" and "State Affairs." "Phonometer," a magazine started in 1897 by George Andrew Lewis, was for those interested in the correction of stammering. "The Detroit Informer," issued for the colored population of Detroit, was established in 1897.

"The Headlight," a monthly, issued by the Railroad Y. M. C. A. of West Detroit, was started about 1902 and continued until 1911. "Home Study," a monthly bookkeeping magazine, began in 1900 and survived until about 1911. "Michigan Degree of Honor Herald," published under the auspices of the A. O. U. W. lasted from 1901 until 1911. "The Wage Worker" and "Wayside Tales" were magazines of short life during the early years of this century. "The American Press," "The Animarian" and the "Association Mail," the latter a Y. M. C. A. publication, had a like fate. "Our Commonwealth," a weekly in support of the single tax issue, was started in 1897, but continued only a few years. "Sail and Sweep" was established in 1902 and had a brief life. "The Twentieth Century Review" was begun as a monthly in 1901 and was issued only a few years.

"Civic News," "Detroit Realty Journal," "Electrocraft," "Gas Engine Age" and "Motor Talk" were publications begun in 1905, all of which have now passed out of existence.



FREE PRESS BUILDING

"Capital," a weekly journal of finance, was started in 1907, and was published until about 1912. "The Citator," now a dead publication, had its beginning about the same time, as did the "Fraternal Motto," "Fraternal Weekly," "The Society News," "Railway Equipper" and "The Stellar Ray." In 1905 the "Detroit American," at first a monthly and before its demise a weekly, was started. "Pernin's Monthly Stenographer" was inaugurated in 1889; "Beach's Magazine of Business" was started about 1909; and the "Business World," by the Detroit Business University began as early as 1877.

"Knight's Progress," a fraternal monthly, started in 1909, but soon met its end, as did the "Michigan Dairy Farmer" and the "Michigan Pathfinder."

Of those publications which were established about 1911 and which have now disappeared, may be mentioned: "Good News," "International Hospital Record," "Mack Avenue Business Man," "Michigan Moose," "Zion News," "American Issue," "Electrical Review and Western Electrician" and "Brownells' Dairy Farmer." "The West Side Press," now out of existence, was begun in 1905. "Penberthy Engineer and Fireman" was an important manufacturing publication established in 1893 and issued for many years.

"The Bee-keepers' Review" was established about 1888 and continued for some thirty years. "Friendly Elk" was started in 1904. "The North Side News," started in 1908, and the "Hamilton Boulevard Press," in 1915, were weekly papers of community interest.

"THE DETROIT FREE PRESS"

On Thursday, May 5, 1831, appeared the first number of "The Democratic Free Press and Michigan Intelligencer," Sheldon McKnight, publisher and editor. The office of the publication was at Bates and Woodbridge streets. The initial number of this paper was a four-page, five-column issue, which size was excused by the statement that "owing to an error in our order for paper we are obliged to print our first number on a smaller sheet than was intended." Local news was very meager in this first issue and the twenty columns were filled with political discussion, month old news from Washington, some old foreign dispatches and a few advertisements. Records show that during the first year of the paper's existence 38,000 copies were issued, a figure which would appear small for an average daily issue now. Sheldon McKnight, the first publisher and editor of the paper, was a nephew of John P. Sheldon, editor of the old "Gazette" and concerning whose tumultuous editorial career something has been written previously. McKnight himself was associated with his uncle on the "Gazette," consequently knew the technique of the newspaper business. McKnight was editor of the "Democratic Free Press and Michigan Intelligencer" at varying periods during the first months of the publication's life, but for over a year and a half his name regularly appeared as "publisher," even during the time when he was not editor.

The establishment of the "Democratic Free Press and Michigan Intelligencer" was the result of a political situation, in other words the need of a strong newspaper with Jacksonian principles to combat the other Detroit papers which were supporting President John Quincy Adams. Two prominent men of Detroit, Joseph Campau and his nephew, Gen. John R. Williams, were the men who assumed the initiative in the matter by purchasing the "Oakland County Chronicle," which had been published by Thomas Simpson at Pontiac since June 25, 1830. Campau and Williams transported the equipment down to

Detroit and placed it in the hands of McKnight, with the understanding that he was to pay them when circumstances would permit.

On June 2, 1831, John P. Sheldon became the editor of the paper, but continued only until August 25th following, when he resigned on account of illness. Following him an attorney, Charles Cleland, assumed the editorial chair. In February, 1832, Sheldon McKnight, T. C. Sheldon and Andrew Mack bought out the original owners and McKnight was appointed sole manager. Cleland was compelled to vacate the editor's sanctum in May, through public opinion arising from certain editorial comments upon public matters, and John P. Sheldon again became editor of the paper. In April, 1833, Sheldon having taken another position, Sheldon McKnight again became editor as well as publisher. In the meantime the plant had been removed to a three-story brick building on the north side of Jefferson Avenue near Wayne Street and from here the paper was issued as a weekly until June 19, 1835, when it became a semi-weekly.

FIRST DAILY ISSUE

Conditions for enlarging the paper became more favourable and on September 28, 1835 McKnight issued the first number of "The Daily Free Press" which was the first daily newspaper published in the state and the subscription price was placed at \$8 per annum. The issue was a ten by seventeen inch folio. In June, 1836, it was enlarged from four to six columns and the make-up generally improved. The office was then located on Jefferson Avenue and Shelby Street, northeast corner, or "at the sign of the Franklin Head, 63 Jefferson Avenue."

In February, 1836, Sheldon McKnight sold his interests in the paper to L. Legrand Morse and John S. Bagg and in June following Bagg became sole proprietor.

On the early morning of January 4, 1837 the plant of the "Free Press" was burned, an experience which was to be repeated several times in later years. The flames broke out in the Sheldon Block, consumed it entirely, as well as several adjoining structures. Being midwinter and navigation closed, it was an embarrassing situation for the owners. However, it happened that Henry Barns had arrived in Detroit by boat some months previously, having with him a complete printing outfit which he intended to set up at Niles. In the Detroit port the vessel, carrying this cargo, had frozen into the river. He was induced to dispose of his equipment to the "Free Press", taking a part interest as recompense, and on the first of February he, with John S. and Silas A. Bagg, became the publishers, with offices over the King clothing store, southeast corner Jefferson and Woodward Avenues. From here the paper was again launched as a semi-weekly on February 28th and the daily was resumed as Volume I, Number 1, on June 5, 1837. John S. and Silas A. Bagg became proprietors February 16, 1838 and Asahel S. Bagg became sole owner April 10, 1840.

Removal was again made in August, 1841, to the museum building on the southeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street, and here, on January 1, 1842, the plant was completely destroyed by fire, in company with the office of the "Advertiser" and the entire block.

Within a few days a new firm was formed of Asahel S. Bagg and John H. Harmon and they secured an office at the northeast corner of Jefferson and Shelby, whence they issued a paper on January 11th. This was made possible by the securing of equipment from "The Macomb Republican" and "The Port Huron Observer". The issue was of varying size until January 28th, when the

regulation edition was published. All progressed nicely until April 1st, when the borrowed press of the Port Huron paper was claimed by the owners, consequently the "Free Press" again shrunk in size for a few days.

From March 14, 1844 until January 7, 1845 the "Free Press" was published as an evening paper alone. A year previously a removal of the office had been made to Jefferson Avenue, opposite the Cooper Block, the same location as the Sheldon Block. On January 7, 1845 the edition was changed again to a morning issue. During the latter part of the year 1845 the office of the "Free Press" was moved to Woodward Avenue, opposite St. Paul's Church, just below Congress, and in 1846 the first power press in Michigan, in fact the first west of Buffalo, was installed. The first printing done on this machine was that of the Revised Statutes of Michigan for 1846.

Col. Charles B. Flood, from Columbus, Ohio, had been editor of the paper for a time, succeeding Bagg when the latter became postmaster. During Flood's regime the width of the paper was enlarged one column.

In May, 1847, John S. Bagg again became editor. On May 9, 1849 Asahel S. Bagg sold his interest to John S. Bagg, and early in the following year the paper was published by the firm of Bagg, Harmon & Company. In 1849, Bagg erected the building on the northeast corner of Griswold and Jefferson and moved the "Free Press" there. The firm name was again changed in June to Harmon, Brodhead & Company, with Thornton F. Brodhead as editor. In September of 1850, also, the office and plant were moved to 50 Griswold, just off Jefferson Avenue northerly. The "Free Press", in 1850, took over the subscription list of "The Detroit Commercial Bulletin" (established May 28, 1848 by Daniel Munger and George W. Pattison). On April 1, 1851 Jacob Barns, S. M. Johnson and Thornton F. Brodhead became the publishers of the "Free Press" under the firm name of Barns, Brodhead & Company. Brodhead and Johnson served as editors. In this year new type equipment was supplied, the paper enlarged to seven columns and power first applied to the press by steam. This innovation had been attempted in 1847, but adverse conditions caused its failure. The second attempt in 1851, and which was successful, came about when the "Advertiser", which had undertaken the printing of the Michigan Central Railroad conspiracy case, discovered the contract too large and consequently enlisted the services of the "Free Press". It was during the printing of these books that steam was first used.

On April 7, 1852 the "Free Press" went into the hands of Jacob Barns and S. M. Johnson. The latter served as editor and proprietor until February 3, 1853, when Wilbur F. Storey became editor.

Wilbur F. Storey had secured quite a bit of notoriety in the constitutional convention of 1850, where he appeared as a delegate from Jackson. He charged Gov. John S. Barry with undue exercise of his official influence on the delegates and moved that the governor be excluded from the floor. Although the governor was not removed, the attack of the belligerent Storey had the effect of causing him to be at least more discreet. Prior to this time Storey had published papers in Laporte, Indiana, and Mason, Michigan, had established the "Jackson Patriot", studied law, served as postmaster at Jackson, and operated a drug store in the same city. His success with the "Patriot" and his aggressive character gave him prominence in democratic circles and in 1853 he was induced to take a half interest in the "Detroit Free Press", of which he became sole editor. He immediately enlarged the paper and on October 2, 1853 issued a

Sunday paper, this taking the place of the Monday edition. Under Storey's management the "Free Press" became one of the most profitable newspaper properties of the time and one of the strongest publications of the country. He associated with himself a brilliant staff of journalists, including such men as J. Logan Chipman, Warren S. Isham, Tom Cook and Henry Starkey. Storey created a city news department, which had not existed in any prominence before this, and devoted his personal writing to political subjects.

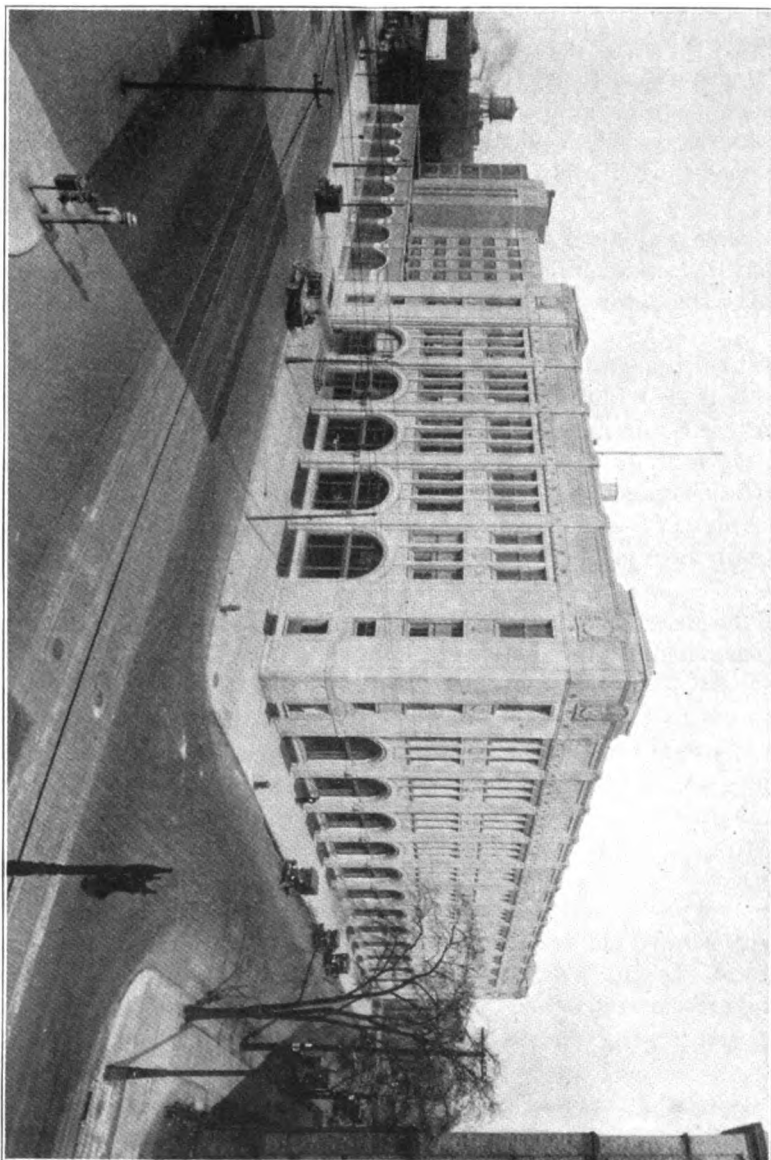
During the time Storey was at the head of the "Free Press" William E. Quinby, for many years later principal owner, became connected with the paper. This was early in 1860 and Quinby began to do legal reporting for the paper, which was the first reportorial work of the kind on any Detroit newspaper. At the outbreak of the Civil war, Tom Cook was sent to Washington as correspondent and Quinby became city editor, thus establishing himself and beginning a career of nearly a half century with the "Free Press".

In June, 1861, Wilbur F. Storey sold the paper to Henry N. Walker and went to Chicago, where he established the "Times". Two months later, Frederick L. Seitz became a partner with Walker and on the day before Christmas, same year, the paper was sold to a new firm composed of Henry N. Walker, Charles H. Taylor and Jacob Barns. In 1863 William E. Quinby purchased a quarter interest.

An interesting item in connection with the "Free Press" during the early days of the Rebellion was the meeting held in the office of the paper, at which time the Western Associated Press was organized. This organization was the predecessor of the Associated Press of today. The "Free Press" published morning and evening editions during the war and was known as the best authority upon happenings at the front and at Washington, largely by virtue of its splendid press service from these points. In 1865 the paper was reduced one column in width and one in length, but a few months later was enlarged to eight columns and in August, 1866, was published in quarto form. This latter style was discontinued in April, 1867, and the folio form renewed, with a subsequent enlargement of one column in August.

In 1872 there arose among the proprietors of the "Free Press" a difference of opinion regarding the nomination of Horace Greeley for Presidential candidate on the democratic ticket, which eventually resulted in a change of ownership of the paper. Col. Freeman Norvell, then editor of the "Free Press", opposed the Greeley movement, but Quinby favored it and persuaded Henry N. Walker, who owned a half interest, to endorse the action of the convention. Walker suggested that Quinby purchase Norvell's quarter interest in the paper, at the price of \$25,000 which had been set, and also promised to turn the management of the plant over to Quinby. This was rather a stiff price for the day, but Quinby succeeded in making the purchase, and from that time held controlling interest. Judge Albert G. Boynton bought one-half of Walker's interest during 1872 and retained it until his death. Walker retired in 1875, whereupon William E. Quinby took over the remaining stock.

On April 29, 1878 the newspaper plant, which had been moved to the northwest corner of Griswold and Woodbridge streets in 1860, was again destroyed by fire, entailing a financial loss of close to \$50,000. The conflagration was caused by the explosion of a gas main and within two hours the plant was in ruins. Editor Quinby lost no time, however, and immediately secured quarters for the mechanical department in an adjoining building and on the 30th, the next day,



EVENING NEWS BUILDING

the "Free Press" was published as usual. The presses of the "Post" were placed at the disposal of the "Free Press" for this purpose. The devastated quarters were quickly replaced and within thirty days the paper was back in the old home, with increased accommodations.

The weekly supplement of the "Free Press", called "The Household", was first issued January 12, 1878, and was compiled especially for feminine readers.

On June 2, 1878, the "Free Press" used the paper-mache stereotyping process for the first time in the state, and issued a 32-page paper with a 4-page supplement, the work having been done upon a Bullock perfecting printing press which had arrived in Detroit the day before the fire. The paper was also changed in size from a folio to a quarto. In July, 1881, the publishers first sent paper-mâché matrices of their weekly edition to London, where a regular weekly paper was issued, with a few special columns added.

In the year 1884 the "Free Press" removed into a building at the corner of Shelby and Larned Streets, and in May, 1894, another removal was made to the "Abstract Building", 11 Lafayette Avenue, formerly occupied by the "Detroit Post."

Upon the death of Judge Boynton, Mr. Quinby purchased his interest and retained the same until the summer of 1905, when he sold a controlling interest to Frank J. Hecker, Charles L. Freer, William C. McMillan. This joint ownership continued until the autumn of 1907, when Edward D. Stair and Philip H. McMillan bought out their interests. In 1908, illness compelled Mr. Quinby to dispose of his holdings to Messrs. Stair and McMillan. The present ownership of the "Free Press" is vested in a corporation (dating from July 31, 1896) which is comprised of Edward D. Stair, E. A. Meiser, James T. McMillan, Jerome H. Remick, estate of Philip H. McMillan, trustee estate of William C. McMillan, William B. Lowe, William H. Pettibone (general manager), Phil J. Reid (managing editor), Otis Morse, George H. Nicolai of New York, and George Middleton of South Pasadena, California. The officers of the corporation are: Edward D. Stair, president; E. A. Meiser, secretary; and James T. McMillan, treasurer. The building now occupied by the "Free Press" was completed in its entirety in 1912.

THE DETROIT NEWS

"The Evening News", as the present "Detroit News" was first called, was first issued August 23, 1873 by James Edmund Scripps, the founder, and for the first two months was printed at the "Free Press" office. It was a small four-page, six-column paper, and sold on the streets of Detroit at two cents per copy. The advertisements occupied three columns of the first page. Approximately 6,500 copies were disposed of on the first issue.

James E. Scripps, the founder, was born in London, England, March 19, 1835, came to the United States when nine years of age, located near Rushville, Illinois, with his parents, and entered newspaper work in 1857 as a reporter on the "Chicago Democratic Press", afterward consolidated with the "Chicago Tribune". At the age of twenty-four years he came to Detroit as commercial editor of the "Daily Advertiser" and became part owner in 1861. Upon the consolidation of the "Advertiser" and "Tribune" in 1862, he became business manager and, a year later, editor. During his newspaper experience, Mr. Scripps evolved many ideas of his own as to the proper conduct of a newspaper

and for many years formulated his ideas with the deliberate purpose of establishing a paper of his own which should embody the innovations and improvements. The morning papers in Detroit at this time had only a circulation of about 13,000, although there were 20,000 families in the city, consequently Mr. Scripps believed that a newspaper venture at this time would be highly profitable. During the first year, however, he lost several thousand dollars, but the second year netted him \$6,000 profit, with a circulation averaging over 13,000 daily.

The dream of James E. Scripps was a newspaper with a circulation of 10,000. In the fourth issue of the "News" the announcement was made that the subscription list had reached between 8,000 and 9,000, and in 1906, on May 29th of which year Mr. Scripps died, the circulation was in excess of 100,000, in 1918 more than 225,000, and in 1921 more than 220,000 for the daily and 250,000 for the Sunday issues.

In the early days, the "News" soon got the reputation of a "sensational" sheet, not in the sense of "yellow" journalism, but as a paper which printed fresh and live news, and varied the stilted and stereotyped style which had always been accepted as the only newspaper style. This was a part of the founder's idea, to give the people a maximum of news at a minimum price. Mr. Scripps himself wrote as follow about his paper in these days:

"With no political ends to serve and with entire absence of ill feeling, the city editor began to handle the city's news with much of the same freedom that would be allowed in conversation. It was a revelation to staid, prosy Detroit, and the News quickly got the reputation of being a 'sensational' sheet, although compared with later up-to-date journals in our larger cities it was commendably moderate and respectable. Naturally some took offense to it, but the people generally like it, even the so-called better classes."

From the temporary site on Griswold Street the plant was moved to Shelby Street, between Congress and Larned, two months after the first issue. It occupied this site until October 15, 1917. The first home of the paper had been a small frame house, near the sidewalk, and at the corner of an alley. To this was added a small, one-story brick press room which served until 1877, when a more commodious building, sixty by thirty feet, was erected. Ultimately, the "News" occupied a four-floor building fronting 120 feet on Shelby Street and 140 on Larned. In 1888, George G. Booth became assistant to Mr. Scripps in the management of the paper. He and the owner of the paper soon perceived the necessity of larger quarters for the growing paper and considered the erection of a larger building on the Shelby Street site. When the time came, however, this plan was not believed feasible, and property at the southeast corner of Shelby Street and Lafayette Boulevard was bought. This was in time also discarded. In November, 1913, property extending 280 feet on Second Avenue from Fort to Lafayette, with a 150-foot frontage on both, was purchased for nearly a quarter million dollars. This was the site of the old Zachariah Chandler home. Ground was broken here in November, 1915, for the present "News" building, of which Albert Kahn was the architect. The completed structure as occupied by the paper beginning in October, 1917, is one of the most complete and attractive newspaper plants in the country, embodying every equipment and convenience which is known to the newspaper profession. This newspaper remains the property of the Scripps family.

During its life, the "News" has fostered numerous other newspaper ventures.

In November, 1878, its first offspring, the "Cleveland Press" was established; in 1880 the "Chronicle" began publication in St. Louis; and in 1881 "The Cincinnati Post" was added. Out of this league grew a powerful organization, but Mr. Scripps eventually withdrew from all of the other publications.

In 1891 Mr. Scripps purchased the "Detroit Tribune" and after conducting it as a separate publication for a number of years it was consolidated with the "News" and became the early morning edition. At different times other publications were absorbed into the "News", such as the "Union" and the "Times". The "News" brought out a Sunday edition November 30, 1884, which was amalgamated with the "Sunday Tribune" October 15, 1893 and entitled "The Sunday News-Tribune". This compound name used for a time even after the regular "Tribune" ceased to appear. On the day before the "News" entered its new home, however, twenty-four years after the consolidation of the two papers the publishers revived the name of the "Detroit Sunday News".

The one venture of the "News" outside the field of the daily newspaper was not a success. From 1887 until 1892 a weekly edition called "The Echo", was published, being a condensation of the "News" columns.

THE DETROIT JOURNAL

"The Detroit Evening Journal" was established in Detroit by Lloyd Brezee and the first number was issued September 1, 1883, with Brezee occupying the position of editor and C. C. Packard that of business manager. This paper began as a two-cent daily and was rather a venturesome undertaking, owing to the lack of capital. However, on December 6, 1883, a stock company was formed and a capital stock of \$37,500 was established. In May, 1884, this capital was increased to \$50,000 and a controlling interest in the publication was sold to Samuel J. Tomlinson, who became managing editor. Tomlinson retired in May, 1885, and William Livingstone, Jr. became the proprietor. Under the latter Frank E. Robinson was appointed managing editor and Henry S. Harris as editorial writer. Harris resigned in 1886 and was succeeded by Edward G. Holden.

On May 7, 1887 there occurred another change of ownership, when the five hundred shares of the company were sold to William H. Brearley. This arrangement continued for a number of years, when a stock company was formed and the paper purchased by this organization. Walter Hunsacker then became managing editor. In 1908 the "Journal" again changed ownership by the purchase of the majority of stock of the paper by Henry Stevens and Edward D. Stair. Harry P. Hetherington became managing editor at this time, and remained until his death. He was followed by T. C. Greenwood, who, in turn, was succeeded by Grove Patterson, the present incumbent. The present ownership of the "Journal" began in 1917, but a corporation was not formed until April 25, 1919. The officers and owners of this corporation are: N. C. Wright, president; H. S. Talmadge, vice president; Paul Block, secretary; and C. C. Vernam, treasurer. The latter two are residents of New York. The building of the "Journal" was constructed and completed in 1906, the plant of the paper having occupied space at the rear of the same location prior to that time.

THE DETROIT EVENING TIMES

The "Detroit Evening Times" was established on October 1, 1900, under the name of "Today" by James Schermerhorn. The latter conducted the paper as

an evening daily for twenty-one years or until the latter part of the year 1921, when, the property having previously been placed in the hands of a receiver, it was purchased by William Randolph Hearst and added to the long string of Hearst papers in the United States. Although meeting with adversity in a financial way, the "Times" was a paper with a personality. The individualistic editorial style followed by the editor stood out from the common run of journalistic composition. Detroiters came to know and like the pithy and humorously pointed sentences which came from the Schermerhorn pen and will continue to enjoy the Today column, as the former owner and editor retains his connection with the publication. The office and plant of the "Times" is at 313 Bagley Street.

OTHER DETROIT PUBLICATIONS

"The Detroit Courier", formerly the "Wayne County Courier", was established at Wyandotte in May, 1870, as "The Wyandotte Enterprise", by D. E. Thomas. In 1876, after having several different owners, the paper was removed to Detroit. At this time it became the first greenback paper in Michigan, its politics before having been republican. In 1879 it reverted to republicanism again. The paper is now published weekly as an independent sheet.

"The Michigan Railway Guide" was established as a monthly publication in May, 1877, by Emil Schober. A publication of this nature has been in existence in Detroit almost steadily since that date, but not always under the same name. "Wood's Official Railway Guide" was published for many years by John R. Wood, who is now the publisher of the "Michigan Railway Guide", issued monthly.

"The Bay View Magazine", of literary nature, and published monthly from October to May inclusive, was established in 1893.

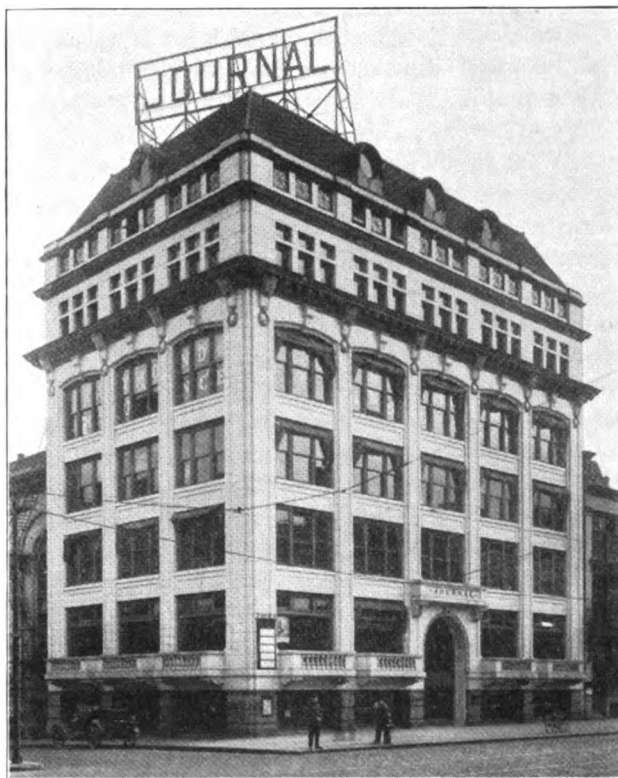
"The Indicator", semi-monthly, devoted to insurance topics, and now published by a stock company, was first issued as a monthly in May, 1882, by the firm of Leavenworth & Burr. Very shortly after its establishment it was changed to a semi-monthly and was issued by the W. H. Burr Publishing Company.

The "Western Newspaper Union", weekly, was originally the successor of "The Michigan Ready Print", established in 1877 by Joseph Saunders. The first number of the "Union" was published January 1, 1883, with M. H. Redfield as manager.

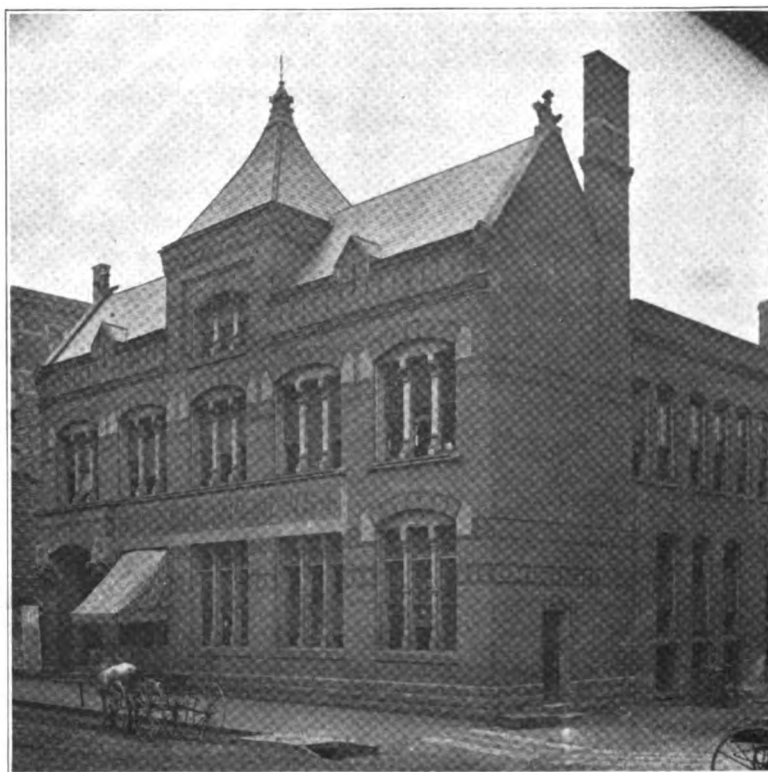
"The American Boy", monthly publication, issued by the Sprague Publishing Company, was established in the year 1899 in Detroit. This is one of the largest and best known juvenile magazines in the country and has a subscription list of something over a quarter million, going to every state in the Union and to many foreign countries.

The "Horseshoers' Journal", a monthly publication issued by The Master Horseshoers' National Protective Association, was established in Detroit in the year 1875.

"The Michigan Farmer" dates from the year 1843, and succeeded "The Western Farmer", which was founded at Detroit January 19, 1841 by Josiah Snow. Bela Hubbard and William Harsha were editors of "The Western Farmer" for a time until January 21, 1843, when the plant was sold to D. D. T. Moore, who removed it to Jackson, Michigan, changed it from a semi-monthly to a monthly, and issued it February 15, 1843, as "The Michigan Farmer and Western Agriculturist". The second volume of the paper was published as "The Michigan Farmer and Western Horticulturist". Following this there



JOURNAL BUILDING



EVENING NEWS BUILDING, 65 SHELBY STREET, ABOUT 1881

came a rapid succession of proprietors and editors. Wilbur F. Storey and R. S. Cheney came in control of the paper November 1, 1844 and on March 15, 1845 sold out to H. Hurlbut, and in April, 1846, H. G. Woodhull became a partner. The third volume, under Hurlbut, was issued as "The Michigan Farmer". Removal was made from Jackson to Detroit on March 20, 1847, and in December, 1847, Warren Isham began the publication of the paper, changed it to a semi-monthly, and in 1849 it was enlarged, also published both at Detroit and Jackson. A. S. Williams was also a proprietor with Isham for a part of the time during this period.

In April, 1853, this paper was purchased by W. S. Duncklee and R. F. Johnstone and in the next year Duncklee sold out to Miss L. B. Adams. In September, 1854, the paper absorbed "The Farmers' Companion and Horticultural Gazette", of which C. Fox, J. C. Holmes, Linus Cone and Charles Betts were editors, and which had been published since December 1, 1852. At the close of the year 1858 "The Michigan Farmer" became a weekly. In September, 1861, it was sold to a man named Doty, who published it for about twelve months. In the autumn of 1862 W. S. Bond and George Snyder became proprietors and in 1863 they sold out to H. N. F. Lewis, who changed the name of the paper to "The Western Rural" and in 1867 moved the paper to Chicago.

In May, 1869, R. F. Johnstone, with Robert Gibbons, established a new weekly paper called "The Michigan Farmer and State Journal of Agriculture". The first number was issued on the 15th of the month. After June, 1886, Johnstone having died, the publication was issued by the firm of Gibbons Brothers. In 1893 the paper was bought by the firm of Lawrence & Brother of Cleveland, Ohio, proprietors of "The Ohio Farmer", and in 1895 the name of the controlling firm was changed to The Lawrence Publishing Company. On November 28, 1889 the publication known as the "Michigan Fruit Grower and Practical Farmer" of Grand Rapids was purchased, and again, August 30, 1905, the Free Press "Farm and Live Stock Journal" was absorbed. At this time, also, the name was changed from "The Michigan Farmer and State Journal of Agriculture" to the style of "The Michigan Farmer and Live Stock Journal". The publication has its own plant on West Lafayette Avenue and is issued by the Lawrence Publishing Company to over 80,000 subscribers, 95% of whom are residents of the State of Michigan. I. Roy Waterbury is the editor-in-chief of the publication.

"The Motorman and Conductor", a monthly publication, is the official journal of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America. The publication was founded in 1895.

"The Gateway" was first issued in August, 1903, as a monthly publication, devoted to topics of interest to and pertaining to the people of the state, such as resources, history, economical and social questions and political aspects. John F. Hogan is the editor and founder of this publication.

"Concrete" is a prominent trade publication of Detroit, issued monthly by the Concrete-Cement Age Publishing Company. The paper was established in 1904 and issued under the title of "Concrete". With the July, 1912, issue this magazine consolidated with "Cement Age" of New York and "Concrete Engineering" of Cleveland, forming the publication known as "Concrete-Cement Age", which title, however, was eventually changed back to the original and simpler form.

"The Michigan Investor", published weekly by The Michigan Investor

Publishing Company and devoted to subjects of a financial and capitalistic nature, was established in September, 1902, by Frank R. Alderman and J. E. Phelps. The latter soon dropped out and Frank Carter and John Russell became interested. Mr. Carter became principal owner in 1909.

"The Michigan Banker", published monthly by the Michigan Bankers' Association, H. M. Brown, editor, was founded in the year 1904.

"Detroit Young Men", published weekly by the Young Men's Christian Association, was established about 1905.

"Michigan Roads", issued monthly by the State Review Publishing Company, was established in 1905 and specializes in such subjects as indicated by the title.

"The Detroit Saturday Night", a weekly newspaper of pretentious style and make-up and of a very high standard, came into existence March 2, 1907. Two old newspaper men of Detroit, W. R. Orr and Harry M. Nimmo, were responsible for the establishment of this publication and within a very few months the strength of their convictions that a broad field existed for such a paper were justified. Within four years the paper occupied its own building, with its own composing and press rooms and ranks now with the leading publications of Michigan's metropolis.

The "Michigan Contractor and Builder", issued every Saturday by the Contractor Publishing Company, and devoted to the building trades, was begun in 1907.

"The Michigan Manufacturer and Financial Record", one of the leading magazines of the United States dedicated to the field of industries and finances, was established in October, 1908. The magazine is published weekly by the Manufacturer Publishing Company, which is officered at present by John A. Russell, president; Edward R. Grace, vice president; John P. Fitzgerald, vice president; Ira W. Welbon, secretary and treasurer; and Harold High, managing editor.

"The Detroit Golfer", official monthly publication of the Detroit District Golf Association, was established in May, 1921.

"The Gleaner Forum", an agricultural journal, had its beginning in Detroit as early as 1894 under the title of "The Gleaner". Two years ago the present title was adopted, when the publication was changed from a farm to a fraternal paper exclusively. The circulation of this paper comprises all the gleaners in the country.

The "Fraternal Index", monthly publication of the Star of Bethlehem Temple, was inaugurated in 1888.

"The Lyceum World", a publication of interest to lectures and entertainers, issued monthly, was started in 1908.

"The Club Woman", the monthly publication of the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs, was established at Detroit in 1908. It is devoted to subjects pertaining to women's clubs.

"The Little Stick", weekly, is published and was founded by Charles H. Culver about 1908.

"West Detroit Times", a weekly newspaper under the proprietorship of W. C. Wines, was established in 1893.

"The Stove Mounters' and Range Workers' Journal", a trade publication issued monthly, was started in 1895.

"The Detroitier", the weekly publication of the Detroit Board of Commerce,

W. A. Mara, editor, was established in the year 1910, having been issued from September of that year until January, 1911, as the "Bulletin of the Detroit Board of Commerce."

"The Social Moose", a monthly fraternal magazine, was begun in 1909 and is published by the Social Order of Moose.

"The Trestleboard", a Masonic publication issued monthly, was inaugurated in 1908.

"The Dispatch-Reporter", issued weekly by the Dispatch Printing Company, was founded in 1911.

"Quill", the quarterly publication of the Sigma Delta Chi, was started in 1912.

"Modern Building", a bi-monthly published by the Truscon Steel Company, was established at Detroit in 1914.

The "Upper Gratiot Review", an independent weekly paper, issued by the Vannatter Printing Company, began in 1914.

The monthly publication known as "Black and White" was established in 1916 under the editorship of Harry M. Nimmo.

"The Pilot", published by the Locomotive Engineer and Conductors' Manual Protective Association, came into existence about 1912.

"The D. A. C. News", monthly publication of the Detroit Athletic Club, was established in 1916.

"D. B. U. Topics", the journal of the Detroit Business University, was established in April, 1915.

"St. Clair Heights Enterprise", weekly paper, was started about 1915.

"Building Materials", published monthly by the Concrete-Cement Age Publishing Company, was established in 1919.

"Pipp's Weekly", a local publication, E. G. Pipp, editor, was established in 1920.

"Varsity News", the school paper of the University of Detroit, published weekly during the collegiate year, was started in 1917.

"Civic Searchlight", published by the Detroit Citizens' League, was started about 1917.

"Detroit Banker", issued by the American Institute of Banking, first appeared in 1917.

"Detroit Labor News", a weekly publication issued by the Detroit Federation of Labor, was instituted in the year 1913.

The "Lincoln Highway Forum", published by the Lincoln Highway Association, has been in existence since June 1, 1919.

The "News Letter", published by the Detroit chapter of the American Red Cross, was established in 1917.

"Northern Navigator", issued by the Northern Navigation Company, came into being about 1917.

"The Social Secretary", under the editorship of Mrs. Noel C. O'Brien, was begun in 1918 and is issued annually as a social and club directory.

"The State", published by the Young Men's Christian Association, was started about 1917.

"The Tamarack", issued by the University of Detroit, came out first in 1917.

"Michigan Business Farming", a weekly agricultural paper, published by

the Rural Publishing Company, G. H. Slocum, proprietor, was established about 1912.

"All The Arts", now issued quarterly, is in the fifth year of its existence, having succeeded another publication known as "Arts and Artists", which had been issued about two years.

"American State Banker", published monthly by the American State Bank, was started in 1917.

"Auto School News", issued by the Michigan State Auto School, has been in existence about two years.

"Blue Triangle", a monthly, published at the Young Women's Christian Association, was begun in June, 1919.

The "Bulletin of the Institute of Art of the City of Detroit" was established in January, 1904, and is now issued monthly from October to July inclusive.

"Citer-Digest", published by H. C. Ruen, in January, May and December, is a publication of legal character, and was established in December, 1910.

"The Detroit Leader", a weekly newspaper for the colored residents, republican in politics, was established in 1909.

"Detroit Masonic News", published monthly by the Detroit Masonic Temple Association, was started in January, 1920.

"Foundry World", monthly, published by the H. M. Lane Company, was established in February, 1917.

"Michigan Architect and Engineer", issued monthly, was established in April, 1919.

"Railway Maintenance of Way Employes' Journal" was established as a monthly in the year 1890 and is now under the editorship of C. P. Howard.

"Real Estate" is the official journal of the Detroit Real Estate Board, and was established January, 1919.

Of interest are the various publication in the City of Detroit which are styled "house organs". A few of the principal ones of this group are:

"After Five O'Clock": Curtis Company.

"Bell Telephone News": Michigan State Telephone Company.

"Burad Service": Burroughs Adding Machine Company.

"Burrough's Calculator": Burroughs Adding Machine Company.

"Burrough's Bulletin": Burroughs Adding Machine Company.

"Burrough's Clearing House": Burroughs Adding Machine Company.

"Burrough's Magazine": Burroughs Adding Machine Company.

"Burrough's Micrometer": Burroughs Adding Machine Company.

"Burrough's Overseas": Burroughs Adding Machine Company.

"Business": Burroughs Adding Machine Company.

"Citigas Doings": Citizens' Gas Company.

"Combustion Chamber": Underfeed Stokers of America.

"Detroit Life Bulletin".

"Dime Savings Bank Trade Letter".

"Dodge Bulletin": Dodge Brothers.

"Employer and Employe": Michigan Mutual Liability Company.

"Entire News": U. S. Tire Company.

"Federal Traffic News": Federal Motor Truck Company.

"Fenestia": Detroit Steel Products Company.

"Furniture of the Times": R. J. Sullivan Company.

"Goodrich": B. F. Goodrich Rubber Company.

- "Grinnellogram": Grinnell Brothers.
- "Headlight": Larned, Carter Company.
- "Home Furnisher".
- "Hudson Triangle": Hudson Motor Car Company.
- "Hudsonian": J. L. Hudson & Company.
- "Idea": Frederick Stearns & Company.
- "Liberty Bell": Liberty Motor Car Company.
- "Market Report": Michigan Drug Company.
- "Michigan Mutual Messenger": Michigan Mutual Life Insurance Company.
- "Modern Pharmacy": Parke, Davis & Company.
- "The New Idea": Frederick Stearns & Company.
- "Oakland Sales News": Oakland Motor Car Company.
- "The Packard Employes Paper": Packard Motor Car Company.
- "Paige Power": Paige-Detroit Motor Car Company.
- "Power Notes": Diamond Power Specialty Company.
- "The Punch": Maxwell Motor Company.
- "The Quietarian": Hyatt Roller Bearing Company.
- "Reminder": Detroit Insurance Agency.
- "Rogers Co-Operator": Detroit White Lead Works.
- "Rotoscope": Detroit Rotary Club.
- "S-N-P" Saturday Night Press.
- "Service": Pere Marquette Railroad.
- "Sirocco": American Blower Company.
- "Solvay-It": Solvay Process Company.
- "Studebaker Liberty Bulletin": Studebaker Corporation.
- "Synchroscope": Detroit Edison Company.
- "Three Circles".
- "Timken Magazine": Timken-Detroit Axle Company.
- "Trade Letter": Dime Savings Bank.
- "Trade Letter": National Bank of Commerce.
- "Velvet Brand Tips": Detroit Creamery Company.
- "Veterinary Notes": Parke, Davis & Company.
- "Wood Work Facts": W. F. Hurd & Company.

PHARMACEUTICAL AND DENTAL

"Retail Druggist", a monthly pharmaceutical magazine, was established in 1892 and is now published by Edward N. Hayes. "The New Idea", a quarterly magazine devoted to commercial pharmacy, is published by the Frederick Stearns & Company, manufacturing pharmacists. This publication was established as a monthly in January, 1878. "The Druggists' Bulletin", B. W. Palmer, M. D., editor, was established in 1887, but is now out of existence. "The Health Record", established in 1885, and now defunct some twenty-five years, advocated hygiene and sanitation. "The American Pharmacist", monthly, existed from 1886 until 1894, and "The Pharmaceutical Era", also monthly, about the same length of time. "The Bulletin of Pharmacy", established in 1887, is published monthly by E. G. Swift. The "Journal of Detroit Retail Druggists' Associations and A. & M. S. P. A." is issued monthly under the editorship of R. J. Lakey. "The Odontoblast", issued by the student's dental department of the Detroit College of Medicine, was started about 1901 and ceased publication about 1912.

MEDICAL JOURNALISM

The history of medical journalism in Detroit is presented in the chapter "The Story of Medicine in Detroit", written by J. H. Dempster, M. D., F. A. C. P.

LEGAL PUBLICATIONS

"The Michigan Edition of the Northwest Reporter" was the representative of "Supreme Court Decisions", a quarterly law journal, first published in October, 1873, with Hoyt Post as editor. In October, 1875, the name was changed to "The Michigan Lawyer", and in October, 1878, to "The Michigan Edition of the Northwest Reporter". It was published by Richmond, Backus & Company and issued weekly until 1882.

"The American Legal News", published monthly, by the American Legal News Corporation, was established in the year 1889. "The Law Students' Helper", issued by the Sprague Publishing Company, had its beginning in 1893. "The Michigan Law Journal", monthly, under the editorship of Robert T. Speed, was published from 1894 until 1899. "The Detroit Legal News", issued daily except Sunday, was started in 1895: the publication is a member of the American Court Press Association. "The Detroit Law Journal", issued by the Detroit Law Journal Company, was begun in 1898.

RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS

"The Michigan Catholic", under the title of "The Western Home Journal", an eight-page Catholic weekly, was established by the Home Journal Company September 28, 1872, and is yet being published as the principal organ of the Detroit Diocese. William E. Savage became the proprietor in January, 1878, and at the beginning of the year 1883 William H. Hughes took over the paper and continued publication under the name of "The Michigan Catholic", a title which has been retained continuously. Rev. Frank A. Pokriefka is the editor of the paper at the present time.

"The Western Catholic Register" was started July 23, 1842 by Eugene T. Smith and existed for about a year.

"The Western Evangelist," a weekly, was first issued in the fall of 1850 by Jabez Fox and lasted for two years.

"Waymarks in the Wilderness", a monthly treatment of the Scripture by James Inglis & Company lasted from May, 1854 until early in the following year.

"The Western Catholic" was established September 12, 1868 by David Barry & Company and was removed to Chicago in January, 1872.

"Baptist Tidings", monthly, was moved from Mason to Detroit by D. B. Harrington and here first issued October 17, 1868. In July, 1869 it was consolidated with the "Standard" of Chicago.

"The Detroit Pulpit", edited by Rev. J. P. Scott, was composed of sermons by Detroit pastors, and was issued for about three years from September, 1872.

"Our Dioceses", a Protestant Episcopal paper, was established by Rev. J. T. Webster as a monthly in November, 1873, and in February, 1880, it was merged with "The Living Church" of Chicago.

"The Evangelical Observer", Rev. George Duffield, editor, was started by the firm of Geiger & Christian, November 18, 1844 and existed for about two years.

"The Medium", a semi-monthly in the interests of the Swedenborgian, or New Jerusalem, Church, was first published at Jackson, Michigan, December 25, 1848, later moved to Marshall, this state, and on January 15, 1850 was moved to Detroit. It was issued here for three years, then transferred to Cincinnati.

There are records of two publications apparently, each bearing the name of the "Michigan Christian Herald." The first of these was a monthly established in January, 1842, by the Baptist state convention, with Rev. A. Ten Brook as editor. In January, 1863 several Baptists bought the paper and removed it to Kalamazoo and in the fall of 1866 it was absorbed by the "Baptist Standard" of Chicago. The second paper known as "The Michigan Christian Herald" was the state organ of the Baptist Church and was first published at Kalamazoo February 1, 1870 by Luther H. Trowbridge. It was first called "The Torchlight" and was issued bi-monthly. At the beginning of 1873 it was issued bi-weekly and named "The Herald and Torchlight". In October, 1873, the publication was removed to Detroit, a few months later issued weekly, and on January 1, 1875 it was given the title of "The Michigan Christian Herald", which it retained throughout its existence of thirty-five years.

"The Central Mirror", a monthly publication of the Central Methodist Episcopal Church, was issued for about ten years from 1885.

"The Angelus", a Catholic weekly issued now by the Catholic Bulletin Publishing Company, was established at Detroit in 1884.

"The Beacon", a Congregational weekly, was issued from November 23, 1884, until about 1893.

"The Michigan Christian Advocate" was originally "The Adrian District Methodist", a monthly first issued October 1, 1873 at Adrian, Michigan, by Rev. O. Whitmore. In December following the paper was enlarged and the name "The Michigan Christian Advocate", adopted. In September, 1874, the Detroit conference adopted it as the official organ and three months later the Methodist Publishing Company was organized, the publication bought and removed to Detroit, where on January 1, 1875 it was first issued as a weekly. Rev. O. Whitmore and Rev. Louis R. Fiske were the first editors. The "Michigan Christian Advocate" is still one of the leading denominational papers of the state and is issued regularly every week.

"The Michigan Churchman", the monthly publication of the Episcopalian diocese, was first issued January 21, 1888, under the editorship of Rev. G. Mott Williams. Charles O. Ford is the present editor of the paper and it is published by the Michigan Diocese, Rev. W. Warne Wilson, chairman of the publicity department.

"The American Church Times", edited by Rev. G. Mott Williams, was issued from 1888 until about a year later.

"The Church Messenger and Michigan Citizen" was published about three years beginning in 1889.

"The American Catholic Tribune", started in 1893, is now defunct.

"The Plymouth Weekly and Christian Sociologist", Morgan Wood, editor, lived from about 1893 until 1905.

"The Detroit Churchman" was issued from 1899 until 1912.

"The Michigan Union Advocate" was published for something over ten years from 1903.

"The Presbyterian Examiner", having been established about 1911, continued for just a few years.

"The Michigan Presbyterian", now out of existence, was started about 1894.

Other publications of religious nature in Detroit include various parish organs such as "St. Ambrose News", "St. Catherine's Holy Name News" and "St. John's Parish Chronicle". "The Associate Parish Weeklies", "Catholic Vigil" and "Knights of Columbus Crusader" are others of this nature. Numerous small religious publications which existed for varying lengths of time many years ago are described in another portion of this chapter dealing with defunct publications.

GERMAN PUBLICATIONS

The history of the German press in Detroit dates from the year 1844, when the "Allgemeine Zeitung", a German democratic weekly, was first issued on September 21st, that year, by Dr. Anthony Kaminsky. A year later the name of the paper was changed to the "Michigan Staats Zeitung." After the death of Doctor Kaminsky in 1850, the paper came into the possession of the firm of Butz & Schimmel, who changed the title to "The Michigan Tribune". Casper Butz was editor of this sheet, and within a short time became proprietor. "The Michigan Democrat" was started in 1853 and in 1854 the "Michigan Tribune" was merged with it. Not proving a success, the paper was sold in May, 1856, to Dr. Peter Klein, who sold January 10, 1857 to Domedian & Kramer. In the meantime, on May 1, 1853, "The Michigan Volksblatt" had been established by F. & W. Schimmel, brothers, with Rudolf Diepenbeck as the first editor. In 1856 it was sold to Domedian & Kramer, who consolidated it with the "Democrat" and renamed "The Michigan Democrat and Volksblatt". In December, 1858, Philip Kramer brought out Domedian's interest, and from that time until 1891 the brothers, Philip and Mathias Kramer, were the proprietors of the paper. Beginning in November, 1860, they issued a daily edition, which was named the "Michigan Volksblatt". In May, 1862, the "Michigan Staats Zeitung", which had been established in 1858 by Rev. Charles D. Haas, was consolidated with the "Volksblatt", and in December, 1891, the paper passed into the hands of a stock company, by which it was published until its demise about 1915.

"The Michigan Journal and Herold" had its beginning with "The Michigan Journal", the latter having been the first German daily published in Michigan and established June 13, 1855, with daily and weekly editions by August and Conrad Marxhausen. (Other authorities have placed the date of the first issue as April 15, 1853). Farmer's History of Detroit states: "In June, 1870, it was sold to F. Cornehl and F. Pope, who discontinued the daily after March, 1876, and at the same time merged the paper with 'The Herald' of Milwaukee." Another account states: "In 1866 August (Marxhausen) retired to found the 'Familien Blaetter', a German weekly, and Conrad remained as sole proprietor until 1872, when it was transferred to four printers named Fred Cornehl, F. Pope, Jacob Pope and George Goettman, who published it until April 26, 1875, when it died". These accounts vary, but the "Michigan Journal and Herold" continued publication in Detroit until about 1905.

"The Familien Blaetter", a German republican weekly, was first published by August Marxhausen, the elder, July 1, 1866, and has been issued continu-

ously since that date. On September 5, 1868 Mr. Marxhausen began the publication of the "Detroit Abend-Post", an evening daily. After the elder Marxhausen's death, his son August Marxhausen, Jr. continued as editor of the "Abend-Post" until his own death. The "Abend-Post" is now one of the leading German daily newspapers in the country.

"The Michigan Volks Zeitung", originally called "The Detroit Sonntag Zeitung", a weekly, was first issued October 15, 1876 by Conrad Marxhausen. The paper then passed through the hands of several owners, including John Becker, Weise Wiencke and L. Lochbihler & Company, and with the issue of March 3, 1882 the name was changed to "The Michigan Volks Zeitung". The publication of this paper ceased May 16, 1884.

"Die Stimme der Wahrheit", a Catholic weekly in the German language, was started in 1875, and is now defunct. "Der Arme Teufel", once a German weekly in Detroit, was established December 1, 1881 by Robert Reitzel. "The Kinder Post", issued on Sunday mornings until about 1912, was started in 1884. Adolph Kaufmann was editor and proprietor for many years. "The Jugend Post" and "Lehrer Post", started in the '80s, were issued by the firm of Pope & Coleman for a number of years. "The Sonntags Herold", Adolph Kaufmann, editor, existed from 1884 until about 1911. On October 5, 1885 a daily evening edition named the "Herold" began and was continued until June 2, 1886. The "Sonntags Herold" was purchased in 1891 by Charles Vollbracht, who published it until May 1, 1893, when it was sold to Raymond Dopp and Henry Mueller, who in turn sold to Frederick A. Fraeger on May 19, 1893.

A German evening daily named the "Arbeiter Zeitung" was started in May, 1888, by the German Publishing Association. This publication, which advocated labor interests and was independent in politics was issued until July 14, 1889. It was then changed to a weekly under the title of the "Michigan Arbeiter Zeitung" and continued until April 12, 1890. A daily called the "Detroit Tageblatt" was then started and the weekly "Arbeiter" was continued for about a year. The "Tageblatt" was then published seven days a week until February, 1892, when it was suspended.

Other German publications of Detroit, which have gone out of existence, were: the "Familien Kreise", established 1866, and its weekly supplement, "Die Hauspost"; "Acker and Gartenbau Zeitung", started in 1869; "Der Menschenfreund", begun in 1886.

"The Republican", a weekly which was issued for a time in 1852 by M. Kramer and Alois Wuerth; and "The Atlantis," a monthly devoted to literary subjects, published for several months in 1853 under the editorship of George Esseleine.

OTHER FOREIGN LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS

"The Gazette Francais", which was the first French paper published in the territory of Michigan, was issued for about three numbers beginning October 31, 1825. This paper was published at the Detroit "Gazette" office, with E. Reed, editor; was a paper in octavo form, and was to have been issued on the first and third week of every month.

"L'Amie la Jeunesse", (Friend of Youth), was a weekly first issued May 23, 1843, by James A. Girardin: E. N. Lacroix was editor. Nine numbers only were published.

"Le Citoyen", a French literary weekly, quarto form, was started May 11,

1850 and continued six months. L. J. Paulin was the publisher and E. N. Lacroix was editor.

"L'Impartial", French weekly, was issued by a French society and edited by Mederic Lanctot. It was begun November 20, 1869 and about ten numbers issued, after which the name was changed to "The Anti-Roman Advocate". Under the new title it survived only a brief space.

"L'Etoile Canadienne" was issued by Joseph A. Oulette and James A. Girardin for a year beginning January 19, 1871.

"Le Courier", a literary weekly, began October 12, 1876. The title was soon changed to "Le Journal de Detroit" and in 1877 the publication was abandoned.

"Francais Pour Tous", a literary and educational publication now issued monthly except July and August, was established in 1919 by the Alliance Francais and is now issued by The French Publishing Company.

Of the Polish papers published in Detroit at the present time the "Sunday Record", formerly the "Polonia Rekord", is the oldest, having been established as a weekly in 1898, and is now published by the Polonia Publishing Company.

"Dziennik Polski", issued every evening except Sunday by the Polish-American Publishing Company, was established in the year of 1903. This is the oldest Polish daily now in Detroit.

"Rekord-Codzienny", Polish Daily Record, was started in 1913 and is issued by the Polonia Publishing Company. This is the leading Polish paper in America.

"Ognisko Domowoe", a Polish weekly, was started in 1914, and the "Polish Daily News" was also established about this time. Both are now being published, the latter under the management of the Polish-American Publishing Company.

"Dziennik Ludowy" (Peoples Daily), a Socialist paper published in Chicago, has a circulation of about 3,000 in Detroit.

"Glos Robotniczy", a Communistic paper, was established about 1917.

Among the Polish publications of Detroit which are now defunct may be mentioned: "Pielgrzym Polski", which existed a short time from 1885; "Gwiazda Detroicka", a weekly issued from 1889 until 1893; "Polonia", a weekly issued from 1898 for about fifteen years; "The Polish Daily", which existed from 1905 to 1910; and "Niedziela", Polish illustrated weekly, issued by the Polish Seminary from 1890 until 1910.

"La Voce del Popolo", a weekly Italian publication, was established at Detroit in the year 1910, and is now published by the Italian Publishing Company, Rev. Joseph Ciarrocchi, editor.

The "Tribuna Italiana D'America" is a weekly which was started in 1909 and is now edited by Vincenzo Guiliano.

The "Gazette Van Detroit" a Belgian weekly issued by The Belgian Press, was established in 1914. The "Detroitenaar", a Belgian weekly started in 1914, and the "Belgian Press", begun about the same year, have also been published in the city.

"Magyar Ujsag", Hungarian News, published weekly, was started in 1909. "Magyar Hirlap", a Hungarian daily, was begun in 1914. Julius Fedor is the editor of the former and Anton Fedor of the latter. "Dongo" is the name of a Hungarian semi-monthly of humorous character, which was established in 1902.

"Russian Life" was established at Detroit in 1914.

The Jewish publications now issued in the city are: "The Jewish Chronicle".

a weekly established in 1914; the "Jewish Daily", (Der Weg), a Yiddish daily started in 1919; "Forward", a Jewish daily; and "Die Zeit", a daily.

NEWSPAPERS IN WAYNE COUNTY TOWNS

At Belleville, as early as 1880, there was established a newspaper called the "Mirador", which was a weekly and independent in politics. The present newspaper of the town, the "Enterprise", established in 1886, is issued weekly, and also has been issued since 1892 as an edition for the town of Romulus under the title of the "Roman".

In 1901 there was founded at Dearborn the publication known as "The Dearborn Independent", under the editorship of M. T. Woodruff. This paper is now owned by Henry Ford, automobile manufacturer, and is issued weekly with a nation-wide circulation. The "Independent" has gained its success through its unique and distinctive editorial policy.

The Dearborn "Press", a weekly republican paper, was established in 1918.

The Ecorse "Review" was started in 1915 and is issued upon Friday of each week.

The Ford "Times", a weekly newspaper, was begun in 1907.

The Grosse Pointe "Times", an independent weekly edition, was first issued in 1900.

The Hamtramck "American" was a weekly newspaper established in 1916. The Hamtramck "News", now published as an independent weekly paper, has been in existence since 1902.

The Highland Park "Times", weekly newspaper of republican politics, was started in 1911, while the "Highland Parker", also a weekly, had its beginning in 1919.

The Northville "Record" is the oldest paper in the county outside of the City of Detroit, having been established in the year 1869, and is now issued weekly. Politically, the paper follows an independent course.

The Plymouth "Mail", a local weekly newspaper, was started in 1887.

The Redford "Record", an independent sheet issued weekly, was first published in 1900.

The River Rouge "Herald", issued Friday of each week, was begun in 1913. This paper is also issued in another edition as the "Oakwood Outlook". The River Rouge "Leader", established in 1899, is now defunct.

The Trenton "Times", established in 1876, is an independent paper issued weekly. There is also printed an edition known as the "Register" for Flat Rock, an edition for Rockwood known as the "News" and one for Wyandotte called the "Blade".

"The Wayne Weekly", an independent newspaper, was started in 1913. In 1877 there was established a paper in Wayne known as the "Review", but this has ceased publication.

"The Down-River Suburbanite", published weekly at Wyandotte, was begun in 1893, and the Wyandotte "Herald", also weekly, came into existence as early as 1879.

Other newspapers of the county towns, which are now out of existence, were: the Detroit Junction "Call", established 1881; Delray and Springwells "Times", started 1894; Delray and Springwells "Advocate", founded 1900; the Wyandotte "Republican", started 1886, and the "Record" of the same place, begun in 1904.

CHAPTER XXXII

LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS

FIRST SUGGESTION FOR A PUBLIC LIBRARY IN DETROIT—CITY LIBRARY OF DETROIT—DETROIT YOUNG MENS' SOCIETY—DETROIT LYCEUM—MICHIGAN LYCEUM—HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN—DETROIT MECHANICS' LIBRARY—DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY—FIRST QUARTERS—NEGOTIATIONS FOR A BUILDING—DIFFICULT SITUATION IN 1875—BRANCH LIBRARIES—THE BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION—THE NEW LIBRARY BUILDING—STRIFE OVER CARNEGIE OFFER—LIBRARY BONDS—MCKINSTRY'S MUSEUM—MICHIGAN GARDEN—SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATION—DETROIT MUSEUM OF ART—A PERMANENT INSTITUTION—MUNICIPAL ARTS COMMISSION CREATED—NEW BUILDING PLANS.

The first suggestion of record for a public library in Detroit is found in a school memorial presented to the governor and judges on October 18, 1808, by Fr. Gabriel Richard, the priest of Ste. Anne's. After commenting upon the condition and influence of the various Catholic schools, especially the academy under the direction of Miss Elizabeth Williams, Father Richard wrote:

"It would be very necessary to have in Detroit a Public building for a similar Academy in which the high branches of Mathematics, most important languages, Geography, History, Natural and moral Philosophy should be taught to young Gentlemen of our country, and in which should be kept the machines, the most necessary for the improvement of Useful Arts, for making the most necessary physical experiments and framing a Beginning of public Library."

The full text of Father Richard's petition and the story of its fate is narrated in a preceding chapter upon early education in Detroit.

CITY LIBRARY OF DETROIT

On August 26, 1817, the City Library Society was incorporated and the next day ninety shares of stock, of \$5 each, were sold to the public-spirited citizens of the city, giving the society a working capital of \$450. This was used for the purchase of books and the library was opened in one of the rooms of the old University Building, on the west side of Bates Street near Congress, the instructors in the University having agreed to act as librarians.

Little progress was made during the next ten years and only a small number of books was collected. The Detroit Athenaeum was organized on July 15, 1831, with Lewis Cass, president; John Biddle, vice-president; Henry S. Cole, secretary; and Reuben S. Rice, treasurer. The object of this organization, as set forth in the by-laws, was to maintain a club and reading-room. Quarters were obtained on the second floor over Newberry & Kercheval's store, southwest corner of Jefferson Avenue and Griswold Street, and to this location the books, records and furniture of the City Library Society were transferred. The approach to the club-rooms was up a steep stairway, which was not always immaculate, and the library lost some of its prestige which had been obtained while it was kept in the University Building. The Athenaeum existed only about one year, when it was merged into the Detroit Young Mens' Society.

DETROIT YOUNG MEN'S SOCIETY

A short time before the end of the year 1832, a number of the young men of Detroit chanced to meet in the store of John Clark & Company, on Jefferson Avenue near Griswold Street, and one of them proposed the formation of a society which, according to an account written at the time, had for its purpose the "general diffusion of knowledge and a condensation of the talents and acquirements of the young men of Detroit, for intellectual and moral improvement." The motto "*Virtuti et Litteris*" was adopted.

Arrangements were made for a more formal meeting, to be held at the law office of Charles Larned, on the corner of Larned Street and Woodward Avenue, and invitations were sent to several persons whom the projectors thought might be interested. The society was organized January 18, 1833, at a meeting held in the session room of the First Presbyterian Church on Larned Street. This session room was the old assembly room, or hall, of Fort Shelby, and had been moved to the Larned Street location. A constitution and by-laws were then adopted and the following officers elected: Franklin Sawyer, president; Dr. Douglas Houghton, vice-president; J. R. Scott, recording secretary; George E. Hand, corresponding secretary; S. S. Hawkins, treasurer; W. A. Wells, auditor; Silas P. Griswold, John M. Hunter, Charles W. Penny, Aaron B. Rawles, H. M. Roby, Silas Titus and Ira Van Nortwich, board of managers.

After the formation of the society, meetings were held every Friday evening during the winter months and at these gatherings debates and literary exercises of different kinds constituted the program. These weekly meetings became popular among the better class of young men and women, as it gave them an opportunity to air their particular literary or oratorical talents, also their political viewpoint providing it was not too odorous. The library was first kept at the store of Horace Hallock. On March 26, 1836, the society was incorporated and the governor and judges conveyed to the managers, for a nominal consideration, a lot on Woodward Avenue. This lot, however, was sold in 1850 and one on Jefferson Avenue, between Bates and Randolph streets, was purchased. On this site a hall, forty-eight by ninety-five feet and three stories in height, was erected, and the library occupied quarters upon the second floor. This hall, which was completed on November 27, 1850, cost \$8,500, consequently the society went heavily into debt. Evil practices began to occur within the society shortly after this and the organization went through a period of disrepute. The character and number of members became unlimited, it appears, and candidates for office in the society were accustomed to enroll numerous "floating" members until after election time, and to pay their membership fees.

In 1859 the act of incorporation was amended so that the society could hold property to the extent of \$200,000, instead of \$25,000 as originally stipulated by the governor and judges. A new hall was the first desire after this change and negotiations were opened to secure a lot on the corner of Larned and Bates streets, which was owned by the university. The city also claimed this ground, but after some litigation the university retained possession. However, the Young Mens' Society was unable to meet the terms contemplated and abandoned the plan. Thereupon a lot, eighty by one hundred and fifty feet, on Woodbridge Street, just back of the old Biddle House, and with a corridor running through the hotel to Jefferson Avenue, was leased for a term of twenty-five years. On this lot a hall was erected and opened to the public November 21, 1861, with

appropriate ceremony. The old hall and lot were turned over to the creditors, Messrs. Shearer and Chapoton, and the funds to pay for the erection of the new hall and the furnishings were raised by selling stock to the amount of \$17,000.

Not being able to meet their expenses, the members sold this hall in 1875 to Luther Beecher for \$16,000 and the library was then established in rooms on the second floor of the Merrill Block, on the northeast corner of Jefferson and Woodward avenues, where it was reopened to the public August 2, 1875. At that time the library contained about 16,000 volumes. However, it soon became evident that the society could not compete with the public library and during the months of August and September, 1882, the books were sold to whoever would purchase, many of them going into the new library. On September 30, 1882, the Young Men's Society was abandoned, after a half century of more or less turbulent existence.

DETROIT LYCEUM

The Lyceum of the City of Detroit was an organization which lived for just a brief space, but is worthy of mention by reason of the prominent men connected with it. It was organized January 14, 1818, with Augustus B. Woodward, president; William Woodbridge and Charles Larned, vice-presidents; George B. Larned, secretary, and Dr. John L. Whiting, treasurer. A constitution, written by Judge Woodward with all his characteristic verbosity, was adopted April 29th, but the organization came to naught and was given up after about three years.

MICHIGAN LYCEUM

The Lyceum of Michigan, an organization which lived hardly more than a year, was organized December 6, 1830, with Lewis Cass as president, Henry R. Schoolcraft and Henry Whiting, vice-presidents; William Ward, secretary; Augustus S. Porter, treasurer; John L. Whiting, Walter L. Newberry and Lucius Lyon, executive committee.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MICHIGAN

This organization was incorporated June 23, 1828, and upon July 3d following officers were elected, namely: Lewis Cass, president; Henry S. Cole, secretary; John Biddle and Thomas Rowland, vice-presidents; Henry Whiting, corresponding secretary; Charles C. Trowbridge, treasurer; John L. Whiting, librarian. The first lecture before the society was given by Lewis Cass in September, 1828 and he was followed at intervals by other notable men of Detroit. These speeches were printed and collected into a volume entitled "Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan." Other books, manuscripts, letters, and various historical miscellany were collected by the society, but little enthusiasm or interest was maintained and after a quarter century the possessions of the society were absorbed into the public library or otherwise distributed.

DETROIT MECHANICS' LIBRARY

At a meeting held June 13, 1818, at Col. Richard Smyth's hotel, on the west side of Woodward Avenue between Jefferson Avenue and Woodbridge Street, Judge Woodward and Maj. Robert Irwin were appointed to draft a constitution for the Detroit Mechanics' Society. The first election of officers took place on July 20, 1818, when Robert Irwin was chosen president; Benjamin Stead, vice-president; John P. Sheldon, secretary; John S. Roby, treasurer; Paul Clapp,

Charles Howard, Jeremiah Moors, Chauncey S. Payne and Ebenezer Reed, stewards. The constitution was adopted June 29, 1818. The society was incorporated on May 15, 1820 for a term of twenty years. In 1828 two lots on the southwest corner of Griswold Street and Lafayette Avenue were donated by the city to the society and a hall—a two-story frame structure—was erected thereon. The first meeting in the new hall was held on June 16, 1834.

On February 17, 1857, Gov. Moses Wisner approved an act of the legislature authorizing the incorporation of mechanics' societies and the Detroit society was reincorporated under this act March 5, 1860. A library was then started and ten years later the society's income from rents amounted to about \$1,000, a large part of which was used for the purchase of books. The library then numbered over four thousand volumes and was kept open on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 2 to 4:30 P. M. and from 7 to 9 P. M.

At a meeting held on April 28, 1873, the society voted to erect a block to cover the entire property (75 by 130 feet) and the library was removed to rooms over Chauncey Hurlbut's store, on Woodward Avenue, until the new building was completed. Financial difficulties now arose which ultimately put an end to the society. A loan of \$60,000 was negotiated to pay for the new block, but the contractors failed to finish it within the stipulated time, which caused prospective tenants to cancel their agreements with the society. On May 22, 1876, the property of the society was assigned to Horace M. Dean, John H. Van Schoick and James Burns for the benefit of the creditors. At that time the liabilities amounted to \$117,000 and the assets were estimated at \$173,000, but the depreciation in real estate values that followed the panic of 1873 was now felt in Detroit and on November 1, 1876 the property was sold to Thomas McGraw at auction for \$112,500.

The creditors generously released the books and furniture of the library, which were subsequently removed to the Young Men's Christian Association, where the library was opened September 19, 1877. When the Young Men's Christian Association sold its property to the Detroit Medical College in 1881, the library was returned to the Mechanics' Society and in 1885 the books were turned over to the public library.

DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY

The state constitution adopted in 1835 contained a provision that all fines and penalties collected in criminal cases should be devoted to the establishment and maintenance of public libraries. On January 8, 1842, the board of school inspectors of the City of Detroit adopted a resolution to the effect: "That an order be drawn on the county treasurer for the proportion due the Township of Detroit of the moneys paid into the county treasury as equivalents for exemptions from military fines, and for the clear proceeds of all fines for breaches of the penal laws; and in case the treasurer refuses to pay, that the city attorney, or some other proper person, be requested to apply to the present Supreme Court for a mandamus to compel the treasurer to pay the same."

As this was the last session of the old board of inspectors, the work of carrying the resolution into effect devolved upon the board of education, which was created by the act of February 18, 1842. On June 16, 1842, on motion of John S. Abbott, a committee of three was appointed to ascertain the amount of funds paid to the county treasurer and available for library purposes. On August 7th the treasurer paid over to the board the sum of \$63.14 as the city's share of fines

collected. This amount was too small to think of starting a library with it, and the board was not wholly satisfied that the city had received the full sum to which it was entitled. Committee after committee was appointed to investigate the subject and small payments were received regularly until in 1859.

On April 21, 1859, Henry E. Baker, Detroit newspaperman and a member of the board from the sixth ward, called attention to the increasing necessity of the public school for maps, books of reference, etc., and offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee of three to inquire into the facts relative to the payment into the county treasury of fines from the different justices' courts of the county, and "whether this board receives its proper share of such fines."

Mr. Baker, Edmund Hall and Henry M. Cheever were appointed as the committee and on July 9, 1859, submitted a report showing that a considerable sum of money properly belonging to the board had been collected, but had been used for other purposes, and recommended a committee to collect it. Mr. Baker and Mr. Hall were accordingly appointed, with instructions to bring suit if necessary. Suit was instituted and the matter was carried to the supreme court of the state, which decided that about three-fifths of \$17,000 collected in fines during the preceding years belonged to the city. When the news of this decision reached the board of education in November, 1860, William D. Wilkins moved that "Recitation Room No. 3 (in the second story of the old capitol) be fitted up with a table, chairs, bookshelves and a lamp as a library and committee room for the use of the board and teachers." This was the beginning of the public library movement in Detroit.

In March, 1861, the committee reported that a settlement had been effected with the county, by which the library fund would receive about \$7,000. With this fund began the development of the Detroit Public Library. During the next two years more money was received from time to time and on May 18, 1863, the board decided to establish a district library. Two more years elapsed, however, before all the preparations were completed, but on March 25, 1865, the library was formally opened to the public in rooms on the first floor of the old capitol building. At first the library was used only for consultation and reference work, but on May 2, 1865, it was opened for circulation in addition. Two years later the use of an additional room, on the second floor, was granted to the library. About this time the library committee made a request for the fines assessed in the police court, but was refused, consequently suit was brought and upon October 20, 1868, the supreme court decided that these fines also belonged to the library fund. In 1870 an addition was made in the rear of the old capitol building for library purposes and on March 20, 1871, the library was opened in its new quarters here.

It soon became apparent that more room would be needed in the near future and on June 9, 1871, the board petitioned the city council to grant the old city hall for library purposes. The council granted the request on July 18, 1871, and the board commenced preparations for remodeling the building in such a way as to render it suitable for a public library. It was then discovered that it would cost almost as much to alter the old building as it would to erect a new one more suitable in design and capacity. A movement was therefore started for the erection of a building to be used exclusively as a public library, but the question of a site had to be settled. On March 3, 1872, the city gave the board a fifty-year lease of Center Park as a site for the library and the board then surrendered its claims to the old city hall. A short time after this transaction, the



DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY IN 1881



NEW DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY

question was raised as to the power of the council to lease the park. To settle the matter a friendly suit was commenced, asking the courts to enjoin the council from making the lease. This caused some delay, but in April, 1873, the supreme court decided that the council possessed the power to make the lease.

Like many other movements tending toward the intellectual and educational development of the city, numerous difficulties were encountered and strong opposition was met during these early stages. By an act of the legislature, approved by Governor Bagley on March 27, 1873, provision was made for raising \$150,000, with the approval of the board of estimates, for erecting the library building. In describing the situation at this time, no better authority can be quoted than George W. Balch, president of the board of education from 1873 to 1876, who wrote as follows:

"Receiving from the legislature of 1873 permission to raise the necessary funds for the erection of a public library building, the cost of which was limited to \$150,000, the board of education (which then stood wholly sponsor for the public library) proceeded to make estimates therefor, and at the first session of the board of estimates, April, 1874, presented to that body its request for an appropriation of \$125,000 for the purpose. This was promptly granted, and the amount was placed in the general list for the year, with a recommendation to the common council that the money to cover the entire amount be raised by the issue of library bonds, \$50,000 in 1874, the same amount in 1875 and the balance, \$25,000, in 1876.

"The common council, while apparently confirming the recommendation, in all except the method of providing the money, ordered, in lieu of the proposed bond issue, the installment for the year 1874 to be placed on the tax rolls, and the first \$50,000 was raised in that way.

"Having thus changed the method of procedure on the recommendation of the board of estimates, the common council noted the same in a communication to that board, which, meeting but once in each year and having been adjourned, did not reach that body until the regular annual meeting in the spring of 1875.

"In the meantime, from various causes, considerable enmity to the project of the board of education had developed. Whether influenced by this, or resulting from a misconception, which had been created by the change made by the council as mentioned, the fact remained that the board of estimates failed to place any sum whatever in the general list for the year for public library purposes.

"Having proceeded with due deliberation during the greater part of the year 1874 in the preparation of plans and specifications for the new building, bids for the construction thereof, duly advertised for, were opened at a meeting of the board of education in January, 1875. These proposals ranged in amount from about \$159,000 to \$190,000—the lowest being considerably in excess of the authority which had been conferred on the board to be expended for the purpose.

"Nevertheless, the board finally at a meeting in February, 1875, decided to enter into a contract with one David Knapp, the lowest bidder, at about \$159,000, for the complete construction of the proposed building.

"This action gave the enemies of the project, both open and covert, the opportunity they most desired, and they made the most of it. Charges of extravagance and even of the lawlessness of the board were freely made.

Amongst the most willing listeners to these charges were members of the common council, between which and the educational board jealousies had arisen, owing to the assertion by the latter of legislative powers independent of the former; and the lukewarmness exhibited by the board of estimates to the library building project was undoubtedly influenced by the same cause. In short, matters pertaining to the proposed library construction, succeeding the confirmation of the contract by the board, went rapidly from bad to worse.

"Confronted with threatened injunctions and long continued litigation, there was superadded thereto the prospect that owing to the enmity of the council, the concession of Center Park, as it was called, would not be extended beyond the stipulated time.

"And here it may incidentally be mentioned, that this stipulated time-limitation for the work to commence was successfully met. This time was within a few days only of expiration when the excavation for the building was actually commenced, and the threatened danger of the failure of the entire project was averted.

"To proceed, however, with the foregoing narration of obstructive measures encountered—the deprivation of the expected appropriation for the current year, consequent upon the action, or rather non-action, of the board of estimates, fell hard. The situation, altogether, presented interminable difficulty to the library committee of the board, which finally, seeing no means of extrication from the entanglement, asked to be relieved from further consideration of the library building project.

"At this stage, when all the time and money spent in the preparation of plans seemed likely to go for naught, and when the cherished object sought to be accomplished was apparently destined to indefinite postponement, on a chance afterthought while reflecting seriously on the situation, a plan looking to the possible solution of all the difficulties of the case suggested itself. This plan received the prompt assent of the board, and was speedily carried out.

"The plan required first the consent of the contractor for the erection of the building, which he finally gave, and involved the elimination of such parts of the proposed structure as could be dispensed with, without materially infringing on the space allotted to the library proper, or without changing in any material way its interior arrangement. In short, the library was to retain its sufficiency of space and arrangement, but the building itself must be shorn of every costly appendage of any sort not actually needful to the uses of the library proper. Under this plan arbitrators were chosen, one to act for the board, and another for the contractor and a third to act only in case of disagreement. Two of these, the late Nichol Mitchell and Alexander Chapoton, Sr., gave the best possible guarantee of entire integrity in the execution of the plan. The name of the third arbitrator, acting for the contractor, I fail to recall.

"The structure as originally planned was provided with a fairly ornamental and suitably dignified front elevation. Within walls, and forward of the library auditorium, were sundry apartments suitable perhaps for the purposes of an art museum of moderate proportions, for the historical society, and possibly for the use of a then existing scientific association, but none of these having been specifically provided for, they disappeared under the hand of the chosen arbitrators. The contractor being charged with the work of elimination proceeded, in each case, with the estimated cost thereof, as against the total

of his original bid, until finally the last thing to go was the very much regretted and quite handsome stone entrance steps."

On August 24, 1874, the plans of Brush & Smith were adopted, the cornerstone was laid May 29, 1875, and on January 22, 1877, the building was formally dedicated. The cost of the original building was \$124,000 and in 1885 an addition 50 by 60 feet was completed at a cost of \$32,000. The reading room in this addition was opened on March 1, 1886. Another addition was made in 1896.

Pursuant to an act of the Legislature, the board of education, on December 27, 1880, appointed the following library commissioners: James V. Campbell, George V. N. Lothrop, Alfred Chesebrough, William D. Wilkins, Dr. Herman Kiefer and Alexander Lewis. The same act authorized a special tax for the benefit of the library. Since that time the public library has been controlled by a board of commissioners, appointed by the board of education. The term of each of these commissioners expires on the first of January each year and his successor is appointed for six years.

Professor Henry Chaney was the first librarian, acting in this capacity while principal of the high school. After March 20, 1871, he gave his whole time to the library and continued to serve until April 9, 1878. Rev. Manasseh Hickey was his successor and was succeeded April 12, 1880, by Henry Gillman, who retained the position until August 1, 1885, when Henry M. Utley was chosen. Mr. Utley gave over a quarter century of his devoted attention and faithful labor to the Detroit public library and during this time was a compelling factor in the educational development of the city. Advanced years caused his retirement in 1912, followed in 1917 by his death. Adam Strohm, the present librarian, assumed the position November 1, 1912.

When the public library was opened in the old capitol building on March 25, 1865, it contained 8,864 volumes. At the time of the removal to the building in Center Park in 1877, the number of volumes was 33,604. The number of volumes in the main library and branches at the beginning of the year 1921 was over a half million, exclusive of pamphlets, newspaper clippings, etc.

BRANCH LIBRARIES

With the growth of the city and the consequent expansion of the area, there came the necessity for branch libraries, with adequate facilities and accessibility for school centers and for communities distant from the downtown building. These branches and the facts concerning their establishment follow:

The Henry M. Utley Branch Library was opened April 2, 1900, in the Central High School and in March, 1905, was removed to 1515 Woodward Avenue, near Grand Boulevard. In May, 1913, it was removed to a building erected for the purpose at 8726 Woodward Avenue.

The George S. Hosmer Branch was opened April 16, 1900, in the Harris High School on Pulford Avenue and was removed to 887 Gratiot Avenue in January, 1903. It was removed to the present building erected for the purpose at 3506 Gratiot, January 7, 1911.

The Herbert Bowen Branch was opened October 25, 1900, in the Western High School and removed to 464 Dix Avenue in February, 1907. In December, 1912, the books were transferred to the new building at Dix and West Grand Boulevard.

The John S. Gray Branch was opened March 1, 1904, at 284 Field Avenue, but was removed to its new building at 1117 Field Avenue on June 1, 1906.

The James E. Scripps Branch, opened March 1, 1904, at 800 Grand River Avenue, was removed July 1, 1909, to the present building at 605 Trumbull Avenue, which building had been remodeled for the purpose.

The Edwin F. Conely Branch was opened October 1, 1908, at 1479-81 Michigan Avenue. This branch was removed to the present building, erected for the purpose at 4600 Martin Street, in September, 1913.

The Chauncey Hurlbut Branch occupies a building erected for the purpose. It was first opened as a delivery station in January, 1900, but in September, 1905, was established as a full branch. This library is located in Waterworks Park.

The West Fort Street Branch was first opened September 1, 1907, on West End Avenue near Jefferson Avenue. It was removed to 3327 West Jefferson Avenue on January 1, 1910, and again removed to the present location, 5825 West Fort Street, in September, 1913.

The George V. N. Lothrop Branch was opened December 21, 1912, in a building erected for the purpose at West Grand Boulevard and Warren Avenue.

The Magnus Butzel Branch was first opened in its own building in October, 1913. This branch library is located at 2025 East Grand Boulevard.

The George Osius Branch was opened in September, 1914, at 8530 Gratiot Avenue, in a building constructed for library purposes.

The Bernard Ginsberg Branch, at 91 Brewster, was opened to the public in 1916.

The Divie B. Duffield Branch, at 2507 West Grand Boulevard, was also opened in 1916.

The buildings in which are housed the various branch libraries of Detroit have all been designed and constructed from the standpoint of beauty as well as utility. Each differs from the other and each is distinctively attractive. The equipment and convenience of the buildings conform to the very latest thought in library architecture. In addition to these branch libraries, there are over four score library stations, located at manufacturing establishments, fire engine houses, school buildings, hospitals, and other accessible places.

THE BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION

There is one branch of the Detroit Public Library that has few parallels in the library history of the nation. This is the Burton Historical Collection. It is unique in that it had its inception in the mind of one man, Clarence M. Burton, and it has won national repute by the rarity of its contents, their scope and the completeness of historical information upon the chief topic—Detroit history. Of the beginning of this library, the following quotation is given from a biographical sketch of Mr. Burton in the "National Magazine of American History" (January, 1920, Vol. I, No. 1.):

"In the year 1874 at the University of Michigan an eminent lawyer and judge of Detroit, Charles I. Walker, a professor in the law department of the university, delivered a lecture to the students on the 'Northwest During the Revolution.' Holding in his hand a leaf from an old account book of 1780 as he spoke, he said, 'I think it is well for every professional man to have some hobby outside of his regular vocation. To this hobby he should give as much of his time as possible, together with his close thought and enthusiasm.' These

words sank deeply into the receptive mind of at least one student and the little slip of paper held by the lecturer acted as the nebula to a great idea. He then and there resolved to have a hobby, and as he was a lover of books, decided this work would be in the line of American history, and he would acquire on an average at least one book each day of his life. That boy was, and the man is, Clarence Monroe Burton of Detroit. Although in the early stages of his purpose there were times when he did not know from where the revenue for the next day's purchase was coming, from that resolution has developed the great Burton Historical Collection, one of the largest and most valuable in America."

From this beginning the collection steadily grew through the years until now there are more than thirty thousand volumes, forty thousand pamphlets, nearly half a million unpublished letters and documents, twelve hundred maps, four thousand prints and many old newspaper files in the Burton library, making one of the most valuable collections of Americana in the country. Here are such papers as those of Michigan's governors, legislators, jurists and leaders of commerce. Among the more important items may be mentioned the papers of Governor Woodbridge, the Austin Blair papers and the Pingree scrap books. The fur trade and early land troubles may be studied from the Askin papers, plank roads occupy a prominent place in the Charles C. Trowbridge group, while the correspondence of James F. Joy is of prime importance in the history of the mid-western railroads. In this manner, and through many sources, the history of Detroit and the Northwest may be studied. Genealogical interest led to the accumulation of much information and many authoritative publications regarding the families of New England, and the collection has been further enriched by a gift from Detroit Post, No. 384, Grand Army of the Republic, of many interesting Civil war relics and curios.

On March 16, 1914, Mr. Burton presented this notable collection, as well as his former residence at 473 Brainard Street, between Cass Avenue and Second Boulevard, to the City of Detroit. The collection thus became embodied within the public library system of Detroit and in March, 1921, was removed to spacious quarters upon the third floor of the new library building on Woodward Avenue. Since 1914 the city has made regular appropriations for the support of the collection, but Mr. Burton has retained his active interest and is constantly adding to his original gift. By a ruling of the Michigan Historical Commission on November 14, 1917, the responsibility for the collection of personal records of Michigan citizens was placed upon the Burton Historical Collection.

THE NEW LIBRARY BUILDING

At the beginning of the present century it became apparent that the old library building would soon become entirely inadequate for the demands. In fact, since the establishment of the library, the question of space had been a troublesome one; the building in Center Park had always been regarded as of makeshift character, due to the building restrictions at the beginning, and the proper growth of the Detroit Public Library had been seriously retarded. Other large cities of the country had been provided, or were securing, beautiful and commodious library structures, consequently Detroit came to be sadly in need of a building which should be a center for the artistic activities of the city, a research institution for people of all classes and vocations, where the spirit of civic growth and prosperity could be nurtured, and a manifestation of

the intellectual development of the community. As there was no room in Center Park for additions to the old building, the subject of obtaining a new site and erecting a new building came up for discussion in the newspapers and among interested citizens.

In 1901 the library commissioners secured from the Legislature an act of incorporation which gave the board the right to manage the library, to hold title to property in its own name and to accept gifts for the use of the institution. The act also authorized the city to issue bonds to an amount not exceeding \$1,000,000 for the same purposes. At this time Andrew Carnegie was offering liberal gifts of money for the erection of library buildings in cities which would pledge to provide sites and to raise annually for library maintenance a sum equal to one-tenth of his gift. Correspondence was opened with the steel king and on June 20, 1901, he offered to give the city \$750,000, not to exceed one-half of it to go towards the construction of a library building and the remainder to be used for branch buildings. The nature of this offer rendered necessary its acceptance by the common council, but in this body unexpected opposition arose. The first requirement of the offer—that the city raise \$75,000 per year for maintenance—was first attacked. Such an amount to be raised by the city was a new thing; also another factor entered into the arguments of the opposition. Carnegie's Homestead Steel Mills had been torn asunder by strikes and labor troubles, which caused union labor and its champions to oppose anything coming from Carnegie. The direct issue was not submitted to the votes of the people, although the question of issuing bonds was first submitted to a referendum at the November election, 1902, and rejected by a poll of 7,574 to 4,730. In the spring election of 1903 the question of issuing bonds was again submitted to the people and they voted for the issue by 8,382 to 6,931.

In the spring of 1903, Carnegie had renewed his offer, under which new proposition the whole amount of \$750,000 might have been available for the new building. There was no mention of branch libraries, but the stipulation remained that at least \$75,000 should be raised each year by taxation for library maintenance. Upon this the commissioners again appealed to the council and a long campaign followed. All efforts were unavailing, however, and in February, 1904, the council flatly rejected the offer.

At the spring election of 1907 the question was again submitted to the electors in two ways, with the following result: for issuing library bonds to the extent of \$750,000 was carried by 7,408 to 6,323, but the proposition of accepting the Carnegie gift was defeated by 7,860 to 7,783. At the fall election in 1908 a proposition to negotiate a loan for the central and branch libraries was carried by a vote of 20,819 to 13,974.

Sometime in 1909 the subject of the Carnegie gift, or offer, again became an issue. His large gifts of money to other cities for library purposes were noted and Detroiters came to believe that they were neglecting an opportunity. Information was received that Detroit was not outside the pale in this respect and in December, 1909, correspondence was opened with the Carnegie agent in Pittsburg. The library committee immediately began a campaign, in which they were assisted by almost every organization in the city. Extensive publicity was given to the subject and statements from thirty other cities relative to each of their library buildings were solicited and which proved that Detroit was very much in the rear of the procession. This continued for several months.

The proposition as it finally came before the council was in nearly the same form as that first made in 1901, that is, a gift of \$750,000, one-half to go for a central library and the rest for branches, the city to furnish sites, raise equal amounts for building and pledge itself to raise at least \$75,000 a year by taxation for maintenance. It came up in the council March 22, 1910, and was carried by a vote of 28 to 6.

Bonds to the amount of \$25,000 were issued on July 1, 1910, but the mayor, upon the advice of the corporation counsel, questioned the legality of the issue of any library bonds (also further school bonds) because the city's debt had reached, or the issue of these bonds would over-reach, the limitations set out in the charter. Sale of the bonds was necessarily held up then until the legality of the issue could be determined in court. The Circuit Court ruled against the validity of the bonds. The matter was then carried to the State Supreme Court, which, on February 12, 1912, handed down an opinion that the bonds were entirely legal, and defined the library as an integral part of the educational system. The point of view before the Supreme Court being the right of the city to issue bonds for library purposes to an amount over and above the limit applying to bond issues for municipal purposes, the court held that no such restriction applied in the case of library bond issues as they fell properly into the same class as school bonds.

The question of a site for the proposed library had been under discussion for a number of years. A location out Woodward Avenue was at all times thought to be the most desirable, owing to the expansion of the city in that direction. In 1907 the old D. A. C. grounds were secured upon an option for \$185,000. When the 1910 issue of bonds was questioned and the matter taken to the courts, the option was extended until the Circuit Court passed judgment. Receiving a negative decision from that body, the commission was unable to extend the option until the question had been taken to the Supreme Court, consequently it lapsed. In the meantime public-spirited citizens, interested in the art museum, acquired the two blocks on the east side of Woodward Avenue between Putnam and Ferry, extending back to John R Street. After the Supreme Court decided in favor of the library bonds, the opinion grew that the library building should be located opposite the proposed art museum. To insure the purchase of the site at the proper figures, the services of the appraisal committee of the Detroit Real Estate Board were obtained. The highest price paid for Woodward Avenue frontage was \$559.70 a front foot. This large property, costing close to half a million dollars, is bounded by Woodward, Kirby, Cass and Putnam Avenues, and was paid for from the sale of the \$750,000 bond issue. The site is said to be superior to that of New York, Boston, Brooklyn or St. Louis and comparable with that of Pittsburg and Philadelphia.

After the people had voted favorably on the bond issue, the library commission began a systematic study of the best modern libraries over the country, to determine the arrangement of the building for the various departments. This information collected, Frank Miles Day was called in as adviser to the commission, and it was determined to hold a competition for the selection of an architect. From a preliminary competition, open to Detroiters only, two were selected to compete with outside architects. Mr. Cass Gilbert, of New York City, architect of the St. Louis library and the Woolworth Building of New York City, drew the successful plans, which were chosen by an impartial

jury of experts and ratified by the commission. Subsequently, when Clarence M. Burton announced the gift of the Historical Collection to the city, the original plans were altered and enlarged to accommodate the addition. The building is approximately 210 feet square, three stories high, and is equipped according to the very highest standards. The general contract for the building was awarded to the George A. Fuller Company for \$1,236,320, which sum is in addition to the cost of the site, of the steel book-stacks and furniture. The cornerstone was laid November 1, 1917, and in March, 1921, after seemingly interminable delays the building was opened to the public, having cost \$2,500,000, exclusive of the site, which cost \$412,000.

LIBRARY BONDS

The first library bond issue was dated July 1, 1910, and was for \$25,000 in thirty-year bonds bearing interest of $3\frac{1}{2}\%$.

The second issue came out November 15, 1912, and was for \$100,000 in thirty-year bonds bearing 4% interest.

The third issue of \$50,000 in thirty-year 4% bonds, was placed on the market February 1, 1913.

The fourth issue, bearing date of September 2, 1913, due on the corresponding date in 1943, was for \$100,000 in 4% bonds.

The fifth issue, comprising 4% bonds to the amount of \$475,000, bearing March 1, 1944, as the date of maturity, came out March 1, 1914.

The sixth issue, which was for \$250,000 in 4% bonds, maturing January 1, 1948, was authorized January 1, 1918.

The seventh issue was authorized January 15, 1918, and was for \$750,000 in $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ bonds of thirty-year maturity.

The eighth and last bond issue occurred May 1, 1920, at which time \$750,000 in 5% bonds, \$25,000 of which was to be retired each succeeding year, was authorized.

The total of the eight bond issues for the Detroit Public Library is \$2,500,000.

MCKINSTRY'S MUSEUM

Webster defines the word museum as "A repository or a collection of natural, scientific, or literary curiosities or objects of interest, or of works of art." The museum may therefore be a place in which instruction is associated with entertainment, recreation or even amusement. One of the first collections in Detroit, worthy to be called a museum, was that of Maj. David C. McKinstry, which was opened to the public May 13, 1834. It occupied the two upper floors of the four-story building on the southeast corner of Griswold Street and Jefferson Avenue. The collection contained many interesting natural curiosities, Indian weapons and utensils, specimens of the taxidermist's art, etc. Most of this valuable collection was burned in the big fire of January 1, 1842.

MICHIGAN GARDEN

Major McKinstry was the most popular amusement caterer in Detroit in the first half of the Nineteenth Century. In addition to the museum above mentioned, he was the proprietor of a circus, a theater and a public garden called the "Michigan Garden." This garden was bounded by Monroe Avenue, Brush, Fort and Randolph Streets, and was opened about the same time as

the museum in 1834. In August, 1840, the following advertisement appeared in the Detroit newspapers:

"The public are respectfully informed that the Garden continues open to visitors. The Museum, consisting of some of the finest specimens of Ornithology, Minerals, Coins, natural and artificial curiosities and a Grand Cosmorama occupying building of the Garden; another containing thirty-seven wax figures, of some of the most interesting characters. The Garden will be illuminated every fair evening and a band of music will heighten the enjoyment of a walk through upwards of three thousand feet of promenade walk. Refreshments as usual. The baths are likewise in order for company."

In fitting up the museum in the garden, many of the curios taken from the collection on Griswold Street and in this way they were saved from destruction when the building downtown was burned. Brush's Garden afterward occupied the site.

SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATION

The Detroit Scientific Association was the outgrowth of the interest manifested by several gentlemen in the collection of historic relics, natural curiosities, etc. As early as 1845 there were a few noteworthy private collections, whose owners kept them open to visitors free of charge. The best known of these were probably the collections of S. W. Higgins and Dr. Louis Cavalli. Mr. Higgins had a son in the United States Navy, who, in his visits to foreign ports, collected many rare articles and sent them to his father. This collection was especially rich in weapons and utensils used by the native tribes in the African interior. The striking features of the Cavalli collection were the medals—some fourteen hundred in number—representing noted characters from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries, and the great variety of insects. There were also curiosities from the ancient City of Herculaneum; many rare engravings, geological specimens and fine paintings. Upon Doctor Cavalli's death his collection went to the Smithsonian Institution.

In later years Henry A. Ward made a specialty of collecting fossils, and Prof. J. M. B. Sill, of the Detroit Female Seminary, also had an interesting collection of natural history and geological specimens on the corner of Fort and Wayne streets. It was here that a meeting was held Friday evening, March 27, 1874, to consider the subject of a Detroit Scientific Association. Eugene C. Skinner stated that the object of such an association would be "the establishment of a permanent museum, to cultivate a taste for the study of scientific subjects." Dr. George P. Andrew, John C. Holmes, Frederick Woolfenden and Mr. Skinner were appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws and report at a meeting to be held on the 16th of April. At the adjourned meeting the constitution was adopted and the following officers were elected: Dr. George P. Andrews, president; Eugene C. Skinner, first vice president; J. M. B. Sill, second vice president; Frederick Woolfenden, recorder; Albert B. Lyons, secretary and cabinet keeper; J. C. Holmes, librarian; Charles C. Cadman, treasurer; D. Farrand Henry, Frederick Stearns and Henry Gillman, curators.

The museum was opened on the third floor of the Moffat Building early in May. Additional room was taken in July and in August the association purchased Henry A. Ward's collection of casts and fossils. This made it necessary to obtain larger quarters and in September the museum was removed to the

upper floor of the old Odd Fellows' Hall on Woodward Avenue. That building was torn down in the spring of 1877, when the association leased the building formerly occupied by the public library in the rear of the old capitol. In June, 1880, the collection was taken to one of the vacant buildings of the Harper Hospital, where it remained until the spring of 1883, when it was housed in the Detroit Medical College on Farmer Street. From there it was removed to the public library and placed under the control of the library commission.

DETROIT MUSEUM OF ART

This institution had its origin in the Art Loan Exhibition of 1883, which was conceived and projected by William H. Brearley. In an article in the "Detroit News," in the latter part of 1882, Mr. Brearley suggested such an exhibit, with a view to the establishment of an art institute, provided sufficient interest in the subject was shown by the people of Detroit. On Wednesday evening, December 6, 1882, a meeting was held at the residence of James F. Joy, at which the preliminary steps were taken to form an organization to promote the exhibit. At a subsequent meeting held in the office of Newberry & McMillan, February 27, 1883, the following executive committee was selected: Henry P. Baldwin, William H. Brearley, Fred E. Farnsworth, John L. Harper, Mrs. E. G. Holden, Mrs. Eugene C. Skinner, Mrs. H. H. Crapo Smith, Mrs. Morse Stewart, John L. Warren and Mrs. Richard Storrs Willis. Mr. Brearley was chosen chairman of the committee; Mr. Farnsworth, secretary; and Mr. Harper, treasurer.

The next step was to be assured of sufficient funds to make the exhibit a success. On March 7, 1883, the following citizens of Detroit each agreed to pay \$1,000, or such part thereof as might be necessary, to protect the projectors of the enterprise against financial loss: Russell A. Alger, Henry P. Baldwin, Clarence A. Black, Wilhelm Boeing, William H. Brearley, Mrs. J. W. Brodhead, Henry B. Brown, Edmund A. Brush, Christian H. Buhl, James Burns, William A. Butler, Alexander H. Dey, James L. Edson, Dexter M. Ferry, Moses W. Field, George H. Hammond, E. S. Heineman, Charles C. Hodges, James F. Joy, Edward Kanter, Wells W. Leggett, George V. N. Lothrop, Richard Macauley, Hugh McMillan, James McMillan, Christopher R. Mabley, Mrs. C. R. Mabley, Elijah W. Meddaugh, William B. Moran, William A. Moore, Samuel R. Mumford, Simon J. Murphy, John S. Newberry, Cyrenius A. Newcomb, Thorndike Nourse, Thomas W. Palmer, Francis Palms, Philo Parsons, George Peck, Thomas Pitts, David Preston, Corydon C. Randall, George B. Remick, George H. Scripps, James E. Scripps, Allan Sheldon, Martin S. Smith, Thomas S. Sprague, Edward Y. Smith, William H. Tefft, Robert P. Toms, Willis E. Walker, William B. Wesson, Mrs. W. B. Wesson, David Whitney, Jr., Deodatus C. Whitwood, Richard Storrs Willis.

The lot adjoining Ste. Anne's Church on Larned Street was leased from the Bagley estate and on August 24, 1883, the art loan building was completed. It contained twenty-six rooms, 21,195 square feet of floor space, 2,000 linear feet of wall space for pictures, and cost \$15,323. The exhibition was opened September 1, 1883, and continued until November 12th. During that time 134,924 persons visited the display of fine oil paintings, water colors, sculptures, bronzes, prints, drawings, etc., numbering nearly five thousand in all, and the art exhibit was talked about for weeks after it closed.

A PERMANENT INSTITUTION

Under date of April 5, 1883, while the subject of the Art Loan Exhibit was under discussion, the following letter was received by Mr. Brearley from Hon. Thomas W. Palmer, then United States Senator from Michigan, and was doubtless the first suggestion for the establishment of a permanent art institution in Detroit:

"W. H. Brearley, Detroit.

"Detroit, April 5, 1883.

"Dear Sir—Believing that the City of Detroit has taste and wealth enough to found and maintain an art gallery which will be creditable to the culture and public spirit of her citizens, and desiring to contribute thereto, I have this day put into the hands of Hon. William A. Moore securities to the amount of \$10,000, with interest from January 1, 1883, for the purpose of aiding in the purchase of a lot and the erection of an art gallery thereon.

"Said securities will be turned over by Mr. Moore for that purpose when \$40,000 shall have been secured from other sources and a corporation shall have been formed, or some practical plan shall have been adopted to accomplish the end in view, provided said conditions shall be met by July 1, 1884.

"I regret very much that my business prevents my being present at the exercises tonight, and wish you and the gentlemen associated the largest success in inaugurating this movement to call forth, develop and unite for practical ends the artistic feeling in our city. I am aware the result cannot be anything but gratifying.

"Respectfully yours,

"T. W. Palmer."

At the close of the exhibition the executive committee reported receipts of \$44,260.28 and expenses of \$41,817.90, leaving a balance on hand of \$2,442.38, part of which was expended in the purchase of a painting by F. D. Millet, though \$1,521.60 remained in the hands of the committee. With this small balance and Senator Palmer's generous offer, Mr. Brearley and his associates at once undertook the work of raising the \$40,000 for a permanent museum of art. Forty citizens of Detroit each agreed to give \$1,000 and on February 27, 1884, a meeting of these donors was held in the Moffat Building. William A. Moore, Charles Endicott, George V. N. Lothrop, William H. Brearley and Lewis T. Ives were appointed a committee on organization.

This committee reported on May 5, 1884, that there was no law on the Michigan statute books authorizing the incorporation of such organizations as that contemplated. A bill was therefore prepared and presented at the next session of the Legislature. It was approved by Governor Alger February 16, 1885, and on the 25th of the following month the Detroit Museum of Art was incorporated. The first board of trustees was composed of William H. Brearley, Lewis T. Ives, George V. N. Lothrop, William A. Moore, Thomas W. Palmer and James E. Scripps. Mr. Lothrop was appointed United States minister to Russia and resigned June 12, 1885, when Dexter M. Ferry was elected to fill the vacancy.

On July 21, 1885 the trustees instructed Mr. Brearley to undertake the work of increasing the art fund to \$100,000, in order that the means should be provided for erecting a museum building. About nineteen hundred persons subscribed to this fund. The full amount was not raised until late in the sum-

mer of 1886 and then the trustees began looking about for a building site. The funds included separate pledges, ranging from 1 cent to sums over \$10,000.

Two locations were under consideration—one 200 by 426 feet near Harper Hospital, for \$43,000, and the other 250 by 300 feet on Second Avenue, between Gilman and High streets, for \$56,000—when the board received the following communication:

“Detroit, October 13, 1886.

“To the Detroit Museum of Art, its Incorporators and Trustees:

“The property known as the ‘Brady property,’ at the southwesterly corner of Jefferson Avenue and Hastings Street, comprising an area of 20,000 square feet, with a frontage on three streets of 400 feet, is hereby tendered to you as a suitable site for the buildings of the corporation.

“If accepted by you, a free and unincumbered title, with immediate possession, will be made to you as a gift for that purpose, without expense or cost of any kind.

“In behalf of the committee,

“Henry B. Brown,

“Sidney D. Miller,

“William B. Moran.”

The offer was accepted and on November 8, 1886 the building committee was directed to advertise for plans. Fifty-two designs were submitted, that of James Balfour, of Hamilton, Ontario, was accepted, and on May 12, 1887 the contract for the erection of the building was awarded to Dawson & Anderson, of Toledo, Ohio, for \$43,780. Extra work and the improvement of the grounds brought the total cost up to \$56,385.44. The museum was opened to the public on September 1, 1888. Three additions have been made to the building, to wit: one in 1893, costing \$36,000; one in 1897, costing \$50,000; and one in 1904, costing \$50,000.

John Ward Dunsmore was appointed the first director of the institution in November, 1888. On March 18, 1889 the art schools connected with the institution were first opened, with sixty-eight students. A barn on the rear of the lot had been fitted up for school purposes, as had also the basement of the new building. The courses first given and the instructors in each were: life class, John W. Dunsmore; advanced drawing from the antique, Francis P. Paulus; elementary antique, Percy Ives; childrens' classes, Mrs. E. G. Holden; modeling and wood carving, L. H. DeFernelmont; industrial and decorative design, H. M. Lawrence; lecturer on anatomy, Dr. Hal C. Wyman. The fees established ranged from \$10 to \$25 for day or night classes over a term of three months and for the first term the tuition receipts amounted to \$1,038.

The various collections now embraced in the Art Institute are valued at over a half million dollars. These collections include an Egyptian department, a classical department, print department, oriental art, paintings of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, as well as modern paintings, objects of handicraft, etchings, sculpture, bronzes, etc. A number of the most valuable departments of the institute, such as paintings of different schools and of different periods, examples of handiwork, curios, colonial blue-ware and wrought-iron work, have been presented by individuals interested in the promotion of art. Among these large donors have been: James E. Scripps, Edward Chandler Walker, Charles Willis Ward, Charles L. Freer, George G. Booth, Thomas W. Palmer and Mrs. Gustavus D. Pope.

ARTS COMMISSION

Under the charter of the City of Detroit which was adopted in June, 1918, provision was made for a municipal arts commission, this body to consist of four members, with power to hold, in the name of the city, any real property, to build suitable buildings for art purposes, and to acquire and hold any objects of art. Also under the provisions of this charter, the Detroit Museum of Art was to convey to the arts commission all of its property and was thereafter to be designated as the Detroit Institute of Arts, which should be the nucleus of an enlarged institute ranking with the best in the country. The transfer of the Detroit Museum of Art to the absolute control of the city was agreed upon by the trustees representing the original donors in conference with the charter commission in passing upon the arts commission chapter. The last members of the board of trustees of the Museum of Art were: Henry G. Stevens, Gustavus D. Pope, Francis P. Paulus, H. J. M. Grylls, William P. Stevens, William C. Weber, Frederick H. Holt, Ralph H. Booth, William B. Stratton, D. M. Ferry, Jr., David Gray and Thomas May.

Early in January, 1919, the arts commission came into being for the first time under chapter XIX of the new city charter. The organizing meeting of the commission was held at 1817 Dime Bank Building, Commissioners Ralph H. Booth, Albert Kahn and William J. Gray being present. At that meeting Ralph H. Booth was elected president, William J. Gray, vice president, and Clyde H. Burroughs secretary. Maj. D. M. Ferry, Jr., also appointed to the arts commission, was not present, owing to his absence in the service of the country. Afterward, in agreement with an opinion from the corporation counsel that he must be an actual resident of Detroit, he failed to qualify for the position of commissioner.

The first duty of the commission was the consideration of the budget for the operation of the museum for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1919. In this budget an item for a new building for the Detroit Institute of Arts was included but later, owing to the city's enormous requirements, the item was withdrawn by the commission and a nominal sum of \$5,000 for an investigation looking to the new building was substituted.

The first problem faced by the commission was the negotiation for the property and collections which the Detroit Museum of Art had expressed an intention to convey to the arts commission. Although the commission worked steadily on the problem throughout the year, owing to the legal difficulties in making the conveyance it was not accomplished until the month of December, when the commission received from the Detroit Museum of Art a deed covering two blocks, bounded by Woodward Avenue, Kirby Avenue, John R Street and Frederick Street; the other by Woodward Avenue, Frederick Street, John R Street and Farnsworth Avenue, together with all interests in adjoining alleys and streets, and estimated at a valuation of one million dollars, together with a bill of sale of the art collections and personal property contained in the Museum of Art Building, which is conservatively valued at about \$900,000. (The site above described was purchased in 1910 with funds raised by popular subscription.) The arts commission, therefore, came into existence possessed of well-rounded collections, and a site for the new Institute of Arts in the heart of the city's population, directly opposite the new library edifice.

To determine the form and character of the new building, the commission, with the limited means at its disposal, retained Prof. Paul Cret, of the University

of Pennsylvania, architect for the Pan American Building at Washington and the Indianapolis Public Library, as consulting architect.

Although the actual conveyance of the collections of the museum did not take place until December, the arts commission was requested by the trustees of the Detroit Museum of Art to assume the operation and maintenance of the museum beginning July 1, 1919.

On February 6, 1920, at a special meeting of the Detroit Museum of Art Corporation, it was resolved, that, inasmuch as the Museum had been conveyed to the city, with the exception of the invested trust funds, the corporation should continue as a body, but that the title should be changed to that of the Detroit Museum of Art Founders Society. At a subsequent meeting the following first officers were chosen: D. M. Ferry, Jr., president; J. J. Crowley, vice president; William J. Gray, treasurer; and Clyde H. Burroughs, secretary. The object of the new organization was to cooperate in every respect with the municipal arts commission.

Clyde H. Burroughs, secretary and curator of the Institute of Arts, has been connected with the institution since 1902.





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